CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death,
OF
The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE
WILLIAM
By Divine Providence,
Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *ENGLAND*, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the Lords of the Privy Council to His late most SACRED MAJESTY
King CHARLES the First,
Second MONARCH of *Great Britain.*

CONTAINING ALSO
The Ecclesiastical History of the Three Kingdoms of *ENGLAND*, *SCOTLAND*, and *IRELAND*, from His first rising till His Death.

By *P. Heylyn* D.D. and Chaplain to *Charles* the First and *Charles* the Second, Monarchs of *Great Britain.*

ECCLUS. 44. VERS. 1, 3.

1. *Let us now praise Famous Men and our Fathers that begat Us.*
3. *Such as did bear Rule in their Kingdoms, Men Renowned for their Power, giving Counsel by their Understanding, and Declaring Prophesies.*

LONDON,
Printed by *J. M.* for *A. Seile*, and are to be Sold by *George Sawbridge*, *J. Martyn*, *T. Williams*, *J. Place*, *E. Brewster*, *J. Starkey*, *T. Basset*, *R. Horne*, *H. Brome*, *J. Wright*, *R. Chiswell*, *R. Boulter*, *B. Took*. M DC LXXI.

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To the Honourable

Sir JOHN ROBINSON Baronet,

HIS MAJESTIES

Lieutenant of the Tower of *London.*

SIR,

YOU *have here before you the History of an Eminent* Prelate *and* Patriot, *a Person who lived the honour, and died a Martyr of the English Church and State, for it was his sad Fate to be crusht, betwixt* Popery *and* Schism; *and having (against both) defended the Protestant Cause with his* Pen, *he after chearfully proceeded to Seal that Faith with his* Bloud. *Together with the Story of this* Great Man, *you have likewise that of the Age he lived in, (especially so far as concerned the Church) wherein you will find recorded, many notable Agitations and Contrivances, which it were pity should be lost in silence, and pass away unregarded. These Considerations towards a Gentleman of your Worth, Curiosity, and Loyalty, are warrant enough to justifie me in this Dedication. And yet I must not conceal, that it belongs to you by another right; that is to say, the Care of recommending this Work to the Publick, was committed to a Gentleman, who himself had presented it to your hand, if God had not taken him away, just upon the point of putting his purpose in execution. So*

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that it seems in me, as well matter of Conscience, as of Respect, to deliver it wholly up to your Patronage and Protection; since in exposing it to the world, I do but perform the will of my dead Father; *and in addressing it to your self, together with mine own, I also gratifie that of* my deceased Friend. *The value of the Work it self I do not pretend to judge of, my duty and interest for the Author forbids it, but for the Industry, Integrity, and good meaning of the Historian, I dare become answerable; And in truth, I hope well of the rest: without which I should not have made bold with Sir* John Robinson's *Name in the Front of it; who being so nearly related both in bloud and affection to that Incomparable and Zealous Minister of God, and his Prince, cannot besides a Natural, but upon an Honourable Impression, concern himself in the glories or blemishes of this Character, defective in nothing, but that it could not be as ample as his worth. And now having discharged my trust, and duty; as I could do no less, so I have little more to add for my self, but that I am*

SIR,

Your most humble and

obedient Servant

HENRY HEYLYN.

A Necessary INTRODUCTION To the following HISTORY.

BEFORE we come unto the History of this Famous Prelate, it will not be amiss to see upon what *Principles* and *Positions*, the *Reformation* of this Church did first proceed; that so we may the better judge of those *Innovations* which afterwards were thrust upon her, and those Endeavours which were used in the latter times to bring her back again to her first Condition.

1. Know therefore, that King *Henry* VIII. having obtained of the *Bishops* and *Clergie*, in their *Convocation*, *Anno* 1530. to be acknowledged the *Supream Head* on Earth of the Church of *England*, did about three years after, in the 26. of his Reign, confirm the said *Supremacy* to Himself, his Heirs and Successors, with all the Priviledges and Preheminencies thereunto belonging, by Act of Parliament. And having procured the said *Bishops* and *Clergie*, in another of their *Convocations*, held in the year 1532. to promise *in verbo Sacerdotii*, not to assemble from thenceforth in any *Convocations*, or *Synodical* Meetings, but as they should be called by his Majesties Writ; nor to make any *Canons* or *Constitutions*, *Synodal* or *Provincial*, without his Leave and Licence thereunto obtained; nor, finally, to put the same in Execution, till they were Ratified and Confirmed under the Great Seal of *England*: Procured also an Act of Parliament to bind the *Clergie* to their promise. Which Act, called commonly, *The Act of the submission of the Clergie*, doth bear this *name* in *Pulton's* Abridgment, *viz. That the* Clergie *in their* Convocation, *should Enact no Constitutions without the Kings assent*, Anno 25. *Henry* viii. *c.* 19. Which Grounds so laid, he caused this Question to be debated in both Universities, and all the Famous Monasteries of the Kingdom: *viz. An aliquid authoritatis in hoc Regno* Angliæ, *Pontifici* Romano *de jure competat, plusquam alii cuicumq; Episcopo extero.* Which Question being concluded in the Negative, and

1. Submission of the Clergie, and Character,

that Conclusion ratified and confirmed in the *Convocation*, *Anno* 1534. there past an Act of Parliament about two years after, Intituled, *An Act Extinguishing the Authority of the Bishops of Rome*. In which there was an Oath prescribed, for abjuring the *Popes* Authority within this Realm: The refusing whereof was made High-Treason, *Anno* 28. *Henry* VIII. c. 10.

Ejection of the Pope.

II. No Diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Church by the Alteration.

2. But this Exclusion of the *Pope*, as it did no way prejudice the *Clergie* in their power of making *Canons*, *Constitutions*, and other *Synodical* Acts, but only brought them to a dependance upon the King for the better ordering of the same; so neither did it create any diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops in the free exercise of that Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction which anciently belonged to them. For in the Act of Submission before-mentioned, there passed a Clause, that all former Constitutions *Synodal*, or *Provincial*, which were not contrary to the Word of God, the Kings Prerogative Royal, or the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, should remain in force, until they were reviewed and fitted for the use of the Church, by 32 Commissioners, to be nominated by the King for that end and purpose: Which review being never made in the time of that King, nor any thing done in it by King *Edward* VI. (though he had an Act of Parliament to the same effect) the said Old Canons and Constitutions remained in force, as before they were. By means whereof, all causes *Testamentary*, *Matrimonial*, and Suits for Tythes; all matters of Incontinency, and other notorious Crimes which gave publick Seandal; all wilful absence from Divine Service, Irreverence, and other Misdemeanours in the Church, not punishable by the Laws of the Land, were still reserved unto the Ecclesiastical Courts. Those Ancient *Canons* and *Constitutions* remaining also for the perpetual standing Rule by which the proceedings in those Courts were to be regulated and directed; so as it doth appear most clearly, that it was not the purpose of that King, either to diminish the Authority, or to interrupt the Succession of Bishops, which had continued in this Church, from the first Plantation of the Gospel, to that very time: but only to discharge them from depending on the *Popes* of *Rome*, or owing any thing at all to their *Bulls* and *Faculties*, which had been so chargeable to themselves, and exhausted so great a part of the Treasure of the Kingdom from one year to another.

III. The manner of Electing and Confirming Arch-Bishops and Bishops, Established by King HENRY VIII.

3. Upon this ground he past an Act of Parliament, in the 25. year of his Reign, *for the Electing and Consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops*. In which it was Enacted, that on the Vacancy of every Bishoprick within this Realm, his Majesty should issue out his Writ of *Conge d' esstre* to the *Dean* and *Chapter* of the Church so Vacant, thereby enabling them to proceed to the Election of another Bishop; that the Election being returned by the *Dean* and *Chapter*, and ratified by the Royal Assent, his Majesty should issue out his Writ to the *Metropolitan* of the Province, to proceed unto the Confirmation of the Party Elected; and that if the Party so Confirmed, had not before been Consecrated Bishop of some other Church, that then the *Metropolitan* taking to himself two other Bishops at the least, should proceed unto the Consecration, in such form and manner, as was then practised by the Church;

so

so that, as to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Consecration, there was no alteration made at all. Those which were Consecrated after the passing of this Statute, were generally acknowledged for true and lawful Bishops, by the Papists themselves; or otherwise Dr. *Thomas Thurlby*, Bishop of *Westminster*, had never been admitted to have been one of those who assisted at the Consecrating of Cardinal *Pool*, when he was made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, on the death of *Cranmer*. All which recited Statutes with every thing depending on them, being abrogated by Act of Parliament in the time of Queen *Mary*, were revived in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and so still continue. But so it was not with another alteration made in the form of exercising their jurisdiction by King *Edw.* VI. In the first Parliament of whose Reign, it was enacted, that all process out of the Ecclesiastical Courts should from thenceforth be issued in the Kings Name only, and under the Kings Seal of Arms, contrary to the usage of the former times. Which Statute being repealed by Queen *Mary*, and not revived by Queen *Elizabeth*, the Bishops and their subordinate Ministers have ever since exercised all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in their own Names, and under the distinct Seals of their several Offices.

still continuing in effect notwithstanding some Statutes to the contrary by K. EDW. VI.

V.

4. In Doctrinals and Forms of Worship, there was no alteration made in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. though there were many preparations and previous dispositions to it; the edge of Ecclesiastical Affairs being somewhat blunted, and the people indulged a greater Liberty in consulting with the Holy Scriptures, and reading many Books of Evangelical Piety, then they had been formerly: which having left the way more open to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, and divers other learned and Religious *Prelates* in King *Edward's* time (seconded by the Lord *Protector*, and other great ones of the Court, who had their ends apart by themselves) they proceeded carefully and vigorously to a *Reformation*. In the managing of which great business, they took the Scripture for their ground, according to the general explication of the ancient Fathers; the practice of the Primitive times for their Rule and Pattern, as it was expressed to them in approved Authors. No regard had to *Luther* or *Calvin*, in the procedure of their work, but only to the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, *Christ Jesus* being the *Corner-stone* of that excellent Structure. *Melanthons* coming was expected (*Regiis Literis in* Angliam *vocatus*, as he affirms in an Epistle to *Camerarius*) but he came not over. And *Calvin* made an offer of his service to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, (*Si quis mei usus esset*, if any use might be made of him to promote the work) but the Arch-Bishop knew the man, and refused the other; so that it cannot be affirmed, that the *Reformation* of this Church, was either *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* in its first original. And yet it cannot be denied, but that the first *Reformers* of it did look with more respectful eyes upon the *Doctrinals*, Government, and Forms of Worship in the *Lutheran* Churches, then upon those of *Calvins* platform; because the *Lutherans* in their Doctrines, Government, and Forms of Worship, approach't more near the Primitive Patterns than the other did: and working acording to this rule, they retained many of those ancient *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which had been practised; and almost all the

IV. The Reformation of the Church under EDW. VI.

Modelled according to the Scriptures and the Ancient Fathers,

but

with relation rather to the Lutheran then Calvinian Forms.

the *Holy Days* or *Annual Feasts* which had been generally observed in the Church of *Rome*. Nothing that was *Apostolick*, or accounted Primitive did fare the worse for being *Popish*; I mean for having been made use of in times of *Popery*: it being none of their designs to create a new Church, but reform the old. Such Superstitions and Corruptions as had been contracted in that Church, by long tract of time, being pared away, that which was good and commendable did remain as formerly: It was not their intent to dig up a foundation of such precious stones, because some superstructures of Straw and Stubble had been raised upon it. A moderation much applauded by King *James*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; whose golden *Aphorism* it was, *That no Church ought further to separate it self from the Church of* Rome, *either in Doctrine or Ceremony, then she had departed from her self, when she was in her flourishing and best estate*, p. 77.

V. Bishops a distinct Order from that of the Presbytery.

5. The succession of Bishops continued as it did before, but fitted in the form and manner of their Consecrations, according to the Rules laid down with the fourth Council of *Carthage*, celebrated *Anno* 407. or thereabouts, and generally received in all the Provinces of the Western Church, as appears by the Book of *Consecrating Arch-Bishops and Bishops*, &c. Approved first by the Book of *Articles*, and confirmed in Parliament, *Anno* 5. 6. *Edward* VI. as afterwards justified by the *Articles* of Religion agreed upon in Convocation in Queen *Elizabeths* time, *Anno* 1562. And by an Act of Parliament in the 8th. Year of her Reign, accounted of as part of our Publick Liturgies. And by that Book it will appear, that Bishops were then looked upon as a distinct *Order* of themselves, and not as a different *degree* only amongst the rest of the *Presbyters*; For in the Preface to that Book, it is said expressly, *That it is evident to all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and Ancient Authors, that from the* Apostles *time there have been these* Orders *of Ministers in the Church of Christ*, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: Not long after which, it followeth thus, *viz. And therefore to the intent these* Orders *should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of* England, *it is requisite, that no man (not being at this present* Bishop, Priest, or Deacon) *shall execute any of them, except he be Called, Tryed and Examined, according to the form hereafter following.* But because perhaps it will be said that the *Preface* is no part of the Book, which stands approved by the Articles of the Church, and established by the Laws of the Land, let us next look into the Body of the Book it self, where, in the Form of *Consecrating* of *Arch-Bishops*, or *Bishops*, we find a prayer in these words, *viz. Almighty God, giver of all good things, who hast appointed divers* Orders *of* Ministers *in thy Church, Mercifully behold this thy Servant, now called to the Work and Ministry of a* Bishop, *and replenish him so with the truth of Doctrine, and Innocency of Life, that both by word and deed he may faithfully serve thee in this Office*, &c. Here we have three *Orders* of Ministers, *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*; the *Bishop* differing as much in *Order* from the *Priest*, as the *Priest* differs in *Order* from the *Deacon*; which might be further made apparent in the different *Forms* used in *Ordering* of the *Priests* and *Deacons*, and the form prescribed for the *Consecration* of an Arch-Bishop, or Bishop, were not this sufficient.

6. But

VI. The Power aſcribed unto the Prieſt or Presbyter,

6. But though the *Presbyters* or *Prieſts*, were both in *Order* and *Degree* beneath the *Biſhops*, and conſequently not enabled to exerciſe any publick Juriſdiction in *Foro judicii*, in the Courts of Judicature: yet they retained their native and original power in *Foro Conſcientiæ*, in the Court of Conſcience, by hearing the confeſſion of a ſorrowful and afflicted *Penitent*, and giving him the comfort of *Abſolution*, a power conferred upon them in their *Ordination*; in the Form whereof, it is preſcribed that the *Biſhop*, and the aſſiſting *Presbyters*, ſhall lay their Hands upon the Head of the Party who is to be *Ordained Prieſt*, the Biſhop only ſaying theſe words, *viz. Receive the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſins thou doeſt forgive they are forgiven, and whoſe ſins thou doeſt retain, they are retained; In the Name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen.* Which words had been impertinently, and unſignificantly uſed, if the *Prieſt* received not thereby power to *Abſolve* a ſinner, upon the ſenſe of his ſincere and true repentance, manifeſted in Confeſſion, or in any other way whatſoever. And this appears yet further by the direction of the Church, in point of Practice; For firſt, it is adviſed in the end of the ſecond Exhortation before the receiving of the Communion, that *if any of the people cannot otherwiſe quiet his own Conſcience, he ſhould repair unto his Curate, or ſome other diſcreet and learned Miniſter of Gods Word, and open his grief, that he may receive ſuch Ghoſtly counſel, and advice, and comforts, as his Conſcience may be relieved, and that by the Miniſtry of Gods Word, he may receive comfort, and the benefit of Abſolution, to the quieting of his Conſcience, and avoiding all ſcruple and doubtfulneſs.* Agreeable whereunto is that memorable ſaying of S. *Auguſtine*, viz. *Qui confiteri vult ut inveniat gratiam, quærat ſacerdotem.* Secondly, It is preſcribed in the *Viſitation of the Sick, That the Sick perſon ſhall make a ſpecial Confeſſion, if he feel his Conſcience troubled with any weighty matter, and that the Prieſt ſhall thereupon* Abſolve *him in this manner following*, "Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath left power to his Church "to *Abſolve* all Sinners which truly repent and believe in him, of his "great Mercy forgive thee thy Offences; and by his Authority com- "mitted to me, *I Abſolve* thee from all thy Sins, in the name of the Fa- "ther, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, *Amen.* Which form of *Abſolution*, is plainly *Authoritative*, and not *Declarative* only, (ſuch as that is which follows the *General Confeſſion*, in the beginning of the Morning and Evening Prayer) as ſome men would have it.

in hearing the Confeſſion of,

and

giving Abſolution to the Penitent Party.

VII. The ſecurity of the Penitent provided for by the Church.

7. Now that the *Penitent*, as well in the time of Health, as in extremity of Sickneſs, may pour his Sins into the Boſom of the Prieſt, with the more ſecurity; it is eſpecially provided, by the 113. *Canon* of the Year 1603. "That if any man Confeſs his ſecret and hidden ſins to "the Miniſter, for the unburthening of his Conſcience, and to receive "ſpiritual Conſolation and eaſe of Mind from him, we do not any "way bind the ſaid Miniſter by this our *Conſtitution*: but do ſtreightly "charge and admoniſh him that he do not at any time reveal and make "known to any perſon whatſoever any Crime or Offence ſo commit- "ted to his ſecreſie, (except they be ſuch Crimes as by the Laws of "this Realm his own Life may be called in queſtion for concealing the "ſame) under the pain of *Irregularity*. And by incurring the condi-

tion

tion of *Irregularity*, the party offending doth not only forfeit all the *Ecclesiastical* Preferments which he hath at the present, but renders himself uncapable of receiving any other for the time to come. *Confession* made upon such security will be as saving to the *Fame* of the Penitent, as the *Absolution* to his Soul. In which respect it was neither untruly nor unfitly said by a learned Writer, *Dominus sequitur servum*, &c. Heaven (saith he) waits and expects the Priests Sentence here on Earth; for the Priest sits Judge on Earth, the Lord follows the Servant: and what the Servant binds or looseth here on Earth (*Clave non errante*) that the Lord confirms in Heaven.

the Authority of Absolution more fully justified.

VIII. The several Offices which be performed by the Priest,

8. The like Authority is vested in the Priest or Presbyter at his *Ordination* for officiating the Divine Service of the Church, offering the Peoples Prayers to God, Preaching the Word, and Ministring the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation; Which *Offices*, though they may be performed by the *Bishops*, as well as the *Presbyters*: yet they perform them not as *Bishops*, but as *Presbyters* only. And this appears plainly by the Form of their *Ordination*, in which it is prescribed, that the *Bishops* putting the Bible into their hands, shall pronounce these words, *Take thou authority to preach the Word, and minister the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation where thou shalt be so appointed.* In the officiating of which Acts of Gods Divine Service, the *Priest*, or *Presbyter* is enjoyned to wear a *Surplice* of white Linen Cloth, to testifie the purity of Doctrine, and innocency of Life and Conversation, which ought to be in one of that Holy Profession. And this St. *Jerome* tells us in the general, *Religionem Divinam alterum habitum habere in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi*: that is to say, that in the Act of Ministration, they used a different habit, from what they used to wear at ordinary times. And what this different habit was, he tells us more particularly in his reply against *Pelagius*, who it seems disliked it; and askt him what offence he thought it could be to God, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, or those of any inferiour Order, *in Administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint*, did in the ministration of the Sacraments bestir themselves in a white Vesture; so he *adverss. Pelag Lib.* 2. with which compare St. *Chrysostom* in his 83. *Homily* on St. *Matthews* Gospel, for the *Eastern* Churches: *And hereunto the* Cope *was added in some principal Churches, especially in the Celebration of the Blessed* Eucharist. Both which appear most evidently by the first *Liturgie* of King *Edward* VI. compared with one of the last clauses of the Act of Parliament, 1. *Elizabeth c.* 2. in which it is provided, *that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers shall be retained and be in use, as were in the Church of* England *by Authority of Parliament in the second year of the Reign of King* Edward VI. But this Vesture having been discontinued (I know not by what fatal negligence) many years together; it pleased the Bishops and *Clergie* in the *Convocation, Anno* 1603. to pass a *Canon* to this purpose, *viz.* "That in *Cathedral* and *Collegiate* Churches the Holy Communion "shall be administred upon principal Feast-days, sometimes by the Bishops *&c.* and that the principal Minister using a decent *Cope*, &c. *Canon* 24.

attired at ordinary times in his Surplice,

and

at extraordinary in his Cope.

IX. 9. In that part of Divine Service which concerns the offering of the peoples

peoples Prayers to Almighty God, it was required of the *Prieſt* or *Preſbyter*; firſt, that in all the days and times appointed, he uſed the Prayers preſcribed in the publick *Liturgie*, according to the Act of Parliament, 1 *Eliz.* c. 2. and many ſubſequent *Canons* and *Conſtitutions*, made in that behalf. Secondly, "That he conformed himſelf to thoſe *Rites* "and *Ceremonies*, which were preſcribed in that Book, and unto ſuch as "ſhould be afterwards ordained by the Queens Majeſty, with the ad- "vice of her Commiſſioners appointed, and authorized under the Great "Seal of *England*, for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, or of the *Metropolitan* of "this Realm, as may be moſt for the advancement of Gods Glory, "the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Chriſts Holy "Myſteries and Sacraments. And thirdly, and more particularly, "That in his reading of the Prayers and Pſalms, he turn his face "towards the Eaſt, and toward the People in the reading of the Leſ- "ſons or Chapters, as appears plainly by the Rubrick which directs him thus, "That after the reading of the Pſalms, the Prieſt ſhall read "two Leſſons diſtinctly, that the people may hear; the Prieſt that "reads the two Leſſons ſtanding, and turning himſelf ſo as he may "beſt be heard of all ſuch as be preſent. The Pſalms or Hymns to be indifferently ſaid or ſung at the will of the Miniſter; but the *Hymns* for the moſt part ſung with *Organs*, and ſometimes with other Muſical Inſtruments; both in the *Royal* Chappels and *Cathedral* Churches. Fourthly, "That he makes uſe of no other Prayers in the Congre- "gation; (and therefore neither before nor after Sermon) then thoſe "which are preſcribed in the ſaid Book of Common Prayer: it being "ſpecially provided in the Act aforeſaid, that no Prieſt, nor Miniſter "ſhall uſe any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or manner of "Celebrating the Lords Supper openly, or privately, or *Mattens*, E- "vening Song, Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, or other *open Prayers* "(that is to ſay, ſuch Prayers as are meant for others to come unto "or hear, either in common Churches, or private Chappels, *&c.*) "then is mentioned or ſet forth in the ſame Book. Fifthly, "That all "Prieſts and Deacons ſhall be bound to ſay daily the Morning and E- "vening Prayer, either privately or openly, except they be lett by "Preaching, ſtudying of Divinity, or ſome other urgent cauſe. And ſixthly, "That the Curate that miniſtreth in every Pariſh Church, or "Chappel, being at home and not being otherwiſe reaſonably letted, "ſhall ſay the ſame in the Pariſh Church or Chappel where he mini- "ſtreth, and ſhall toll a Bell thereto at convenient time, before he be- "gin, that ſuch as are diſpoſed, may come to hear Gods Word, and pray "with him; ſo as in ſome caſes it may be ſaid of the Prieſt, as the Father doth of Chriſt, that he is, *Os ipſum per quod loquimur*, The very mouth by which we ſpeak unto our Father which is in Heaven. And though it be intended in the Act of Parliament, and expreſt in the Articles of Religion, that the Prayers are to be made in ſuch a tongue as may be underſtood of the common people; yet it is not meant as is declared in the Preface to the Book it ſelf, but that when men ſay Morning and Evening Prayers privately, they may ſay the ſame in any language that they themſelves underſtand. Nor was it meant but that the Morning

The Prieſt in his officiating the Divine Service of the Church,

Reſtrained to his appointed Poſtures,

Not permitted to uſe any Form of his own Compoſing.

Tyed to officiate daily both at morning and evening.

but

With a liberty of officiating in the Latin tongue at ſome times and places.

ning and Evening Service might be uſed in the Colleges and Halls of either Univerſity in the Latine tongue, where all may be ſuppoſed to underſtand it; as appears clearly by the conſtant and continual practice of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxon*, in which the firſt Morning Prayers commonly read about ſix of the Clock, were in Latine: the Morning and Evening Service, with the Pſalms of *David*, being Printed in Latine by themſelves for that end and purpoſe.

X. Presbyters not to Preach without being Licenced,

10. As for the Preaching of the *Word*, that belongs properly and originally (as the performance of all other Divine Offices did of old) to the Biſhops themſelves, as being the ordinary Paſtors of the ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes; and to the Prieſts no otherwiſe then by deputation, as *Curates*, and ſubſtitutes to the Biſhops, as may be proved out of the Inſtrument of their *Inſtitution*. For when a Clerk is to be admitted into any Benefice, he puts himſelf upon his knees; and the Biſhop laying one Hand upon his Head, and having the Inſtrument in the other, repeats theſe words, *viz. Te N. N. ad Rectoriam de N. Ritè & Canonicè inſtituimus, curam & regimen animarum Parochianorum ibidem tibi in Domino committentes, & committimus per preſentes*; that is to ſay, that he doth inſtitute him into the ſaid Benefice, according to the Laws and Canons; committing to him by theſe preſents, the care and Government of the Souls of all the Pariſhioners therein: And therefore it concerns the Biſhop not to Licence any man to Preach to the Congregation, of whoſe good affections to the Publick, abilities in Learning, ſobriety of Life and Converſation, and conformity to the Government, Diſcipline, and Form of Worſhip here by Law eſtabliſhed, he hath not very good aſſurance. For though the Prieſt or Preſbyter by his Ordination hath Authority to preach the word of God in the Congregation, yet it is with this clauſe of Limitation, *If he ſhall be ſo appointed*; that is to ſay, ſufficiently Licenced thereunto, and not otherwiſe. And none were *Licenced* heretofore, as was expreſly ordered in the injunctions of *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth*, but either by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, who is to anſwer by the Law (for every Miniſter he admits into the ſame) for that Dioceſs only: or by the *Metropolitan* of the Province, for that Province alone: or finally by either of the Univerſities (upon the well performing of ſome publick exerciſe) over all the Kingdom. Conſidering therefore that every man that could pronounce well, was not found able to indite, and every man that could indite, not being to be truſted in a buſineſs of ſuch weight and moment; it ſeemed good in the Wiſdom of the firſt Reformers to compile ſome good and profitable Sermons (called by the name of *Homilies*) to be read carefully and diſtinctly on the Sundays and Holy days for the inſtruction of the people.

By whom they were to be ſo licenced,

And why they were directed to the reading of Homilies.

XI. Preaching or Homilizing only once a day on the Sundays and Holy days.

11. Such courſe was taken for the peace and edification of the Church by the firſt *Reformers*, not only in the choice of the men to whom they gave Licences to preach, but in ſupplying the defect and want of ſuch preaching by the Book of *Homilies*: and they had as great a care too for the keeping of the people in good ſtomach, not cloying them with continual Preaching, or *Homilizing*: but limiting them to once a day, as appears by the Rubrick after the *Nicene* (or rather the *Conſtantino-*

politan

politan Creed.) One Sermon or *Homily* in the mornings of Sundays and other Holy days, for the edification of the elder; and Catechizing by way of queſtion and anſwer in the afternoon, for the inſtruction of the younger, was eſteemed ſufficient. *Lectures* upon the week-days were not raiſed upon this foundation, but were brought in afterwards, borrowed by *Travers* and the reſt, towards the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, from the new faſhions of *Geneva*; the *Lecturer* being ſuper-added to the *Parſon*, or *Vicar*, as the *Doctor* was unto the *Paſtor* in ſome foreign Churches. Nor were they raiſed ſo much out of care and conſcience, for training up the people in the ways of Faith and Piety, as to advance a Faction, and to alienate the peoples minds from the Government and Forms of Worſhip here by Law eſtabliſhed. For theſe *Lecturers* having no dependence upon the Biſhops, nor taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience to them, nor ſubſcribing to the Doctrine and eſtabliſht Ceremonies, made it their work to pleaſe thoſe Patrons, on whoſe arbitrary maintenance they were planted, and conſequently to carry on the *Puritan* intereſt, which their Patron drove at. A generation of men neither Lay, nor Clergy, having no place at all in the Prayers of the Church, where we find mention only of Biſhops, Paſtors, and Curates; nor being taken notice of in the terms of Law, as being neither *Parſons*, nor *Vicars*: or, to ſpeak them in the vulgar proverb, neither fleſh, nor fiſh, nor good red herring: No creature in the world ſo like them as the *Bats*, or *Reremice*; being neither Birds nor Beaſts, and yet both together. Had theſe men been looked upon in time, before their numbers were increaſed, and their power grown formidable, before the people went a madding after new inventions, moſt of the miſchiefs which have thence enſued might have been prevented. And had there been more reading of *Homilies*, in which the Reader ſpeaks the ſence of the Church; and not ſo much of *Sermonizing*, in which the Preacher many times ſpeaks his own factious and erroneous ſence; the people might have been trained up in no leſs knowledge, but in much more obedience then they have been in theſe latter times.

Lectures upon working days, by whom, and for what ends erected, and

Of the dangers which aroſe from the Inſtitution.

12. As for the Sacraments which were advanced to the number of ſeven in the Church of *Rome*, this Church hath brought them back to two (as *generally neceſſary to ſalvation*) *Baptiſm*, and the *Holy Supper*: Four of the reſt, that is to ſay, *Marriage*, *Orders*, *Confirmation*, *and the Viſitation* (though not the *Extream Unction*) of *the Sick* being retained under the name of *Sacramentals* in our publick *Liturgie*: Of which the Book of Conſecrating Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* is by the Act of Parliament 8 *Eliz. c.* 1. affirmed to be a Supplement, or Additional only (added, put to, and annexed, as the words do vary) to the ſaid Book of Common-Prayer. And of theſe four, two are reſerved unto the Biſhop, that is to ſay, *Confirmation*, and the giving of *Orders*; the other two, *viz. Marriage* and the *Viſitation* of the Sick, being common to both alike, though executed in the moſt part by the Presbyter only. Of thoſe reſerved unto the Biſhop, the one is ſo reſerved *ad neceſſitatem operis*, becauſe it cannot be done without him: the other *ad honorem ſacerdotii* (as the Schools diſtinguiſh) becauſe it cannot be well done but by him. Touching the firſt, we have the general conſent of all ancient

XII. Of Sacraments and Sacramentals.

No Orders to be given but by Bishops only,

Writers, and the example of *Coluthus*, who took upon him the ordaining of *Presbyters*, contrary to the Rules of the Church, and the *Canons* of the most famous Councils. But when the business came to be examined, his *Ordinations* were declared to be null and void, because he was a *Presbyter* only, and not a Bishop; as is affirmed by *Athanasius* in *Apol.* 2. The other grounded on the 8th. Chapter of the *Acts*, as St. *Cyprian* in his 73. Epistle tells us; where *Peter* and *John* are said to have laid hands on them in *Samaria*, which had been before Baptized in *the Name of the Lord Jesus*, that *they might receive the Holy Ghost*, and that *by laying on of their hands they did receive the Holy Ghost accordingly*, verse 16, 17. *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur*, &c. "Which is also "done, saith St. *Cyprian* (and *Cyprian* flourisht in the middle of the third "Century) amongst our selves, when they which be already Baptized, "are brought unto the *Prelates* of the Church (*Præpositis Ecclesiæ offe-"runtur*) that by our Prayer and Imposition of our hands they may "receive the Holy Ghost, and be strengthened by the Seal of the "Lord. Upon which grounds (besides the great antiquity of it) it was retained by the first *Reformers*, as in the *Rubrick* before *Confirmation*, in the *Common-Prayer-Book*. And had it been as diligently practised by the Bishops in the declining times of this Church, as it was piously and religiously retained by them, it would have much conduced to their safe standing in the Church, and procured a greater veneration to their Persons also. The other two, *viz. Marriage*, and the *Visitation of the Sick*, together with the *Burial of the Dead*, and the *Churching* of Women after Child-birth, are left to the officiating of the Priest, or Parochial Minister, unless the Bishop please to take that work upon himself in some certain cases.

and Confirmation reckoned for one of their peculiars.

The rest promiscuously permitted to the Presbyter also.

XIII. Penance how far retain'd in the Church of *England*.

13. But as for *Penance* (one of the seven Sacraments in the Church of *Rome*) we must look upon in a double capacity. First, As it was solemnly performed on *Ashwednesday*, as a preparative to the approaching Feast of *Easter*; the people humbling themselves before the Lord in Sackcloth and Ashes, whence it had the name. And secondly, As imposed on such particular persons, as lay under the censures of the Church. Touching the first, it is related in the beginning of the *Commination*, that in the Primitive Church there was a godly Discipline, "That at "the beginning of *Lent*, such persons as were notorious sinners were "put to open Penance, and punished in this world, that their Souls "might be saved in the day of the Lord, and that others admonished "by their example might be the more afraid to offend. The Restitution of which godly Discipline, though they much desired; yet finding that the times were not like to bear it, they contented themselves with prescribing a form of *Commination*, to be observed upon that day, containing a recital of Gods Curses thundred out against impenitent Sinners, to be publickly read out of the Pulpit, by the *Priest* or *Presbyter*; subjoyning thereunto one of the *Penitential Psalms*, with certain Prayers which had been used in the *Formularies* of the times foregoing; and then proceeding to the Epistle and Gospel (with the rest of the Communion Service) appointed for the first day of *Lent* in the publick *Liturgie*. As for the other sort of *Penance*, there was not any thing more

Not only as commemorated on Ashwednesday yearly,

but

As judicially imposed on scandalous and notorious Sinners in the open Consistory.

more frequent in the practice of the Church, and the dispensation of the Keys, then the imposing of it by the Bishops and their Officers, upon Adulterers, Fornicators, and such as otherwise have given scandal by their irregular course of life, or by their obstinate inconformity to the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* here by Law established: upon performance of which *Penance* in the face of the Church, or in the way of *Commutation*, for the use of the poor, they were to have the benefit of *Absolution*, and consequently be restored to the peace and bosom of the Church. And though there be no form prescribed in our *Liturgie*, for the reconciling of a *Penitent* after the performance of his *Penance*, which I have many times wondred at; yet so much care was taken in the *Convocation* of the year 1640. that no *Absolution should be given, but by the Bishop himself in person, or by some other in Holy* Orders, *having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or by some grave Minister*, (being a *Master of Arts at the least*) *and Beneficed within the Diocese, to be appointed by the Bishop, the same to be performed in the open Consistory, or some Church or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving, and taking it upon his knees*, Can. 13. Which was as much as could be done in that point of time.

XIV. Consecration of Churches truly Primitive.

14. Such being the duty of the Priest, we shall next look upon the place and times in which they are to be performed; the place of publick Worship they call generally (according to the style of the ancient Fathers) by the name of the *Church*. For consecrating or setting apart whereof to Religious uses, I find so great authority in the Primitive times, as wil sufficiently free it from the guilt of *Popery*: Witness the testimony which Pope *Pius* gives of his Sister *Eutorepia* in an Epistle to *Justus Viennensis*, *Anno* 158. or thereabouts, for setting apart her own House for the use and service of the *Church*: Witness the testimony which *Metaphrastes* gives of *Felix* the first, touching his Consecrating of the house of *Cicilia*, about the year 272. And that which *Damasus* gives unto *Marcellinus*, who succeeded *Felix*, for consecrating the house of *Lucinia* for Religious uses: witness the famous consecration of the *Temple* of the *Holy Martyrs* in *Jerusalem*, founded by *Constantine* the Great, at which almost all the *Bishops* in the Eastern parts were summoned, and called together by the Emperors Writ; and finally (not to descend to the following times) witness the 89th. Sermon of St. *Ambrose*, entituled *De Dedicatione Basilicæ*, Preached at the Dedication of a *Church* built by *Vitalianus* and *Majanus*, and the invitation of *Paulinus*, another *Bishop* of that Age, made by *Sulpitius Severus* his especial Friend, *Ad Basilicam quæ pro rex erat, in nomine Domini consummabitur, dedicandum*, to be present at the Dedication of a *Church* of his foundation: which Dedications, as they were solemnized with Feastings, for entertainment of the company which resorted to them; so were those Feasts perpetuated in succeeding Ages by an annual Repetition, or Remembrance of them: such annual Dedication-Feasts being called in *England Wakes*, or *Revels*, and in some places only *Feasts*, according to the style and phrase of their several Countries. I must confess that there occurs no form of such Consecration in our English *Liturgies*: those times were more inclinable to the pulling down of old *Churches*, then building of new; witness the demolition of so many

Honoured with Dedication Feasts, and

Those Feasts made annually, and

Hospitals, *Chanteries*, and *Free Chappels* in the unfortunate minority of King *Edward* VI. But when the times were better settled, and that new Churches began to be erected, and the old ones to be repaired, some *Bishops* made a Form of *Consecrating* to be used by themselves on such occasions. And others followed a Form composed by Bishop *Andrews*; a man as much averse as any, from the Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. But if the *Convocation* of the Year 1640. had not been so precipitated to a speedy conclusion by the tumults of unruly people, it is probable, if not certain, that a Canon had been passed for digesting an uniform order of such Consecrations, as there was made a body of Visitation-Articles for the publick use of all that exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which every Bishop and Arch-Deacon had before fashioned for themselves.

Of the Form of Consecration observed, but not prescribed since the Reformation.

XV. What kind of Images they are, which were prohibited by the Queens Injunctions.

15. Next to the Consecration of Churches, follows in course the necessary repair and adorning of them; not only required by several Canons and Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth's* time, the Canons of the Year 1603. and some Rubricks in the Book of Common-Prayer; but also by some Homilies which were made of purpose to excite the people thereunto: that is to say, the Homilies of the right use of the Church, for repairing and keeping clean the Church, and of the time and place of Prayer. The question is, whether the use of painted Images on the Walls or Windows were tolerated or forbidden by the Rule of the Reformation; They which conceive them to have been forbidden by the Rules of the Church, alledge for defence of their opinion, the Queens injunction, published in the first year of her Reign, *Anno* 1559. the Articles of the Regal Visitation following thereupon, and the main scope of the three Homilies against the peril of Idolatry. In the first of which it was ordered, first, "That to the intent that all Superstition, and Hypocrisie crept into divers means hearts might vanish away, "no Ecclesiastical persons should set forth or extol the Dignity of any "Images, Reliques, or Miracles; bnt declaring the abuse of the same, "they shall teach that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both "asked and looked for only of God as the very author and giver of "the same, and of none other, *Num.* 2. And secondly, That they shall "take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all *Shrines*, coverings of "*Shrines*, all Tables, Candlesticks, *Trindals* and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and all other Monuments of feigned Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, and Superstition; so that there remain no memory of the same, in Walls, Glass-Windows, or elsewhere, within "their Churches and Houses; preserving and repairing nevertheless both the Walls and Glass-Windows: and that they should exhort all "their Parishioners to do the like, within their several Houses, *Num.* "23. For which last, there follows afterwards a more special *Injunction*, *Numb.* 35. According whereunto this *Article* was framed to the Visitation. *viz.* "Whether in all Churches, and Chappels, all Images, "Shrines, Tables, Candlesticks, Trindals, and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, "Paintings, and other Monuments of feigned and false Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, and Superstition, were removed, abolished, and "destroyed, *Num.* 2. But these objections carried their own answers

The Articles of the Regal Visitation,

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in them, it being manifeſt by the words both of the Articles and Injunctions, that it never was the meaning of the Queen, her Council, or Commiſſioners, to condemn, aboliſh, or deface all Images, either of Chriſt himſelf, or of any of the Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors and other godly Fathers in the Church of Chriſt; the abuſe whereof is ordered to be reformed by the firſt Injunction, but only to remove ſuch Pictures of falſe and feigned Miracles, as had no truth of being, or exiſtence in Nature; and therefore were the more abuſed to Superſtition and Idolatry in the times of *Popery*. In anſwer to ſuch paſſages as are alledged out of the ſaid Homilies, it is replied; firſt, that it is confeſſed in the beginning of the laſt of the ſaid three *Homilies*, that Images in Churches *are not ſimply forbidden by the new Teſtament*, *Hom.* Fol. 39. And therefore no offence committed againſt the Goſpel, if they be uſed only for Hiſtory, Example, and ſtirring up of pure Devotion in the ſouls of men; in which reſpect called not unfitly by Pope *Gregory*, *The Lay-mans Books*. Secondly, The Compilers of thoſe Homilies were the more earneſt in point of removing or excluding Images, the better to wean the People from the ſin of Idolatry, in which they had been trained up from their very infancy, and were not otherwiſe to be weaned from it, then by taking away the occaſions of it. And thirdly, All that vehemence is uſed againſt them; not as intolerable in themſelves, but as they might be made in thoſe broken and unſettled times an occaſion of falling, before men could be fully inſtructed in the right uſe of them; as appears plainly by theſe paſſages, *viz. Our Images alſo have been, and be, (and if they be publickly ſuffered in Churches, and Chappels) ever will be alſo worſhipped, and ſo Idolatry committed to them*, p. 13. *So hard it is, and indeed impoſſible any long time to have Images publickly in Churches and Temples without Idolatry*, fol. 33. And finally by the paſſage which before we touched at, where after much vehemency, not only againſt Idolatry and Worſhipping of Images, but alſo againſt Idols and Images themſelves, the heats thereof are qualified by this expreſſion, *viz. I mean always thus herein, in that we be ſtirred and provoked by them, to worſhip them; and not as though they were ſimply forbidden by the New Teſtament, without ſuch occaſion and danger*, ibid. fol. 39. And thereupon it is firſt alledged by thoſe of contrary judgment, that all ſuch as lived in times of Popery, being long ſince dead, and the people of this laſt age ſufficiently inſtructed in the unlawfulneſs of worſhipping ſuch painted Images, they may be lawfully uſed in Churches, without fear of Idolatry, which ſeems to have been the main inducement for their firſt defacing. Secondly, Many of the Eaſtern Churches, which notwithſtanding do abominate the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, retained the uſe of painted Images, though they reject thoſe which were cut, and carved. Thirdly, That *Images* are ſtill uſed in the *Lutheran* Churches, upon which our firſt Reformers had a ſpecial eye; and that *Luther* much reproved *Carloſtadius* for taking them out of ſuch Churches, where before they had been ſuffered to ſtand, letting him know, *Ex mentibus hominum potius removendas*, that the worſhip of Images, was rather to be taken out of mens minds by diligent and painful preaching, then the Images themſelves to be ſo raſhly, and unadviſedly

and

What is to be ſaid in anſwer to ſuch paſſages as are found againſt them in the Book of Homilies.

adviſedly caſt out of the Churches. That painted Images were not only retained in the Chappels of the Queen, and of many great men of the Realm, in moſt of the Cathedral Churches, and in ſome private Churches and Chappels alſo, without any defacing (witneſs the curious painted Glaſs in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, the Pariſh Church of *Faireford* in the County of *Gloceſter*, and the Chappel of the Holy Ghoſt, near *Baſingſtoke*) but a rich and maſſy Crucifix was kept for many years together, on the Table or Altar of the Chappel Royal in *Whitehall* (as appears by *Saunders* and *Du Cheſne*) till it was broke in pieces by *Pach*, the Queens Fool (when no wiſer man could be got to do it) upon the ſecret inſtigation of Sir *Francis Knollis*: and finally, it appears by the Queens Injunctions, that the Prieſts being commanded not to extoll the dignity of any Image, Reliques, *&c.* and the people diligently to teach, that all Goodneſs, Health, and Grace ought to be aſked and looked for only at the hands of God, whereby all Superſtition might be taken out of their hearts, the Images might lawfully remain as well in publick Churches, as in private Houſes, as they had done formerly.

XVI. The Lords Day built upon the ſame foundation with the other Holy days,

16. As for the times of publick Worſhip, we muſt behold them in their *Inſtitution*, and their *Obſervation*. And firſt, as for their Inſtitution it is agreed on of all hands, that the Annual Feaſts, Saints Days, or Holy Days, as now commonly called, do ſtand on no other ground then the Authority of the Church, which at firſt ordained them; ſome in one Age, and ſome in another, till they grew unto ſo great a number, that it was thought fit by King *Henry* VIII. and afterwards by King *Edward* VI. to aboliſh ſuch of them as might beſt be ſpared. Nor ſtands the Sunday, or Lords Day (according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*) on any other ground then the reſt of the Holy days; for in the Homily touching the time and place of Prayer, it is thus doctrinally reſolved, *viz.*, according to the Book of Homilies, "As concerning the time in which God hath appointed his people to aſſemble together ſolemnly, it doth appear by the "fourth Commandment, *&c.* Which Example and Commandment of "God, the godly Chriſtian people began to follow, after the *Aſcenſion* of our Lord Chriſt, and began to chuſe them a ſtanding day in "the week to come together in; yet not the ſeventh day, which the "Jews kept, but the Lords day, the day of the Lords *Reſurrection*, the "day after the ſeventh day, which is the firſt day of the week, *&c.* This makes the matter clear enough, and yet the Statute 5 and 6 of *Edw.* VI. in which all the Prelates did concur with the other Eſtates, makes it clearer then the *Homily* doth, The Act of Parliament, 5. 6. of EDW. VI. "Foraſmuch (ſaith the Statute) "as men be not at all times ſo mindful to laud and praiſe God, ſo ready "to reſort to hear Gods holy Word, and come to the holy Communion, *&c.* as their bounden duty doth require; therefore to call men "to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmities, it hath "been wholſomly provided, that there ſhould be ſome certain days "and times appointed wherein Chriſtians ſhould *ceaſe from all kinds* "*of labour*, and apply themſelves only and wholly unto the aforeſaid holy works properly pertaining to true Religion, *&c.* Neither *is it to be thought that* there is any certain *times or definite number*

of

" *of days* prescribed in *Holy Scripture*: but the appointment both of " the time, and also of the number of days, is left by the *Authority* of " *Gods Word*, unto the *Liberty* of Christs Church to be determined and " assigned orderly in every Countrey by the discretion of the *Rulers* " and *Ministers* thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the set- " ting forth of Gods Glory, and the edification of the people. Now for the number and particularities of those days which were required to be kept holy to the Lord, they are thus specified and enumerated in the Common-Prayer-Book, confirmed by Parliament in that year. These to be kept Holy Days, and no other; that is to say, all Sundays in the Year, the Feast of the *Circumcision* of our Lord and Saviour, the Feast of the *Epiphany*, *&c.* Which specification and enumeration, is made also in the aforesaid Statute.

XVII. What works of labour were permitted on the Lords Day, and the other Holy days,

17. As for the observation of those days, there was no difference made between them by the first Reformers; the same Divine Offices prescribed for both; the diligent attendance of the people required in both; the penalties upon such as wilfully and frequently did absent themselves, were the same for both; and finally the works of necessary labour no more restrained upon the one then upon the other. For first it is declared in the foresaid *Homily*, that *Christian People are not tyed so streightly to observe and keep the other Ceremonies of the Sabbath day*, as were the *Jews*, as *touching the forbearing of the work and labour in time of great necessity*, &c. Secondly, and more particularly in the Statute beforementioned we find it thus, *viz.* " That it shall be lawful for every " Husband-man, Fisher-man, and to all and every other person or per- " sons, of what Estate, Degree, or Condition he or they be, upon the " Holy Days aforesaid (of which the Lords Day is there reckoned " for one) in Harvest, or at any other times in the Year, when neces- " sity shall so require, to Labour, Ride, Fish, or Work any kind of " Work at their own will and pleasure. Thirdly, It is ordered in the Injunctions of the said King *Edw.* VI. that it shall be lawful for the people " in the time of Harvest to labour upon Holy and Festival Days, and " save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to abstain " from working on those days, doth grievously offend God. Fourthly, We find the like in the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth*, published with the advice of her Council, *Anno* 1559. being the first year of her Reign, *viz.* " That all Parsons, Vicars, Curates, shall teach and de- " clare unto their Parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet " conscience after Common-Prayer in the time of Harvest labour up- " on the Holy and Festival Days, and save that thing which God hath " sent. And if for any scrupulosity or grudge of Conscience, men shall " superstitiously abstain from working on those days, that then they " should grievously offend and displease God. And as for the practice " of the Court, it was ordered by the said King *Edward*, " That the " Lords of the Council should upon Sunday attend the publick affairs " of the Realm, and dispatch answers to Letters for the good order of " the State, and make full dispatches of all things concluded in the " Week before: Provided, that they be present at Common-Prayers. " And that on every Sunday night the Kings Secretary should deliver him

by the Book of Homilies.

The Statute 5. and 6. of EDW. VI.

The Injunctions of King EDW. VI.

and

Of Queen ELIZ.

Practised accordingly in the Court from that time to this.

" him a memorial of ſuch things as were to be debated in the Privy " Council the week enſuing. Which courſe of meeting in the Council on Sunday in the afternoon, hath been continued in the Court, from the time of the ſaid King *Edward* the VI. to the death of King *Charles*, without diſlike or interruption. If then the Country people in ſome times and caſes were permitted to employ themſelves in bodily labour on the Sundays and other Holy days; and if the Lords of the Council did meet together on thoſe days to conſult about affairs of State, as we ſee they did; there is no queſtion to be made but that all manlike exerciſes, all lawful Recreations and honeſt Paſtimes were allowed of alſo.

XVIII. Reverence required of the people at their firſt entrance into the Church,

18. As for the duties of the people in thoſe times and places, it was expected at their hands, that due and lowly reverence ſhould be made at their firſt entrance into the Church; the place on which they ſtood, being by Conſecration made Holy Ground, and the buſineſs which they came about, being holy buſineſs. For this there was no Rule nor Rubrick made by the firſt Reformers, and it was not neceſſary that there ſhould; the practice of Gods people in that kind being ſo univerſal, *Vi Catholicæ conſuetudinis*, by vertue of a general and continual uſage, that there was no need of any Canon to enjoyn them to it: Nothing more frequent in the Writings of the ancient Fathers then Adoration toward the Eaſt, which drew the Primitive Chriſtians into ſome ſuſpicion of being Worſhippers of the Sun, *Inde ſuſpicio, quòd innotuerit nos verſus orientis regionem precari*, as *Tertullian* hath it. And though this pious cuſtom began to be diſuſed, and was almoſt diſcontinued, yet there remains ſome footſteps of it to this very day. For firſt, It was obſerved by the Knights of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, (who I am ſure hate nothing more then Superſtitious Vanities) at their approaches toward the *Altar* in all the Solemnities of that Order. Secondly, In the Offerings or Oblations made by the *Vice-Chancellor*, the *Proctors*, and all Proceeders in the *Arts and Faculties* at the *Act* at *Oxon*. And thirdly, By moſt Country Women, who in the time of my firſt remembrance, and a long time after, made their obeyſance towards the Eaſt, before they betook themſelves to their Seats; though it was then taken (or miſtaken rather) for a Courteſie made unto the Miniſter; revived more generally in theſe latter times (eſpecially amongſt the *Clergie*) by the Learned and Reverend Biſhop *Andrews*, a man as much verſt in Primitive Antiquity, and as abhorrent from any thing which was meerly *Popiſh*, as the greateſt *Preciſian* in the Pack. Which point I find exceedingly well applyed, and preſt in the Speech made by this Arch-Biſhop, at the Cenſure of Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Burton*, on *June* 26. 1637. Who ſpeaking to ſuch of the Lords as were *Knights* of the *Garter*, he accoſts them thus, " And you " (ſaith he) my Honourable Lords of the *Garter*, in your great ſolem- " nities, you do reverence, and to Almighty God I doubt not: but yet " it is *verſus Altare*, toward the *Altar*, &c. And this your reverence " you do when you enter the Chappel, and when you approach nearer " to offer, *&c.* And Idolatry it is not to worſhip God toward his *Holy* " *Table*; for if it had been Idolatry, I preſume Queen *Elizabeth*, and " King

According to the practice of the Primitive times,

and

The example of the Knights of the Garter, &c.

and

That example well enforced by Archbiſhop LAUD,

P. 47.

"King *James* would not have practiſed it, no not in this great Solemni-
"ty. And being not Idolatry, but true Divine Worſhip, you will I
"hope give a poor Prieſt leave to worſhip God as your ſelves do. For
"if it be Gods Worſhip, I ought to do it as well as you, and if it be
"Idolatry, you ought not to do it more then I.

XIX. Kneeling and ſtanding, when required.

19. This duty being performed at their firſt entrance into the Church, it was next required by the *Rubrick*, that they ſhould reverently kneel at the reading of the publick Prayers, and in the receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper; that they ſhould ſtand up at the reading of the Apoſtles Creed; and conſequently at the *Athanaſian* and *Nicene* alſo, which are as Commentaries on that Text; as alſo at the frequent Repetitions of the *Gloria Patri*, which is an Abridgment of the ſame. And in the next place it was required by the Queens *Injunctions*, "That whenſoever the Name of *Jeſus* ſhall be in any Leſſon,
"Sermon, or otherwiſe, in the Church pronounced, that due reve-
"rence be made of all perſons, young and old, with lowneſs of courte-
"ſie, and uncovering the heads of the mankind, as thereunto doth
"neceſſarily belong, and heretofore hath been *accuſtomed*. In which it is to be obſerved, that though this Injunction was publiſhed in the firſt year of the Queen, yet then this bowing at the Name of *Jeſus* was lookt on as an ancient cuſtom; not only uſed in Queen *Maries* Reign, but alſo in King *Edwards* time, and in thoſe before. And in this caſe, and in that before, and in all others of that nature, it is a good and certain rule, that all ſuch Rites as had been practiſed in the Church of *Rome*, and not aboliſht, nor diſclaimed by any Doctrine, Law or Canon of the firſt *Reformers*, were to continue in the ſame ſtate in which they found them. But this commendable cuſtom, together with all other outward reverence in Gods publick Service, being every day more and more diſcontinued, as the *Puritan* Faction got ground amongſt us, it ſeemed good to the *Prelates*, and *Clergie*, aſſembled in *Convocation*, *Anno* 1603. to revive the ſame with ſome enlargement, as to the uncovering of the Head in all the acts and parts of publick worſhip. For thus we have it in the 18. Canon of that year, *viz.* "No man ſhall cover
"his head in the Church or Chappel in time of Divine Service, except
"he have ſome Infirmity; in which caſe let him wear a night-Cap or
"Coife. And likewiſe when the Name of *Jeſus* ſhall be mentioned,
"due and lowly reverence ſhall be done by all perſons preſent, as it
"hath been accuſtomed; teſtifying by this outward Ceremony, and
"Geſture, their inward Humility, Chriſtian Reſolution, and due ac-
"knowledgment, that the *Lord Jeſus* Chriſt the true and eternal Son
"of God is the only Saviour of the world, in whom all Graces, Mercies,
"and Promiſes of Gods love to mankind for this life, and the life to
"come, are wholly compriſed. In which Canon, we have not only the Doctrine, that bowing is to be uſed to the name of *Jeſus*, but the uſes alſo; and not alone the cuſtom, but the reaſons of it: both grounded on that Text of Scripture, *Phil.* 2. 10. that *at the name of JESUS every knee ſhould bow*, according to ſuch expoſitions as were made thereof by St. *Ambroſe*, and others of the ancient Writers.

The reverence to be uſed at the name of Jeſus continued by Injunct. 52.

and

Afterwards renewed by the Canon of the year, 1603.

with

The Reaſons for it.

20. In matters which were meerly *doctrinal*, and not *practical* alſo, XX.

The moderate proceedings of the firſt Reformers,

the firſt *Reformers* carried on the work with the ſame equal temper, as they did thoſe which were either mixt or meerly *practical*. And firſt, beginning with the *Pope*, having diſcharged themſelves from the Supremacy, which in the times foregoing he had exerciſed over them in this Kingdom; I find no Declaration in any publick Monument, or Records of the Church of *England*, that the *Pope* was *Antichriſt*, whatſoever ſome of them might ſay in their private Writings; ſome hard expreſſions there are of him in the Book of Homilies, but none more hard then thoſe in the publick Litany, firſt publiſhed by K. *Henry* VIII. at his going to *Bolongne*, and afterwards retained in both Liturgies of King *Edward* VI. In which the people were to pray *for their deliverance from the tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome *and his deteſtable enormities*, &c. This was conceived to be (as indeed it was) a very great ſcandal and offence to all thoſe in the Realm of *England*, who were well affected to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore in the Liturgie of Queen *Elizabeth* it was quite left out, the better to allure them to the Divine Service of the Church, as at firſt it did: And for the Church of *Rome* it ſelf, they beheld it with no other eyes, then as a member of the viſible Church, which had for many hundred years maintained the *Fundamentals* of the Chriſtian *Faith*, though both unſound in Doctrine and corrupt in *Manners*: Juſt as a man diſtempered in his Brain, Diſeaſed in all the parts of his Body, and languiſhing under many putrified Sores, doth ſtill retain the being of a natural man as long as he hath ſenſe, and motion, and (in his lucid intervals) ſome uſe of Reaſon. They tell us in the 19. Article, *that the Church of* Rome *hath erred not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but in matters of Faith.* But then they lookt upon her as a Member of the Viſible Church, as well as thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, which are there affirmed *to have erred alſo*. *Erre* then ſhe might, and *erre* ſhe did indeed too groſly, and yet might notwithſtanding ſerve as a *conduit-pipe* to convey to us many of thoſe Primitive Truths, and many of thoſe godly *Rites* and *Ceremonies* which ſhe had ſuperſtitiouſly defiled. In which laſt place it was a very pious rule, that in the Reformation of a Church, abuſes being taken away, the primitive Inſtitution ſhould be left remaining; *Tollatur abuſus, maneat uſus*, as the ſaying is: and in the firſt, as piouſly obſerved by King *James* in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, that *in all Reformations, he would not have any ſuch departure from the Papiſts in all things, that becauſe we in ſome points agree with them, therefore we ſhould be accounted to be in an error.* Let us then ſee how near the firſt *Reformers* did and might come unto the *Papiſts*, and yet not joyn with them in their *Errors* to the betraying of the Truth.

In reference to the Pope

and

The Church of ROME,

Obſerved and applauded by K. JAMES.

XXI. The Power of the Church aſſerted in the twentieth Article.

21. The *Pope* they deprived of that unlimited Supremacy, and the Church of *Rome* of that exorbitant power, which they formerly challenged over them; yet did they neither think it fit to leave the Church without her lawful and juſt Authority; nor ſafe to put her out of the protection of the Supream Governour. Touching the firſt, it was reſolved in the 20. Article, "*That the Church hath power not only to decree Rites and Ceremonies, but alſo in Controverſies of Faith*, as the Engliſh, *Eccleſia habet Ritus & Ceremonias Statuendi jus, & in fidei controverſiis Authori-*

Authoritatem, as it is in the Latin. And ſo it ſtands in the Original Acts of the Convocation, *Anno* 1562. and publiſht in the ſelf-ſame words both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. Afterwards in the year 1571. by the power and prevalency of ſome of the *Genevian* Faction the Articles were reprinted, and this Clauſe left out. But the times bettering, and the Governors of the Church taking juſt notice of the danger which lay lurking under that omiſſion; there was care taken that the ſaid Clauſe ſhould be reſtored unto its place in all following impreſſions of that Book, as it hath ever ſince continued: Nor was this part of the Article a matter of *ſpeculation* only, and not reducible to *practice*, or if reducible to *practice*, not fit to be enforced upon ſuch as gain-ſaid the ſame. For in the 34. Article it is thus declared, "That whoſoever "through his private judgment willingly and purpoſely doth openly "break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not "repugnant unto the word of God, and be ordained and approved by "common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may "fear to do the like) as he that offendeth againſt the common order of "the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and "woundeth the Conſciences of the weak Brethren. More power then this, as the See of *Rome* did never challenge; ſo leſs then this, was not reſerved unto it ſelf by the Church of *England*. And as for the *Authority of the Church in controverſies of Faith*, the very Articles by which they declared that power (ſeconded by the reſt of the points which are there determined) is a ſufficient Argument, that they uſed and exerciſed that power which was there declared. And becauſe ſome objection had been made both by the *Papiſts*, and thoſe of the *Genevian* party, that a *Papal* power was granted, as at firſt to King *Henry* VIII. under the name of *Supream Head*, ſo afterwards to Queen *Elizabeth* and her Succeſſors; it was thought expedient by the Church to ſtop that clamour at the firſt; and thereupon it was declared in the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergie (who make the repreſentative Body of the Church of *England*) in the 37. Article of the year 1562. "That "whereas they had attributed to the Queens Majeſty the chief Go-"vernment of all the Eſtates of this Realm, whether *Eccleſiaſtical* or "*Civil* in all caſes, they did not give unto their Princes, the mini-"ſtring either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments, but that only *Pre-"rogative* which was known to have been given always to all godly "Princes, in Holy Scripture by God himſelf; that is to ſay, that they "ſhould rule all *Eſtates* and *Degrees* committed to their charge by God, "whether they be *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Temporal*, and reſtrain with the Civil "Sword the ſtubborn and evil doers. Leſs *Power* then this, as good Subjects could not give unto their King; ſo more then this, hath there not been exerciſed or deſired by the Kings of *England*. Such power as was by God vouchſafed to the godly Kings and Princes in Holy Scripture, may ſerve abundantly to ſatisfie even the unlimited deſires of the mightieſt *Monarch*, were they as boundleſs as the *Popes*.

In the 34th. reduced to practice, and

Of the power aſcribed in Sacred Matters to the Kings of ENGLAND.

22. Next to the point of the *Supremacy*, eſteemed the Principal Article of Religion in the Church of *Rome* (*primus & præcipuus* Romanenſis *fidei Articulus*) as is affirmed in the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, the

XXII. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper called frequently,

the moſt material differences betwixt them and us relate to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and the natural *efficacy* of good works, in which the differences betwixt them and the firſt *Reformers* ſeem to be at the greateſt; though even in thoſe they came as near to them as might ſtand with Piety. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper they called the Sacrament of the *Altar*, as appears plainly by the Statute 1 *Edward* VI. entituled, *An Act againſt ſuch as ſpeak unreverently againſt the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, commonly called the Sacrament of the ALTAR*: For which conſult the Body of the Act it ſelf. Or ſecondly, by Biſhop *Ridley* (one of the chief Compilers of the Common-Prayer-Book) who doth not only call it the *Sacrament of the Altar*, affirming thus, *that in the Sacrament of the* Altar, *is the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt.* &c. But in his Reply to an Argument of the Biſhop of *Lincoln's*, taken out of St. *Cyril*, he doth reſolve it thus, *viz.* "The word "*Altar* in the Scripture ſignifieth as well the *Altar* whereon the Jews "were wont to offer there Burnt Sacrifice, as the Table of the Lords "Supper: and that St. *Cyril* meaneth by this word *Altar*, not the "*Jewiſh Altar*, but the Table of the Lord, *&c. Acts and Mon.* part 3. p. 492. and 497. Thirdly, By Biſhop *Latimer* his fellow-Martyr, who plainly grants, "That the Lords Table may be called an *Altar*, and "that the Doctors called it ſo in many places, though there be no pro-"pitiatory Sacrifice, but only Chriſt, *part* 2. *p.* 85. Fourthly, By the ſeveral affirmations of *John Lambert*, and *John Philpot*, two Learned and Religious men, whereof the one ſuffered death for Religion under *Henry* VIII. the other in the fiery time of Queen *Mary*. This Sacrament being called by both, the Sacrament of the *Altar* in their ſeveral times: for which conſult the Acts and Monuments commonly called the *Book of Martyrs*.

The Sacrament of the Altar, as, viz. by the Act of Parliament,

by

Biſhop RIDLEY,

and

Biſhop LATIMER,

Some other Martyrs.

XXIII. 23. And that this Sacrament might the longer preſerve that name, and the Lords Supper be adminiſtred with the more ſolemnity, it was ordained in the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth*, no *Altar* ſhould be taken down, but by the over-ſight of the Curate of the Church, and the Church-Wardens, or one of them at leaſt, and that the Holy Table in every Church be decently made and ſet up in the place where the *Altar* ſtood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth. It is beſides declared in the Books of Orders, *Anno* 1561. publiſhed about two years after the ſaid *Injunction*, "That in the place where the Steps "were, the Communion Table ſhould ſtand; and that there ſhall be "fixed on the Wall over the Communion Board, the Tables of Gods "Precepts imprinted for the ſame purpoſe. The like occurs in the Advertiſements publiſhed by the *Metropolitan*, and others the High Commiſſioners, 1565. In which it is ordered, "That the Pariſh ſhall provide "a decent Table, ſtanding on a frame for the Communion-Table, "which they ſhall decently cover with a Carpet of Silk, or other de-"cent covering, and with a white Linen Cloth in the time of the ad-"miniſtration, and ſhall ſet the Ten Commandments upon the Eaſt-"Wall over the ſaid Table. All which being laid together, amounts to this, that the Communion-Table was to ſtand above the ſteps, and under the Commandments; therefore all along the Wall, on which the

The Lords Table ordered to be placed where the Altar ſtood,

by the Injunctions of Q. ELIZ. 1559.

The Book of Orders, 1561.

and

Advertiſ. of the year 1565.

and

Ten

Ten Commandments were appointed to be placed, which was directly where the *Altar* had ſtood before. Now that the *Holy Table* in what poſture ſoever it be plac't, ſhould not be thought unuſeful at all other times, but only at the time of the Miniſtration; it was appointed by the Church in its firſt *Reformation*, that the *Communion-Service*, commonly called the *Second Service*, upon all Sundays and Holy-days, ſhould be read only at the Holy Table. For firſt in the laſt *Rubrick* before the beginning of that Service, it is ordered, that the Prieſt ſtanding at the Holy Table ſhall ſay the Lords Prayer, with the Collect following, *&c.* And it is ordered in the firſt Rubrick after the Communion, "That on the Holy Days (if there be no Communion) ſhall be "ſaid all that is appointed at the Communion until the end of the Ho- "mily; concluding with the general Prayer for Chriſts Church Mili- "tant here on earth, and one or more of the Collects before reherſed, "as occaſion ſhall ſerve. No place appointed for the reading of the ſecond Service, but only at the *Altar*, or Communion-Table.

At the ſame the ſecond Service to be ſaid on the Sundays and Holy Days.

XXIV. The Lords Supper frequently called a Sacrifice by

24. Here then we have the Wood, the *Altar*; *ſed ubi eſt victima holocauſti* (as *Iſaac* ſaid unto his Father) *But where is the Lamb for the burnt-offering?* Gen. 22. 7. Aſſuredly, if *the Prieſt* and *Altar* be ſo near, the *Lamb* for the Burnt-offering cannot be far off, even the moſt bleſſed *Lamb of God*; *which taketh away the ſins of the world*, as the Scripture ſtyles him, whoſe Paſſion we find commemorated in the Sacrament, called therefore the Sacrament of the *Altar*, as before is ſaid: called for the ſame reaſon by St. *Auguſtine* in his *Enchiridion*, *Sacrificium Altaris*, the *Sacrifice* of the *Altar*; by the Engliſh *Liturgie* in the Prayer next after the *participation*, the *Sacrifice of praiſe and thanksgiving* (*Sacrificium laudis*;) by *Chryſoſtom*, Ἀναίμακτος θυσία, the remembrance of a *Sacrifice*; by many Learned Writers amongſt our ſelves, a *commemorative Sacrifice*. For thus ſaith Biſhop *Andrews* in his anſwer to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, c. 8. *Tollite de Miſſa Tranſubſtantiationem veſtram, nec diu nobiſcum lis erit de Sacrificio*, &c. "Take from the Maſs your "*Tranſubſtantiation*, and we will have no difference with you about "the *Sacrifice*. And the King grants (he means the learned Prince, "King *James*) the name of a *Sacrifice* to have been frequent with the Fathers. Which *Sacrifice* he ſometimes calls *Commemorationem Sacrificii*, and ſometimes *Sacrificium Commemorativum*, *A Commemorative Sarcifice*. The like we find in Biſhop *Morton*, who in his Book of the Roman Sacrifice, *l.* 6. *c.* 5. called the *Euchariſt*, *a repreſentative* and *commemorative Sacrifice*, in as plain terms as can be ſpoken. But what need any thing have been ſaid for the proof hereof, when the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, one (and the chief) of the Compilers of the publick Liturgie, and one who ſuffered death for oppoſing the *Sacrifice* of the Maſs, diſtinguiſheth moſt plainly between the *Sarifice propitiatory*, made by Chriſt himſelf only, and the *Sacrifice commemorative* and gratulatory made by Prieſts and People: for which conſult his Defence againſt Biſhop *Gardiner*, *lib.* 5. *p.* 439. And finally the teſtimony of *John Lambert*, who ſuffered for his Conſcience in the time of King *Henry* VIII. whoſe words are theſe: "Chriſt (ſaith he) "being offered up *once for all* in his own proper perſon, is yet ſaid to be

The Ancient Fathers,

By many Learned men amongſt our ſelves.

Some of our godly Martyrs alſo,

"be offered up, not only every year at *Eaſter*, but alſo every day in "the Celebration of the Sacrament; becauſe his Oblations *once for all*, "made it thereby repreſented, *Act. Mon.* p. 2. 35. So uniform is the "conſent of our Liturgie, our Martyrs, and our Learned Writers in the "name of *Sacrifice*; ſo that we may behold the *Euchariſt* or the Lords "Supper. First, as it is a *Sacrifice*, and or the *Commemoration* of that *Sacrifice* offered unto God; by which both we and the whole Church do obtain remiſſion of our Sins, and all other benefits of Chriſts Paſſion. And ſecondly, As it is a *Sacrament*, participated by men, by which we hope, that being made partakers of that Holy Communion, we may be fulfilled with his Grace and heavenly Benediction. Both which occur in the next Prayer after the Communion. Look on it as a *Sacrifice*, and then the Lords Board not improperly may be called an *Altar*, as it is properly called the Table in reſpect of the *Sacrament*.

and

In what reſpect.

XXV. A Real Preſence proved by The publick Liturgie,

25. With the like uniform conſent we find the Doctrine of a *Real Preſence* in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper to be maintained and taught in the firſt Conſtitution of this Church: and this is firſt concluded from the words of *Diſtribution*, retained in the firſt *Liturgie* of King *Edward* VI. and formerly preſcribed in the ancient *Miſſals*, viz. *The Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto life everlaſting. The Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was ſhed for thee*, &c. Which words being thought by ſome preciſe and ſcrupulous perſons to incline too much toward *Tranſubſtantiation* (and therefore not unfit to juſtifie a Real Preſence) were quite omitted in the ſecond Liturgie of that King: the words of *Participation, Take and eat this*, &c. *Take and drink this*, &c. being uſed in the place thereof. Which alteration notwithſtanding, it is affirmed by Biſhop *Ridley* (one of the principal Compilers of theſe two Books) *that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt.* And if there be the *Natural Body*, there muſt needs be a *Real Preſence* in his opinion. When this laſt *Liturgie* was reviewed by the command of Queen *Elizabeth Anno* 1558. the former clauſe was ſuper-added to the other, which put the buſineſs into the ſame ſtate and condition in which we find it at the firſt. And when by the Articles of Religion, agreed upon in Convocation, *Anno* 1562. the *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs* was declared to be a pernicious Impoſture, a blaſphemous Figment, and that Tranſubſtantiation was declared to be repugnant to the plain words of Holy Scripture, to overthrow the Nature of a Sacrament, and to have given occaſion to many Superſtitions; yet ſtill the Doctrine of a *Real Preſence* was maintained as formerly. *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of St. *Pauls*, was choſen Prolocutor for that Convocation, and therefore as like to know the true intent and meaning of the Church of *England* in every point which was there concluded, as any other whatſoever; and yet he thought it no contradiction to any of them to maintain and teach a *Real Preſence*. For in his *Catechiſm* publickly allowed of in all the Grammar Schools of this Realm, he firſt propounds this queſtion, *viz. Cœleſtis pars & ab omni ſenſu externo longè disjuncta, quænam eſt*, &c. that is to ſay, What is the Heavenly, or Spiritual part of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which no ſenſe is able to diſcover?

By Biſhop RIDLEY,

By Mr. *Alex. Nowel.*

ver? To which the party Catechized returns this anſwer, *Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, quæ fidelibus in cœna dominica præbentur, ab illis accipiuntur, comeduntur, & bibuntur, cœleſti tantùm & ſpirituali modo, verè tamen atque reipſa.* That is to ſay, the heavenly or ſpiritual part is the Body and Blood of Chriſt which are given to the faithful in the Lords Supper, and are taken, eaten, and drank by them; which though it be only in an heavenly and ſpiritual manner; yet are they both given and taken *truly* and *really* or in very deed. Conform to which we have in brief the Suffrage of the Right Learned Biſhop *Bilſon*, who lived the greateſt part of his time with the ſaid Mr. *Nowel*, by whom we are told in his Book of *True Subject*, &c. p. 779. And he tells it with a God forbid, that we deny not, "That the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt are "truly preſent and truly received of the faithful at the *Lords Ta-* "*ble.*

and

By Biſhop BILSON.

XXVI. The ſame confirmed by the words of the Catechiſm,

26. A clear explication of which Doctrine was made in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, by whoſe appointment, with the conſent of the *Metropolitan*, ſome of the Biſhops and other learned men of the *Clergie*, it was ordered in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, that the Doctrine of the Sacraments ſhould be added to the Authorized Catechiſm of the Church, where before it was not: in which addition to the Catechiſm, it is ſaid expreſly, *That the Body and Blood of Chriſt are verily and indeed taken of the Faithful in the Lords Supper. Verily and indeed*, ſaith the Engliſh Book, *Vere & reipſa*, or *Vere & realiter*, ſaith the Latine Tranſlation; by which the Church doth teach us to underſtand, that Chriſt is *truly* and *really* preſent (though after a *ſpiritual* manner) in that Bleſſed Sacrament. And that this was the Churches meaning will be made apparent, by the Teſtimony of ſome of the moſt learned men, which have written ſince; two of which I ſhall here produce, that *out of the mouths of two ſuch Witneſſes*, the truth hereof may be *eſtabliſhed*. The firſt of theſe ſhall be the moſt eminent Biſhop *Andrews*, a contemporary of the ſaid Biſhop *Bilſon*, who in his anſwer unto Cardinal *Bellarmine*, thus declares himſelf, *Præſentiam credimus non minus quam vos veram, deinde præſentiæ nil temere definimus:* We acknowledge (ſaith he) a *preſence* as true and real as you do, but we determine nothing raſhly of the manner of it. The ſecond ſhall be Biſhop *Morton*; as great an enemy to the Errors and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, as any that ever wrote againſt it, who could not but be ſixty years of age at the death of Biſhop *Andrews*; and he affirms expreſly, "That the queſtion betwixt us and the *Papiſts* "is not concerning a *Real preſence*, which the Proteſtants (as their "own Jeſuites witneſs) do alſo profeſs. *Fortunatus*, a Proteſtant, holding that Chriſt is in the Sacrament moſt *Really*, *Veriſſime*, *Realiſſime*, as his words are. By which it ſeems it is agreed on on both ſides (that is to ſay, the Church of *England*, and the Church of *Rome*) that there is a *true* and *real* Preſence of Chriſt in the Holy *Euchariſt*; the diſagreement being only in the *modus præſentiæ*.

As alſo by the teſtimony of Biſhop ANDREWS,

Biſhop *Morton*.

XXVII. The Article of Chriſts deſcent made figurative.

27. The like Diſpute is alſo raiſed *de modo deſcenſus*, touching the manner and extent of Chriſts *Deſcending* into Hell, which the *Papiſts* will have to be only partial, and to extend no farther then to the upper Region

Region of that infernal Habitation, called by them commonly *Limbus Patrum.* The *Calviniſts* will have it to be only figurative, no *deſcent* at all, and they are ſub-divided into three opinions. *Calvin* himſelf interprets it of our Saviours Sufferings on the Croſs, in which he underwent all thoſe torments, even to *Deſperation*, which the damned do endure in Hell. Many of the *Calvinian* party underſtand nothing by Chriſts *Deſcent* into Hell, but his *Deſcending* into the Grave; and then his deſcending into Hell will be the ſame with his being buried. Which Tautology in ſuch a ſhort ſummary of the Chriſtian Faith cannot be eaſily admitted. And therefore the late Lord *Primate* of *Ireland* not liking either of their opinions, will find a new way by himſelf; in which I cannot ſay what leaders he had, but I am ſure he hath had many followers. And he by Chriſts deſcending into Hell, will have nothing elſe to be underſtood but his *continuing in the ſtate of Separation between the Body and the Soul, his remaining under the power of death during the time that he lay buried in the Grave*, which is no more in effect, though it differ ſomewhat in the terms, then to ſay he dyed and was buried, and roſe not again till the third day, as the Creed inſtructs us; and then we are but where we were with the other *Calviniſts*. Bnt on the contrary, the Church of *England* doth maintain a *Local Deſcent*, that is to ſay, "That the Soul of Chriſt at ſuch time as "his Body lay in the Grave, did *Locally Deſcend* into the nethermoſt "parts, in which the Devil and his Angels are reſerved in everlaſt-"ing Chains of Darkneſs, unto the Judgment of the great and terri-"ble Day. And this appears to be the meaning of the firſt *Reformers*, by giving this Article a diſtinct place by its ſelf, both in the Book of *Articles*, publiſhed in the time of King *Edward* VI. *Anno* 1552, and in the Book agreed upon in the Convocation of the 5. of Queen *Elizabeth*, 1564. in both which it is ſaid expreſly in the ſelf-ſame words, *viz. As Chriſt dyed for us and was buried, ſo alſo is it to be believed that he went down into Hell*: which is either to be underſtood of a *Local Deſcent*, or elſe we are tyed to believe nothing by it, but what explicitely or implicitely is comprehended in the former Article, in which there is particular mention of Chriſts Sufferings, Crucifying, Death, and Burial. Now that this is the Churches meaning, cannot be better manifeſted then in the words of Mr. *Alexander Nowel* before-mentioned; who for the reaſons before remembred, cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to be ignorant of the true ſenſe and meaning of the Church in that particular: and he accordingly in his Catechiſm publickly allowed of, with reference to a *Local Deſcent*, doth declare it thus, *viz. Ut Chriſtus corpore in terræ viſcera; ita anima, corpore ſeparata, ad inferos deſcendit*, &c. that is, "As Chriſt deſcended in his Body into the "bowels of the earth, ſo in his Soul, ſeparated from that Body, he de-"ſcended alſo into Hell; by means whereof the power and efficacy "of his Death was not made known only to the dead, but to the "Devils themſelves: inſomuch that both the ſouls of the unbelievers "did ſenſibly perceive that condemnation, which was moſt juſtly due "to them for their incredulity: and Satan himſelf, the Prince of De-"vils, did as plainly ſee, that his tyranny, and all the powers of darkneſs

by *Calvin*,

and

The Lord Primate,

but

Juſtified to be Local,

By the Articles of the Church of ENGLAND.

The words of Mr. *Alexander Nowel*,

and

darkneſs were oppreſt, ruined, and deſtroyed. Which Doctrine (when it began to be decryed, and the *Calvinian Gloſs*, to get ground upon it) was learnedly aſſerted by Dr. *Thomas Bilſon*, then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in his Book, entituled *A Survey of Chriſts Sufferings*; in which he hath amaſſed together, whatſoever the Fathers, Greek and Latine, or any of the ancient Writers have affirmed of this Article, with all the points and branches which depend upon it.

The works of Learned Biſhop *Bilſon*

XXVIII. The neceſſity of Baptiſm maintained by the firſt Reformers.

28. The Sufferings of Chriſt repreſented in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, with ſome of the effects thereof by his deſcending into Hell, being thus diſpatched, we ſhall next look into that of *Baptiſm*, in which we ſhall conſider the *neceſſity* firſt, and afterwards the *efficacy* of it: And firſt in reference to the *Neceſſity*. The firſt Reformers did not only allow the adminiſtration of this Sacrament in *private* houſes, but permitted it to private perſons, even to women alſo. For it was ordered in the *Rubrick* of *Private Baptiſm*, "That when "any great need ſhall compel (as in extremity of weakneſs) they "which are preſent ſhall call upon God for his Grace, and ſay the "Lords Prayer if the time will ſuffer, and then one of them ſhall name "the Child, and dip him in the Water, or pour Water upon him, "ſaying theſe words, N. *I Baptize thee in the name of the Father*, &c. At which paſſage when King *James* ſeemed to be offended in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, becauſe of the liberty which they gave to *Women* and *Laicks*: It was anſwered then by Dr. *Whitgift*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, "That the adminiſtration of *Baptiſm* by Women "and Lay Perſons, was not allowed in the practice of the Church: "but enquired of, and cenſured by the *Biſhops* in their *Viſitations*; "and that the words in the Book inferred no ſuch meaning. Againſt which when the King excepted, urging and preſſing the words of the Book, that they could not but intend a permiſſion and ſuffering of Women, and private Perſons to Baptize: It was anſwered by Dr. *Bubington*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, "That indeed the words were "doubtful, and might be preſſed to that meaning, but that it ſeemed "by the contrary practice of this Church (cenſuring Women in this "caſe) That the Compilers of that Book did not ſo intend them, and "yet propounded them ambiguouſly, becauſe otherwiſe perhaps the "Book would not have then paſſed in the Parliament. But then ſtood forth the Biſhop of *London*, (Dr. *Bancroft*) and plainly ſaid, "That it was not the intent of thoſe Learned and Reverend men, who "framed the Book of *Common-Prayer*, by ambiguous terms to deceive "any; but did indeed by thoſe words intend a permiſſion of private "perſons to Baptize in caſe of *Neceſſity*, whereof their Letters were "witneſſes, ſome parts whereof he then read; and withal declared, "That the ſame was agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church, "as appeared by the Authority of *Tertullian*, and of St. *Ambroſe* on "the 4th. of the *Epheſians*, who are plain in that point; laying alſo open the abſurdities and impieties of their opinions who think there is no *neceſſity* of *Baptiſm*. And though at the motion of that King it was ordered that the words *Lawful Miniſter* ſhould be put into the *Rubrick* (*Firſt let the LAWFUL MINISTER, and them that be preſent, call upon God*

Juſtified in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*,

and

Not gain-ſaid by any alteration in the publick Rubrick,

God for his Grace, &c. *The ſaid LAWFUL MINISTER ſhall dip it into the Water*, &c. yet was the alteration greater in ſound then ſenſe, it being the opinion of many great Clerks, that any man in caſes of extream *neceſſity* (who can pronounce the words of *Baptiſm*) may paſs in the account and notion of a *lawful Miniſter*. So much for the *neceſſity* of *Baptiſm*. And as for the *efficacy* thereof, it is ſaid expreſly in the 27. *Article*, "To be a ſign of *Regeneration*, or *New Birth*, "whereby, as by an Inſtrument, they that receive *Baptiſm* rightly, "are grafted into the Church; the promiſes of forgiveneſs of Sin, and of "our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghoſt, are viſibly "ſigned and ſealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace is increaſed by vertue of Prayer unto God: and, as expreſly it is ſaid in one of the "*Rubricks* before *Confirmation*, That it is certain by Gods word, that "Children being *Baptized*, have all things neceſſary for their Salva"tion, and be undoubtedly ſaved: that is to ſay (for ſo it muſt be underſtood) in caſe they dye before they fall into the committing of *Actual* Sins.

and

Of the efficacy aſcribed unto it by the Church.

XXIX. Juſtification how divided betwixt Faith and Works,

29. Touching *good works*, and how far they conduce unto our *Juſtification*, the breach was wider at the firſt breakings out of *Luther* then it hath been ſince: *Luther* aſcribing *Juſtification* unto *Faith* alone, without relation unto *Works*; and thoſe of *Rome* aſcribing it to good *Works* alone, without relation unto *Faith*, which they reckoned only amongſt the *preparatives* unto it. But when the point had been long canvaſed, and the firſt heats were ſomewhat cooled, they began to come more neer unto one another. For when the *Papiſts* attributed *Juſtification* unto *Works* alone, they deſired to be underſtood of ſuch good *Works* as proceeded from a true and lively *Faith*: and when the *Lutherans* aſcribed it to *Faith* alone, they deſired to be underſtood of ſuch a *Faith* as was productive of good *Works*, and attended by them. The *Papiſts* thereupon began to cheriſh the diſtinction between the firſt and the ſecond *Juſtification*, aſcribing the firſt unto *Faith* only; the ſecond (which the *Proteſtants* more properly called by the name of *Sanctification*) to the *works* of Righteouſneſs. The *Proteſtants* on the other ſide diſtinguiſhing between *Fides ſola*, and *ſolitaria*, between *ſola Fides*, and *Fides quæ eſt ſola*; intending by that nicety, that, though *Faith* alone doth *juſtifie* a ſinner in the ſight of God: yet that is not ſuch a *Faith* as was alone, but ſtood accompanied with good *Works*. And in this way the Church of *England* went in her Reformation, declaring in the 11. *Article*, "That we are accounted righteous before "God, only for the Merits of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt* by "Faith, and not for our works or deſervings. Which Juſtification by Faith only is further declared to be a moſt wholſome Doctrine, and very full of comfort; for which we are referred to the Book of *Homilies*. And in the Book of *Homilies* we ſhall alſo find, "That we "may well bear the name of Chriſtian men; but we lack that true "*Faith* which belongeth thereunto: For true *Faith* doth evermore "bring forth good *Works*, (as St. *James* ſpeaketh) Shew me thy *Faith* "by thy *Works*. Thy Deeds and *Works* muſt be an open teſtimony of "thy *Faith*; otherwiſe thy *Faith* being without good *Works*, is but the

In what reſpects aſcribed to Faith, by the Church of ENGLAND,

and

In what to Works.

Devils

"Devils *faith*, the *faith* of the wicked, a phantaſie of *Faith*, and not "a true Chriſtian *Faith*. And that the people might be trained up in the works of Righteouſneſs, it is declared in the 7th. Article, That no Chriſtian man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral. According whereunto, it is ordered by the publick *Liturgie*, that the ſaid Commandments ſhall be openly read in the Congregation upon *Sundays* and *Holy Days* (contrary to the uſage of all ancient *Liturgies*) the people humbly praying God, *To have mercy upon them for their tranſgreſſion of thoſe Laws*; and no leſs humbly praying him *To incline their hearts to keep the ſame*. So that, though Faith muſt lead the way to our *Juſtification*; yet holineſs of life manifeſted in the works of *Charity*, and all other acts of godly living, muſt open the way for us to the Gates of Heaven, and procure our entrance at the ſame, as is apparent by the 25. of St. *Matthews* Goſpel, from *verſe* 34. to 41.

XXX. Of the efficacy of good Works,

30. Which being ſo, it may be well affirmed without any wrong to Faith, that good Works are neceſſary to ſalvation; and not ſo only: but that they are *efficienter neceſſaria*, as was maintained publickly in the Schools of *Cambridge*, though it was much carpt at by ſome men that did not rightly and diſtinctly underſtand the term. And ſecondly, It may be ſaid without any wrong to the *Free Grace and Merits* of Almighty God, that a reward is due for the *Works of Righteouſneſs* proceeding from a *lively Faith*, in a man regenerate; not that the Church aſcribeth any merit to the works of man, which may deſerve eternal life, either *ex congruo*, or *condigno*, as the School-men phraſe it; for *Deus non coronat in nobis merita noſtra ſed dona ſua*, as the Father hath it. No reward is due unto good Works, *ratione operis*, in reference to the work it ſelf: but *ratione pacti & acceptationis* (though *Bellarmine* be otherwiſe minded) in reſpect of Gods merciful acceptance, and his moſt gracious promiſe to reward the ſame. It was his grace and goodneſs only which moved him to encourage our imperfect and weak obedience with the promiſe of eternal life: yet having made the promiſe, he became our debtor, *Non aliquid debendo, ſed omnia promittendo, Deus ſe fecit debitorem*, as St. *Auguſtine* tells us. And moſt agreeable it is to his heavenly juſtice, not to be wanting to his promiſe. Such a *Reward* as this for the works of Righteouſneſs, as the Scriptures frequently do mention both in the *Old Teſtament* and *New*, *Gen.* 47. *Pſalm* 19. 11. *Mat.* 5. 12. and 10. 41, 42. *Mark* 9. 41. *Apoc.* 22. 11. ſo is the ſame defended in the Church of *England*. And this appears firſt by the *Athanaſian* Creed, incorporated into the body of our publick Liturgie, as a part thereof. In the cloſe of which it is affirmed, "That "at Chriſts coming unto Judgment all men ſhall riſe again with their "bodies, and give an account of their own works, that they which "have done good ſhall go into life everlaſting, and they that have "done evil into everlaſting fire. And ſecondly, It appears as plainly by the Collect for the 25. Sunday after Trinity, where the Church called on the Lord, "To ſtir up the wills of his faithful people, that they "plenteouſly bring forth the fruits of good works, may of him be "plenteouſly rewarded, through *Jeſus Chriſt*. In which we have not

and

The Reward belonging to them,

and

Of the Doctrine of the Church of ENGLAND in that particular.

only a *reward for the fruit of good works*, but a *plentiful reward* into the bargain, according to the quality of the work it ſelf, and the acceptableneſs of the perſon in the ſight of God.

XXXI. The great Diviſions in the Church touching Predeſtination.

31. Next look we on the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, and the points depending thereupon, which have given matter of diviſion to the Chriſtian Church in all times and ages, dividing between the general current of the Fathers till St. *Auguſtines* time, and the learned men which followed him and his authority; between the *Jeſuites* and *Franciſcans* on the one ſide, and the *Dominicans* on the other in the Church of *Rome*; between the *moderate* and *rigid Lutherans* in the Church *Proteſtant*; between the *Remonſtrants*, and the *Contra-Remonſtrants* in the Schools of *Calvin*; and finally between the *Sub-lapſarians*, and the *Supra-lapſarians*, amongſt the *Contra-Remonſtrants* themſelves. Of theſe the *Sub-lapſarian Calviniſts* (for of the dotages of the other I ſhall take no notice) the *Rigid Lutherans* and the *Dominican Friars* pretend St. *Auguſtine* for their Patron: and on the other ſide, the *Remonſtrants*, (commonly nick-named *Arminians*) The *Moderate* or *Melanchthonian Lutherans*, together with the *Jeſuits* and *Franciſcans*, appeal unto the general current of the ancient Fathers, who lived and flouriſhed *ante mota certamina Pelagiana*, before the ſtarting up of the *Pelagian* Controverſies. And to this general current of the ancient Fathers, the Church of *England* moſt inclines; teaching according to their Doctrine, that God from all eternity, intending to demonſtrate his power and goodneſs, deſigned the Creation of the World, the making of man *after his own Image*, and leaving him ſo made, in a perfect liberty to do or not to do what he was commanded; and that fore-knowing alſo from all eternity, that man abuſing this liberty, would plunge himſelf and his poſterity into a gulph of miſeries, he graciouſly reſolved to provide them ſuch a *Saviour* who ſhould redeem them from their ſins; to elect all thoſe to life eternal, who by true Faith laid hold upon him, leaving the reſt in the ſame ſtate in which he found them, for their incredulity. It is reported of *Agilmond* the ſecond, King of the *Lombards*, that riding by a Fiſh-Pond, he ſaw ſeven young Children ſprawling in it, whom their unnatural Mothers (as *Paulus Diaconus* conceived) had thrown into it not long before. Amazed whereat, he put his Hunting Spear amongſt them, and ſtirred them gently up and down, which one of them laying hold of, was drawn to Land, called *Lamiſtus*, from the word *Lama*; which in the Language of that people ſignifies a Fiſh-Pond, trained up in that Kings Court, and finally made his Succeſſor in the Kingdom. Granting that *Agilmond* being forewarned in a Viſion, that he ſhould find ſuch Children ſprawling for life in the midſt of that Pond, might thereupon take a reſolution within himſelf to put his Hunting Spear amongſt them; and that which of them ſoever ſhould lay hold upon it, ſhould be gently drawn out of the water, adopted for his Son, and made Heir of all his Kingdom: no humane Story could afford us the like parallel caſe to Gods proceeding in the great work of *Predeſtination* to eternal life, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The ſtating of the point by the Church of ENGLAND,

Illuſtrated by the ſtory of *Agilmond* and *Lamiſtus*, Kings of *Lombardy*.

XXXII. 32. Now, that ſuch was the Doctrine of the firſt *Reformers*, may be made

made evident by the *Definition* of *Predeſtination*, "Predeſtination unto life (ſaith the 17. Article) is the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath conſtantly declared by his Council, ſecret to us, to deliver from curſe and damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting Salvation. In which *Definition* there are theſe things to be obſerved; Firſt, That *Predeſtination* doth pre-ſuppoſe a curſe or a ſtate of Damnation, in which all mankind was preſented to the ſight of God. Secondly, That it is an act of his from everlaſting, becauſe from everlaſting he foreſaw that miſery into which wretched man would fall. Thirdly, That he founded it, and reſolved for it in the Man and Mediator Chriſt Jeſus, both for the purpoſe and performance. Fourthly, That it was of ſome ſpecial ones alone, *Elect*, *called forth*, and *reſerved in Chriſt*, and not generally extended unto all mankind. Fifthly, That being thus elected in Chriſt, they ſhall be brought by Chriſt to everlaſting ſalvation. Aud ſixthly, That this Council is ſecret unto us; for though there be revealed to us ſome hopeful ſigns of our *Election* and *Predeſtination unto life*: yet the certainty thereof is a ſecret hidden in God, and in this life unknown to us. Nothing obſcure in this Definition but theſe words, *Whom he hath choſen in Chriſt*; which being the very words of the Apoſtle, *Eph.* 1. 4. are generally interpreted by the ancient Fathers, of thoſe who *do believe in Chriſt*. For thus St. *Ambroſe* amongſt others, *Sicut elegit nos in ipſo*, as he hath choſen us in him; *Præſcius enim Deus omnes ſcit qui crediturí eſſent in Chriſtum*. For God (ſaith he) by his general Preſcience did fore-know every man that would believe in Chriſt: The like ſaith *Chryſoſtom* on the Text. And that our firſt Reformers did conceive ſo, it appears by that of Biſhop *Latimer* in his Sermon on the third Sunday after the *Epiphany*, "When (ſaith he) we hear that ſome be *choſen*, and ſome be *damned*, let us have good *hope*, that we be among the *choſen*, and live after this *hope*, that is uprightly and godly; then ſhall we not be deceived. Think that God hath choſen thoſe that *believe in Chriſt*; and Chriſt is the *Book of Life*: If thou believeſt in him, then art thou written in the *Book of Life*, and ſhalt be ſaved. Secondly, The Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, as before laid down, may be further proved out of the laſt clauſe of the ſaid 17. Article, where it is ſaid, "That we muſt receive Gods promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture; and that in all our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſly declared to us in the word of God. Then which nothing can be more repugnant to the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, delivered by the *Contra-Remonſtrants* (whether *Supra-lapſarian*, or *Sub-lapſarian*, is no great matter) which reſtrains *Predeſtination unto Life* to a few particulars, without reſpect had to their *Faith* in *Chriſt*, or to *Chriſts* Sufferings and Death for them: which few particulars ſo *predeſtinated* to life eternal, ſhall (as they teach us) by an irreſiſtible Grace, be brought to God, and by the infallible conduct of the Holy Spirit, be preſerved from falling away from grace and favour.

Predeſtination how defined.

The definition explicated.

The explication juſtified by the ancient Fathers,

By Biſhop LATIMER,

and

The laſt clauſe of the 17th. Article.

33. Such

XXXIII. The Church why ſilent in the point of Reprobation.

33. Such is the Churches Doctrine in the point of *Election* or *Predeſtination unto life*, but in the point of *Reprobation* or *Predeſtination* unto death, ſhe is utterly ſilent; leaving it to be gathered upon *Logical* Inferences from that which is delivered by her in the point of *Election* (for *Contrariorum contraria eſt ratio*, as *Logicians* ſay) though that which is ſo gathered ought rather to be called, a *Derelict*ion, then a *Reprobation*. No ſuch *abſolute irreverſible*, and *irreſpective* decree of *Reprobation* taught or maintained in any publick Monument or Record of the Church of *England*, by which the far greateſt part of mankind are præ-ordained (and conſequently præ-condemned to the pit of Torments) without reſpect had unto their ſins, as the *Supra-lapſarians*, or to their credulities, as generally is maintained by the *Sub-lapſarians* in the Schools of *Calvin*. Much I am ſure there is againſt it in the Writings of Biſhop *Hooper*, and Biſhop *Latimer*, who took great pains in the firſt carrying on of the *Reformation*; and therefore we may judge by them of the Churches meaning in that particular. For in the Preface to a Book written by *John Hooper*, afterwards Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, containing an Expoſition of the Ten Commandments, and publiſhed, *Anno* 1550. we ſhall find it thus, *viz.* "That *Cain* was no more excluded from the promiſe of *Chriſt*, till he excluded himſelf, then *Abel*; *Saul*, then *David*; *Judas*, then *Peter*; *Eſau*, then *Jacob*: that God is ſaid to have hated *Eſau*, not becauſe he was diſ-inherited of eternal Life, but in *laying his Mountains and his Heritage waſte for the Dragons of the Wilderneſs*, Mal. 1. 3. That the threatnings of God againſt *Eſau*, (if he had not of his wilfull malice excluded himſelf from the promiſe of grace) ſhould no more have hindered his Salvation, then Gods *threatnings* againſt *Ninive*, &c. That it is not a Chriſtian mans part to ſay, That God hath written fatal Laws, as the *Stoick*, and with neceſſity of deſtiny, violently pulleth the one by the hair into *Heaven*, and thruſteth the other head-long into *Hell*; that the cauſe of *Rejection*, or *Damnation* is ſin in man, which will not hear, neither receive the promiſe of the Goſpel, *&c.* And in a Sermon on the third Sunday after *Epiphany*, we find Biſhop *Latimer* ſpeaking thus, *viz.* "That if the moſt are damned, the fault is not in God, but in themſelves; for *Deus vult omnes homines ſalvos fieri*, God would that all men ſhould be ſaved, but they themſelves procure their own *damnation*, and deſpiſe the *Paſſion* of Chriſt by their wicked and inordinate living. Thus alſo in his fourth Sermon Preached in *Lincolnſhire*, "That *Chriſt* only, and no man elſe merited *Remiſſion*, *Juſtification*, and eternal felicity, for as many as will believe the ſame; that Chriſt ſhed as much Blood for *Judas*, as for *Peter*; that *Peter* believed it, and therefore was ſaved; that *Judas* would not believe, therefore was condemned; the fault being in him only, and no body elſe. More of which paſſages might be gathered from the Writings of thoſe godly Martyrs, were not theſe ſufficient. And though the *Calvinian* fancies in the points of *Election* and *Reprobation* got ſo much ground on this Church, that they began to be obtruded on the people for the Doctrines of it; yet were they vigorouſly oppoſed by ſome of our *Confeſſors* in Priſon in Queen *Maries* days,

The abſolute Decree unknown to Biſhop HOOPER,

By Biſhop LATIMER,

and

days, by Dr. *Harſnet*, and Mr. *Banret* in the Pulpit; and *Peter Baro*, and Dr. *Overald* in the Divinity-Schools of *Cambridge* in Queen *Elizabeths* time; by Dr. *Bancroft*, then Lord Biſhop of *London*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, *Anno* 1603. being the firſt year of King *James*: and finally by King *James* himſelf, refuſing (as he did) to admit the nine Articles of *Lambeth*, containing all the points and particularities of the *Calvinian* Doctrines of *Predeſtination*, and *Reprobation*, among the Articles of Religion here by Law eſtabliſht, when Dr. *Reynolds* in that *Conference* did deſire it of him: But nothing better proves the Churches Doctrine in theſe points, than the Church it ſelf; by holding forth the univerſal Redemption of all mankind, by the Death of Chriſt; the free *co-operation* of the will of man, with the Grace of God in the chief acts of his Converſion; the poſſibility of falling into grievous ſins, Gods diſpleaſure, and conſequently from the grace received: all which are utterly deſtructive of *Calvins* Doctrine in this point, and that not of the whole *Machina* only, but of every part and parcel of that ruinous building; as will appear by the particulars hereafter following.

By King *James*.

XXXIV. Univerſal Redemption maintained by the Book of Articles.

34. And firſt the Univerſal Redemption of all mankind by the death of Chriſt, hath been ſo clearly and explicitely delivered by the Church of *England*, that nothing can be more plain. For in the ſecond Article it is ſaid expreſly, "That Chriſt ſuffered, was Crucified, Dead, "and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a *Sacrifice* not "only for Original Guilt, but alſo for the actual ſins of men. Agree"able whereunto, it is declared, *Art.* 31. That the offering of "Chriſt once made, is the perfect *Redemption*, *Propitiation*, and *Sa"tisfaction* for the ſins of the *whole* world, both *original and actual*. In both which Articles, as well the *Sacrifice*, as the effect and fruit thereof, which is the *Reconciliation* of mankind to God the Father, is delivered in general terms, without any *Reſtriction* put upon them. Neither the *Sacrifice*, nor the *Reconciliation* are by the Articles either reſtrained to this man, or that, or unto one part of the World only, (as for example, *Intra partem donati*) and not to another, but extended to the *whole world*, ſaith the 31. Article; to mankind, or to men in general, as it is in the ſecond. A clearer Comment on which Text we cannot poſſibly have (as to the underſtanding of the Churches meaning) then that which may be found in the publick Liturgie: For firſt in the authorized *Catechiſm* of the Church of *England*, the party *Catechized* being asked what he doth learn in his belief, makes anſwer as to this particular, that *he believes in God the Father, who made him and all the world*: And ſecondly, that he believes *in God the Son, who hath redeemed him and all mankind*, &c. It may be ſecondly proved in that clauſe in the Litany, *O God the Son*, Redeemer *of the world, have mercy upon us*, &c. Thirdly, By the Prayer of *Conſecration* before the *Communion*, viz. "Almighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy "tender mercy didſt give thy only Son *Jeſus Chriſt* to ſuffer death up"on the Croſs for our *Redemption*, who made there (by his own Ob"lation, of himſelf once offered) a full, perfect, and ſufficient Sacrifice, "Oblation, and Satisfaction for the ſins of the *WHOLE WORLD*, &c.

Many plain paſſages in the Publick Liturgie.

And

And fourthly, By the Prayer or Thankſgiving, after the *Communion*, in which we do moſt humbly beſeech the Lord to grant that by the Merits and Death of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and through Faith in his Blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remiſſion of our Sins, and all other benefits of his Paſſion. Nor was it without ſome meaning this way, that She ſelected thoſe words of our Saviour in St. *Johns* Goſpel, viz. *God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son*, &c. to be uſed in the preparation of the Communion; as She reiterated ſome others, *viz. O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the World*, &c. incorporated into the *Gloria in excelſis*, at the end thereof. A truth ſo clear in the delivery of this Church, that there needs no proof of it from the Writings of private men: or if there did, what could be more expreſs than thoſe words of Biſhop *Hooper*, viz. As the ſins of *Adam* without priviledge, or exception, extended and appertained unto all *Adam*'s and every of *Adam*'s Poſterity; ſo did the promiſe of Grace generally appertain as well to every, and ſingular of *Adam*'s Poſterity, as to *Adam* himſelf, as in the Preface above-mentioned: or what can be more poſitive than that of Biſhop *Latimer* in his firſt Sermon, preached in *Lincolnſhire*, viz. The promiſes of Chriſt our Saviour are general, they pertain to all mankind. He made a general proclamation, ſaying, *Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam, Whoſoever believeth in me hath everlaſting life?* eſpecially being ſeconded with that which before we had, that Chriſt did ſhed as much Blood for *Judas*, as he did for *Peter*; which puts the matter high enough without all exception.

And the teſtimony of our ancient Martyrs.

XXXV. The freedom of the Will too much advanced by the *Pelagians*.

135. Touching *Free-Will*, the powers of Nature, and the celeſtial influences of the Grace of God, in the converſion of a ſinner, the Church of *England* ran after a middle way, between the *Rigid Lutherans*, and the old *Pelagians*. It was the Hereſie of *Pelagius* to aſcribe ſo much power to the will of man, in laying hold upon the means of his Salvation, *Ut gratiam Dei neceſſariam non putaret*, that he thought the Grace of God to be unneceſſary, of no uſe at all. And *Luther* on the other ſide aſcribed ſo little thereunto, that he publiſhed a Book, entituled, *De ſervo Arbitrio*, touching the ſervitude of the will; in which he held that there was no ſuch thing as *Free-Will*; that it was a meer fiction, *Et nomen ſine re*, a thing only titular, but of no exiſtency in nature, that a man is forcibly drawn to heaven, *Velut inanimatum quiddam*, No otherwiſe than a ſenſleſs ſtock, or an unreaſonable creature. The like we find to be declared by the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, in the *Collatio Hagienſis*, by whom there was no more aſcribed to the *will* of man in the work of his own *Regeneration*, or in the raiſing of himſelf from the death of Sin, to the life of Righteouſneſs, than they did aſcribe unto him in his generation to the life of nature, or in his Reſurrection from the Dead to life eternal. For thus they ſay, *Sicut ad nativitatem ſuam nemo de ſuo quicquam confert; neque ad ſui excitationem ex mortuis nemo quicquam confert de ſuo; ita etiam ad converſionem ſuam, nemo homo quicquam confert, ſed eſt purum putum opus ejus gratiæ Dei in Chriſto, quæ in nobis operatur, non tantum potentiam credendi, ſed etiam fidem ipſam.* Which monſtrous *Paradox* of theirs was afterwards inſert-

Decryed as much by *Luther*,

and

The *Contra-Remonſtrants*.

ed

ed in the Canons of the *Synod* of *Dort*: againſt which that divine ſaying of St. *Auguſtine* may be fitly uſed, *Si non eſt gratia Dei, quomodo ſalvat mundum? Si non eſt liberum Arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum?* If there be no grace of God (ſaith he) by what means can he ſave the world? if there be no *Free-Will* in man, with what equity can he condemn it? Of the ſame temper is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: For firſt, ſhe thus declares againſt the *Pelagians* in the firſt clauſe of the 10th. Article, "That the condition of man after the fall of "*Adam* is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf by his own "natural ſtrength and good *Works* to *Faith* and calling upon God. And ſecondly, ſhe declares thus againſt *Luther* in the ſecond clauſe of that Article, *viz.* "That without the Grace of God by Chriſt preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us; when "we have that good will, we have no power to do good works, which "are pleaſing and acceptable unto God: and thereupon it muſt needs follow, that by the freedom of mans will, co-operating with *grace preventing*, and by the *ſubſequent Grace* of God co-operating with the will of man, we have a power of doing ſuch works as may be acceptable and pleaſing to our heavenly Father: which may be further evidenced by this Collect after the Communion, *viz.* "Prevent us O "Lord in all our doings, with thy moſt gracious favour, and further "us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued "and ended in thee, we may glorifie thy Holy Name, and finally by "thy Mercy obtain life everlaſting, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

The temper of St. *Auguſtine* in it.

Approved and imitated in the Articles of the Church of ENGL.

and

Her Publick Liturgie.

36. Now that both the laſt clauſe of the Article, and the whole Collect in the *Liturgie* are to be underſtood no otherwiſe then as it is before laid down, appears by this Gloſs of Biſhop *Hooper* on that Text of St. *John*, *viz.* *No man cometh to me except my Father draw him*, chap. 6. 44. Many (ſaith he) underſtand the words in a wrong ſenſe; as if God required no more in a reaſonable man, than in a *dead poſt*, and mark not the words which follow, "*Every man that heareth and learneth* "*of my Father cometh to me*: God draweth with his word, and the "Holy Ghoſt, but mans duty is to hear and learn, that is to ſay, to "*receive the grace offered*, conſent to the promiſe, and *not repugn* the "God that calleth. The like occurs in Biſhop *Latimers* Sermon on the *Sunday* commonly called *Septuageſima*; in which we find, "That "ſeeing the preaching of the Goſpel is univerſal, it appeareth that "God would have all mankind ſaved; and that the fault is not in him "if they be damned: for it is written thus, *Deus vult omnes homines* "*ſalvos fieri*. God would have all men be ſaved, but we are ſo wicked of our ſelves, that we *refuſe the ſame*, and will not take notice "when it is offered to us. It cannot be denyed, but that the ſame Doctrine is maintained by the *Arminians* (as they call them) and that it is the very ſame with that of the Church of *Rome*, as appears by the Council of *Trent*, cap. *De fructu juſtificationis, & merito bonorum operum*, *Can.* 3. 4. But then it muſt be granted alſo, that it is the Doctrine of the *Melanchonian* Divines, or *Moderate Lutherans*, as was confeſſed by *Andreas Vega*, one of the chief ſticklers in the Council of *Trent*, who on the agitating of the point did confeſs ingenuouſly that there

XXXVI. The Churches Doctrine vindicated and explained by Biſhop *Hooper*,

and

by Biſhop *Latimer*;

as alſo

by the *Lutheran* Churches,

there was no difference betwixt the *Lutherans* and that Church touching that particular. And then it muſt be granted alſo, that it was the Doctrine of St. *Auguſtine*, acccording to that divine ſaying of his, *Sine gratia Dei præveniente, ut volimus, & ſubſequente ne fruſtra volimus, ad pictatis opera nil valemus*: ſo that if the Church of *England* muſt be *Arminian*, and the *Arminians* muſt be *Papiſt*, becauſe they agree together in this particular, the *Melanchonian* Divines among the *Proteſtants*, yea and St. *Auguſtine* himſelf muſt be *Papiſt* alſo.

and St. *Auguſtine* himſelf.

XXXVII. The Churches Doctrine in the point of Falling away,

37. Such being the freedom of the *will*, in laying or not laying hold upon thoſe means which are offered by Almighty God for our Salvation; it cannot be denyed, but that there is a freedom alſo of the will, in ſtanding unto Grace received, or departing from it: Certain I am that it is ſo reſolved by the Church of *England* in the 16th. Article for Confeſſion, in which it is declared, "That after we have re- "ceived the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from *Grace* given, and fall "into ſin, and by the grace of God we may ariſe again, and amend "our lives; which is the very ſame with that of the 14th. Article in King *Edward's* Book of the year 1557. where plainly the Church teacheth a poſſibility of falling or departing from the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, which is given unto us; and that our riſing again, and the amending of our lives upon ſuch a riſing, is a matter of contingency only, and no way neceſſary on Gods part to aſſure us of. Conform to which we find Biſhop *Hooper* thus diſcourſing in the ſaid Preface to his expoſition of the Ten Commandments, "The cauſe of *Rejection* "or *Damnation* (ſaith he) is ſin in man, which *will not hear*, neither "*receive* the promiſe of the Goſpel; or elſe after he hath received it, "by accuſtomed doing of ill, *falleth* either into a contempt of the "Goſpel, and will not ſtudy to live thereafter; or elſe hateth the Goſ- "pel, becauſe it condemneth his ungodly life. And we find Biſhop *Latimer* diſcourſing thus in his eighth Sermon in *Lincolnſhire*, "Thoſe "perſons (ſaith he) that be not come yet to Chriſt, or if they were "come to Chriſt, be *fallen again from him*, and ſo *loſt their Juſtificati-* "*on* (as there be many of us when we *fall willingly* into ſin againſt "Conſcience) we *loſe the favour of God*, our *Salvation*, *and finally* the "*Holy Ghoſt*. And before (*c.* 6.) thus, But you will ſay (ſaith he) "How ſhall I know that I am in the *Book of Life*? How ſhall I try "my ſelf to be the *Elect* of God to everlaſting life? I anſwer, Firſt, "We may know that we may be one time in the *Book*, and another "time *come out again*, as it appeareth by *David*, who was written in "the *Book of Life*: but when he ſinned, he at that time was *out of* "*the Book* of the *favour of God*, until he repented, and was ſorry "for his faults: ſo that we may be in the Book one time, and afterwards "when we forget God and his Word, and do wickedly, we come out "of the Book, that is, out of Chriſt who is the Book. Which makes the point ſo clear and evident on the Churches part, that when it was moved by Doctor *Reynolds* at *Hampton-Court*, that the words, *Nec totaliter, nec finaliter*, might be added into the Clauſe of that Article, the motion was generally rejected, and the Article left ſtanding in the ſame terms, in which it then ſtood. By which we may the better judge

Made clear by ſome expreſſions of Biſhop *Hooper*,

Of Biſhop *Latimer*.

and

The Conference at *Hampton-Court*.

judge of some strange expressions amongst the most *Rigid* sort of the *Contra-Remonstrants*, especially of that of *Roger Dontelock*, by whom it is affirmed, that if it were possible for any one man to commit all the sins over again which have been acted in the world, it would neither frustrate his Election, nor alienate him from the love and favour of Almighty God: for which consult the *Appendix* to the *Piece or Declaration, Sententiæ Remonstrantium*, Printed at *Leyden, Anno* 1616.

38. Such is the Doctrine of this Church, and such the Judgment of those Reverend Bishops, and right godly Martyrs in the Predestinarian Controversies, before remembred. And though I have insisted on those two alone, yet in theirs I include the Judgment of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and the rest of those learned men who laboured in the great work of the Reformation. Some difference there had been betwixt *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, on the one side, and *Hooper* only on the other in matter of Ceremony, in which *Hooper* at the last submitted to the other two. But in all the Doctrinal truths of their Religion there was a full consent between them: which appears plainly in this passage of a Letter sent from *Ridley* to *Hooper*, when they were both prisoners for the same cause, though in several places. "But now "my dear Brother (saith he) forasmuch as I understand by your "works, which I have but superficially seen, that we throughly agree, "and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds "and substantial points of our Religion, against which the world so "rageth in these our days: Howsoever in times past, in certain by-"matters, and circumstances of Religion, your Wisdom, and my sim-"plicity (I grant) have a little jarred; each of us following the "*abundance of his own sense and Judgment*. Now I say, be you as-"sured, that even with my whole heart (God is my witness) in the "Bowels of Christ I love you in truth, and for truths sake, which "abideth in us, and I am perswaded by the Grace of God, shall abide "in us for evermore. *Acts and Mon. in Edw.* VI. fol. 1366. Now as Bishop *Ridley* thus declares himself to be of the same Judgment with Bishop *Hooper*, so *Cranmer* the Archbishop doth declare himself to be of the same Judgment with Bishop *Ridley*: for being charged in his examination with thinking otherwise in the point of the Sacrament then he had done about seven or eight years before, he answereth, "That he then believed otherwise than he did at that present, and that "he did so till the Lord of *London*, Dr. *Ridley*, did confer with him; "and by sundry perswasions and Authorities of other Doctors, drew "him quite from his opinion, with whom he now agreed, *ibid. fol.* 1702. Which words though spoken only in relation to such points about the Sacrament of the *Altar*, concerning which he was then examined by the Popes Commissioners; yet do they signifie withal, that he relyed very much on *Ridley's* Judgment, and that they were as like to be accorded in all other matters of Religion, as they were in that. And though *Cranmer* exercised his Pen for the most part against the Papists, yet in his Book against *Steven Gardiner*, *Concerning the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood*, first published in the year 1551. he thus delivereth his opinion in the present Controversies. For speak-

XXXVIII. The harmony and consent in Judgment between Bishop *Hooper*, and Bishop *Ridley*,

Between Bishop *Ridley* and Archbishop *Cranmer*.

The judgment of Archbiſhop *Cranmer* in the point diſputed.

ing of the Sacrifice which was made by Chriſt, he lets us know, "That "he took unto himſelf not only their ſins that many years before were "dead, and put their truſt in him; but alſo all the ſins of thoſe that "until his coming again *ſhould truly believe his Goſpel:* ſo that now we "may look for no other Prieſt, nor Sacrifice to take away our ſins, "but only him and his Sacrifice; that as he dying once was offer-"ed for all, ſo as much as pertained unto him, he took all mens ſins "unto himſelf; *fol.* 372. Which is as much as could be looked for from a man, who did not purpoſely apply himſelf to the points in queſtion. Finally, it were worth the learning to know why the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus* (a man of a known difference in Judgment from *Calvins* Doctrines in theſe points) ſhould be tranſlated into Engliſh by the care of our Prelates; and being ſo tranſlated ſhould be commended both by King *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth*, to the diligent reading of their Subjects of all conditions; which certainly they had not done, if they had not been thereunto perſwaded by thoſe Biſhops, and other learned men about them, who had a principal hand in the Reformation; which clearly ſhews how much, as well the Prieſt as the people were to aſcribe unto the Judgment of that learned man, and conſequently how little unto that of *Calvin* in the preſent Controverſies.

The authority aſcribed to the Works of *Eraſmus* by our firſt Reformers.

XXXIX. The Points which ſtill remain in diifference betwixt the Churches.

39. So near this Church comes up unto the Church of *Rome* in Government, forms of Worſhip, and ſome points of *Controverſie*. And ſome there are in which they totally diſagreed, and ſtood in oppoſition unto one another, *viz.* In the Articles touching the *ſufficiency of the Scripture*, *Juſtification*, the *merit* of *good Works*, *Works* done before *Juſtification*, *Works* of *Supererogation*, the Fallibility or Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*; the *Authority* of *General Councils*, *Purgatory*, Adoration of Images, *Invocation* of Saints, the *Celebrating* of Divine Service in the vulgar Tongues; the nature and number of the *Sacraments*, *Tranſubſtantiation*, the Communion in both kinds, the *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs*, the ſingle life of *Prieſts*, the power of *National Churches* in ordaining *Ceremonies*, and of the Civil Magiſtrate in matters of Eccleſiaſtical nature: In many of which it might be found no difficult matter to atone the differences, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to commit the managing of them to moderate and prudent men, who prefer truth before opinion, and peace before the prevalency of their ſeveral parties. But whether it be ſo in all, is a harder queſtion, and will remain a queſtion to the end of the world, unleſs all parties lay aſide their private intereſt, and conſcientiouſly reſerve to yield as much to one another as may ſtand with Piety. And then what reaſon can there be, why the breaches in the walls of *Jeruſalem* ſhould not be made up? and being made up, why *Jeruſalem* ſhould not be reſtored to its former Honour, of being *a City at unity within it ſelf?* The hopes of which may be the greater, becauſe there are ſo many points (ſo far forth as they ſtand compriſed in the Book of Articles) in which the firſt *Reformers* were ſo far from being at any difference with the Church of *Rome*, that they did rather joyn with them, in oppoſing the common Enemy, *Familiſts*, *Libertines*, *Anti-Trinitarians*,

How far with in the poſſibility of Reconcilement.

tarians, *Anabapiſts*, and other *Hereticks* of that Age, who ſeemed to dig at the foundation of the Chriſtian Faith, and aim at the ſubverſion of humane Society; Of which ſort are the *Articles* of the *Holy Trinity*, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the *Divinity* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, of the Old Teſtament, of the three *Creeds*, of Original Sin, of the *Authority* of the Church, of miniſtring in the Congregation, of hindering the effect of the Sacraments by unworthy Miniſters, of Infant-Baptiſm, and the *Traditions* of the Church; of the Conſecration of *Biſhops*, and *Miniſters*; of the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate in making Wars, and puniſhing *Malefactors* with *Temporal* Death; of the community of Goods, and the exacting of an Oath to find out the truth: Of moſt of which it may be ſaid in St. *Auguſtines* language, *His qui contradicit, aut à Chriſti fide alienus eſt, aut eſt Hereticus*; that he who ſhall deny to give his aſſent unto them, is either an alien from the Faith, or at leaſt an *Heretick*.

And in what points they joyn together againſt the Anabaptiſts and Sectaries.

40. And then there are ſome other things which are not comprehended in thoſe *Articles*, in which, though there were differences between them in point of Judgment, yet the Reformers thought not fit to determine of them poſitively upon either ſide, but left them to the liberty of opinion, to be diſputed, *Pro* and *Con*, amongſt learned men, according as their underſtandings fancy, or affections ſhould diſpoſe them to it: ſome points there are of *Philological*, and others of *Scholaſtical Divinity*, in which there is *Libertas opinandi*, a liberty of opinion left unto us, *de quibus, ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias loqui liceat*, in the words of *Tacitus*. In theſe and ſuch as theſe St. *Paul* himſelf ſeems to leave a latitude, when he gives way, *Ut quilibet abundet in ſuo ſenſu*, Rom. 14. 5. that is to ſay, *Let every man abound in his own ſenſe*, as the *Rhemiſts* read it; eſpecially, *If he be fully perſwaded in his own mind* (touching the truth of what he writes) as our laſt Tranſlation: Which *liberty* as ſome have taken, in cloſing with the *Papiſts* in ſome particulars, which are not contrary to the *Faith* and *Doctrine*, or to the eſtabliſht *Government*, and *Forms* of *Worſhip* of the Church of *England*, they are not for ſo doing to be branded by the name of *Papiſts*; or their writings to be cenſured and condemned for *Popiſh*, becauſe perhaps they differ in thoſe matters from the Churches of *Calvins Platform*; *Veritas à quocunque eſt, eſt à Spiritu Sancto*, as divinely *Ambroſe*. Truth is no more reſtrained to the Schools of *Calvin*, than to thoſe of *Rome*; ſome truths being to be found in each, but not all in either. And certainly in this the firſt *Reformers* did exceeding wiſely, in not tying up the judgments of learned men, where they might be freed; but leaving them a ſufficient ſcope to exerciſe their wits and Pens, as they ſaw occaſion. Had they done otherwiſe, and condemned every thing for *Popiſh*, which was either taught or uſed in the times of *Popery*, they muſt then have condemned the Doctrine of the *Trinity* it ſelf, as was well obſerved by King *James* in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*: And then ſaid he, *You* (Dr. *Reynolds*) *muſt go bare-foot, becauſe they wore hoſe and ſhooes in time of Popery*, p. 75. Beſides which inconvenience it muſt needs have followed, that by a general renouncing of all ſuch things as have been taught and uſed by the Church of *Rome*, the

XL. Liberty of Opinion left in other Points by the firſt Reformers, and

Their diſcretion in ſo doing:

Approved and commended by King *James*.

the Confeſſion of the Church of *England*, muſt have been like that (both in condition and effect) which Mr. *Craig* compoſed for the Kirk of *Scotland*, of which King *James* tells us, *p.* 39. that with his, I renounce and I abhor his Deteſtations and *Proteſtations*, he did ſo amaze the ſimple people, that they (not able to conceive all thoſe things) utterly gave over all, falling back to Popery, or ſtill remaining in their former ignorance.

XLI. 41. Such was the Moderation that was uſed by our firſt *Reformers*, and on ſuch Principles and Poſitions, did they ground this Church. Which I have laid down here at large, that ſo we may the better judge of thoſe Deviations, which afterwards were made by factious and unquiet men; as alſo of the Piety of their endeavours, who aimed at the Reduction of her to her firſt condition. If the great *Prelate*, whom I write of, did either labour to *ſubvert* the *Doctrine* or *innovate* any thing, either in the Publick Government, or Forms of Worſhip, here by Law Eſtabliſhed, contrary to the Principles and Poſitions before expreſſed; his Adverſaries had the better Reaſon to clamor againſt him whilſt he lived, and to purſue their clamors till the very laſt. But on the other ſide, if neither in his own perſon, or by the diligence and activity of his *ſubſervient Miniſters*, he acted or ſuffered any thing to be juſtified in point of Practice, or allowed any thing to be Preached or Prayed, or hindred any thing from being Publiſhed or Preached, but what may be made good by the Rules of the Church, and the complexion of the times in which he lived; thoſe foul Reproaches, which ſo unjuſtly and uncharitably have been laid upon him, muſt return back upon the Authors, from whom they came, as ſtones thrown up againſt the Heavens, do many times fall upon the heads of thoſe that threw them. But whether ſide deſerved the blame for innovating in the Doctrine, Rites, and Ceremonies of the *Anglican* Church, according to the firſt Principles and Poſitions of it; will beſt appear by the courſe of the enſuing Hiſtory, Relation being had to this Introduction, which I have here placed in the front, as a Lamp or Candle (ſuch as we find commonly in the Porches of Great Mens houſes) to light the way to ſuch as are deſirous to go into them, that they may enter with delight, converſe therein with pleaſure, and return with ſafety.

THE

CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Life and Death

OF

The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE

WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *ENGLAND*, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the Lords of the Privy Council to His late most SACRED MAJESTY

King CHARLES

Second MONARCH of *Great Britain.*

PART I.

Containing the History of his Life and Actions from the day of his Birth, Octob. 7. 1573. *to the day of his Nomination to the See of* Canterbury, August 6. 1633.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for several Book-sellers in *London*, 1671.

HISTOR

Life and Death

The moft Reverend and Renowned Prel

WILLIAM

THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. I.

Extending from the time of his Birth, till his being made Bishop of St. Davids.

TO Recommend unto Posterity the *Lives* and *Actions* of eminent and famous Persons, hath always been esteemed a work becoming the most able Pens. Nothing so much enobleth *Plutarch*, as his committing unto memory, the Actions and Atchievements of the most renowned *Greeks* and *Romans*; or added more unto the fame of *Diogenes Laertius*, than that which he hath left us of the *Lives* and *Apophthegms* of the old *Philosophers*. Some pains have fortunately been taken in this kind, by *Paulus Jovius* Bishop of *Como*, and by *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the days of our Fathers. Nor can we be so little studied in the World, as not

PART I. to know, that even particular perſons (I ſpeak not here of Kings and Princes) have had their own particular and diſtinct *Hiſtorians*; by whom their Parts and Piety, their Military Exploits, or Civil Prudence, have been tranſmitted to the knowledge of ſucceeding Ages. So that adventuring on the *Life* of this famous *Prelate*, I cannot be without Examples, though without Encouragements. For what Encouragements can there be to ſuch a work, in which there is an impoſſibility of pleaſing all; more than an ordinary probability of offending many; no expectation of Reward, nor certainty of any thing but miſconſtructions, and Detractings, if not dangers alſo. Howſoever I ſhall give my ſelf the ſatisfaction, of doing my laſt duty, to the memory of a man ſo Famous, of ſuch a Publick Spirit in all his actions, ſo eminently deſerving of the Church of *England*: With which profeſſion of my Piety, and Ingenuity, I ſhall not be altogether out of hope, but that my Labours in this *Piece* may obtain a pardon, if they ſhall not reach to an Applauſe.

Anno Dom. 1573. *William Land* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was born on the 7th. day of *October*, *An.* 1573. A year remarkable for the buſlings of the *Puritan* Faction, who before they had ſerved an Apprentiſhip in the Trade of Sedition, began to ſet up for themſelves; and ſeeing they could not have the countenance of Authority, to juſtifie the advancing of their Holy Diſcipline, reſolved to introduce it by little and little, as opportunity ſhould be given them; which they did accordingly. His *Birth-place*, *Reading*, the principal Town of *Berks*, for Wealth and Beauty; remarkable heretofore for a ſtately and magnificent *Abby*, founded and liberally Endowed by King *Henry* I. and no leſs eminent in theſe laſt Ages for the Trade of Clothing, the Seminary of ſome Families of Gentry within that County. And of this Trade his Father was, who kept not only many *Lomes* in his houſe, but many *Weavers*, *Spinners*, and *Fullers*, at continual work; living in good Eſteem and Reputation amongſt his Neighbours to the very laſt. His Mother *Lucy Webb*, was Siſter to Sir *William Webb* Lord Mayor of *London*, *Anno* 1591. the Grand-Father of Sir *William Webb* not long ſince deceaſed: She was firſt Marryed to *John Robinſon* a Clothier of the ſame Town alſo; but a Man of ſo good Wealth and Credit, that he Married one of his Daughters to Dr. *Cotsford*, and another unto Dr. *Layfield*, men of parts and worth; and left his youngeſt Son called *William*, in ſo good a way, that he came to be *Doctor* of *Divinity*, *Prebend* of *Weſtminſter*, and *Archdeacon* of *Nottingham*, beſide ſome other preferments which he dyed poſſeſt of. Having buryed her Huſband *John Robinſon*, ſhe was re-marryed unto *Land*, this Archbiſhops Father, to whom ſhe brought no other child than this Son alone; as if ſhe had ſatisfied that duty which was owing to her ſecond Marriage-bed, by bringing forth a Son, who was to be the Patriach (in a manner) of the *Britiſh Iſlands*.

(a b) *Brev.* I. Lord *Brook*, *p.* 3. He was not born therefore of ſuch *Poor and* (a) *obſcure Parents*, as the Publiſher of his *Breviat* makes him, much leſs (b) *E fæce plebis*, of the dregs of the People, as both he and all the reſt of the Biſhops were

were affirmed to be by the late Lord *Brook* (who of all others had leaſt Reaſon to upbraid them with it) in a book of his touching the nature of that *Epiſcopacy*, which had been exerciſed in *England*. A Speech becoming none ſo ill as him that ſpake it, whoſe Father in his beſt Preferment, was but Keeper of one of Sir *Fulk Grevill's* Parks, though the Son had afterwards the good fortune to ſucceed that noble Gentleman in his Lands and Honours. But granting that he had been born of as *poor and obſcure Parents* as thoſe Authors make him; yet muſt it needs add to the commendation of his parts and induſtry, who from ſo mean and low a Birth, had raiſed himſelf into ſuch an eminent height of Power and Glory, that no Biſhop or Archbiſhop, ſince the Reformation, had attained the like. The greateſt Rivers many times have the ſmalleſt Fountains, ſuch as can hardly be found out, and being found out, as hardly quit the coſt of the diſcovery; and yet by long running and holding on a conſtant and continual courſe, they become large, navigable, and of great benefit unto the Publick. Whereas ſome Families may be compared to the *Pyramids* of *Ægypt*, which being built on great Foundations, grow narrower and narrower by degrees, until at laſt they end in a ſmall *Conus*, in a point, in nothing. For if we look into the Stories of the Times foregoing, we ſhall find that poor and obſcure Cottages have bred Commanders to the Camp, Judges unto the Seats of Juſtice, Counſellors to the State, Peers to the Realm, and Kings themſelves unto the Throne, as well as *Prelates* to the Church; when ſuch as do pretend to a nobler birth, do many times conſume themſelves in effeminate Luxuries, and waſte their Fortunes in a Prodigal and Libidinous courſe; which brings into my mind the Anſwer made by Mr. *Pace* (one of the Secretaries to King *Henry* 8.) to a Nobleman about the Court; For when the ſaid Nobleman had told him, in contempt of Learning, *That it was enough for Noblemens Sons to wind their* Horn, *and carry their* Hawk *fair, and to leave Study and Learning to the Children of mean men*; Mr. *Pace* thereunto replied, *Then his Lordſhip and the reſt of the Noblemen muſt be content to leave unto the Sons of meaner perſons the managing of Affairs of Eſtate, when their own Children pleaſe themſelves with winding their* Horns, *and managing their* Hawks, *and other Follies of the Country.*

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Cam. Rem. p. 273. laſt Edit.

But yet notwithſtanding, ſuch was the envy of the Times, that he was frequently upbraided in the days of his Greatneſs, as well (in common Speech) as ſcattered Libels, with the *mean* condition of his birth. And I remember that I found him once in his Garden at *Lambeth*, with more than ordinary Trouble in his Countenance; of which not having confidence enough to enquire the Reaſon, he ſhewed me a Paper in his hand, and told me it was a printed ſheet of a Scandalous *Libel* which had been ſtopped at the Preſs, in which he found himſelf reproach'd with ſo baſe a Parentage, as if he had been raked out of the Dunghil, adding withal, that though he had not the good fortune to be born a Gentleman, yet he thank'd God he had been born of honeſt Parents, who lived in a plentiful condition, employed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind them. And thereupon beginning to clear up his countenance, I told him as preſently as I durſt,

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1573.

that *Pope Sextus* the Fifth, as ſtout a *Pope* as ever wore the Triple Crown, but a poor mans Son, did uſe familiarly to ſay in contempt of ſuch *Libels* as frequently were made againſt him, That he was *domo natus illuſtri*, becauſe the Sun-beams paſſing through the broken walls and ragged Roof, *illuſtrated* every corner of that homely Cottage in which he was born; with which facetiouſneſs of that *Pope* (ſo applicable to the preſent occaſion) he ſeemed very well pleaſed.

1589.

But to go forwards with our Story, Having eſcaped a dangerous Sickneſs in his Childhood, he was trained up (as ſoon as he was fitted for it) in the Free Grammar-School of *Reading*; in which he profited ſo well, and came on ſo faſt, that before he was ſixteen years of age (which was very early for thoſe times) he was ſent to *Oxon*, and entred a Commoner in St. *John*'s College, and there committed to the tuition of Mr. *Buckridge*, one of the Fellows of that College, and afterwards the worthy *Preſident* of it. It proved no ordinary happineſs to the Scholar to be principled under ſuch a *Tutor*, who knew as well as any other of his time how to employ the two-edged Sword of holy Scripture, of which he made good proof in the times ſucceeding, brandiſhing it on the one ſide againſt the *Papiſts*, and on the other againſt the *Puritans* or *Non-conformiſts*. In reference to the firſt it is ſaid of him in the general by Biſhop *Godwin*, (*d*) That he endeavoured moſt induſtriouſly both by preaching and writing to defend and propagate the true Religion, here by Law eſtabliſhed: Which appears plainly by his Learned and Laborious Piece entituled, *De poteſtate Papæ, in temporalibus*, printed at *London*, *Anno* 1614. in which he hath ſo ſhaken the foundation of the *Papal* Monarchy, and the pretended Superiority of that *See* over Kings and Princes, that none of the Learned Men of that party did ever undertake a Reply unto it. With like ſucceſs, but with leſs pains unto himſelf, he managed the Controverſie concerning Kneeling at the Lords Supper, againſt thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction; the piety and antiquity of which Religious poſture in that holy Action, he aſſerted with ſuch ſolid Reaſons and ſuch clear Authorities, in a Treatiſe by him publiſhed *Anno* 1618. that he came off without the leaſt oppoſition by that Party alſo. But before the publiſhing of theſe Books, or either of them, his eminent Abilities in the Pulpit had brought him into great credit with King *James*; inſomuch that he was choſen to be one of the four (Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Barlow* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *King* then Dean of *Chriſt-church*, and not long after Biſhop of *London*, were the other three) who were appointed to preach before his Majeſty at *Hampton-court* in the Month of *September* 1606. for the reduction of the two *Melvins*, and other *Presbyterian Scots* to a right underſtanding of the Church of *England*: In the performance of which Service he took for his Text thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *Let every ſoul, &c.* Rom. 13. 1. In canvaſing whereof he fell upon the point of the Kings *Supremacy* in cauſes *Eccleſiaſtical*; which he handled, (*e*) (as the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Spotwood* (who was preſent at the Sermon) hath informed us of him) "both learnedly and ſoundly, to the ſatisfaction "of all the hearers; but that the *Scottiſh* Miniſters ſeemed very much grieved

(d) *Et tam ſcribendo, quam concionando veritatem Evangelicam haud ſegniter ſatagit propugnare.* Godwin. Catal. Epiſc. 584.

(e) *Hiſt. of Scot. lib. 7. p. 497.*

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cc grieved to hear the *Pope* and the *Presbytery* ſo often equalled in their cc oppoſition to *Sovereign* Princes. *Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Lib.* VII. *pag.* 497. And though the other three, with the like abilities and elocution had diſcharged their parts, yet gained they nothing on the *Scots*, who were reſolved, like the *deaf Adder* in the Pſalmiſt, *not to give ear unto the Charmers, charmed they never ſo wiſely.* But whatſoever they loſt in the opinion of that proud and refractory Generation, they gained exceedingly on the King, and great Preferments for themſelves, Biſhops *Andrews* being not long after removed to the See of *Ely*, Biſhop *Barlow* unto that of *Lincoln*, Dr. *King* preferred to the See of *London*, and Dr. *Buckridge* to that of *Rocheſter*, where he continued till the year 1627. when by the power and favour of this his preſent *Pupil* (then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*) he was tranſlated to the rich Biſhoprick of *Ely*, in which See he dyed.

1590. Of this man I have ſpoken the more at large, that finding the temper of the *Tutor*, we may the better judge of thoſe ingredients which went to the making up of the *Scholar*. Having ſpent about a year in his Colledge, there was raiſed ſuch a good report of him in the Town of *Reading*, that partly by his own proficiencies, and partly by the good eſteem which was had of his Father, he was nominated by the Mayor and others of that Corporation unto a Scholars place in that Houſe, according to the Conſtitutions of Sir *Tho. White*, the Honourable and ſole Founder of it, who though he had deſigned the *Merchant-Taylors* School in *London* for the Chief Seminary of his Colledge, yet being a man of a more publick Spirit, than to confine himſelf to any one place, he allowed two Fellowſhips to the City of *Coventry*, and as many to *Briſtol*, two alſo to the Town of *Reading*, and one to *Tunbridge*.

1593. Admitted a Scholar of the Houſe on this nomination, at the end of three years (according to the Cuſtom of that Colledge) he was made one of the Fellows, taking his *Academical* Degrees according to that cuſtom alſo; by which cuſtom thoſe of that Society are kept longer from taking their Degrees in the Arts, but are permitted to take their Degrees in Divinity much ſooner than in other Houſes; ſo that although he proceeded not Maſter of Arts till the month of *July* 1599.

1599. yet at the end of five years only he took the Degree of *Batchelour* in *Divinity*, without longer ſtay; during which interval he was firſt made *Deacon*, and afterwards was put into the Order of *Prieſthood* by Dr. *Young* then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the See of *Oxon.* being vacant, in which vacancy it had continued for the ſpace of 11 years, that is to ſay, from the death of Biſhop *Underhill*, *An.* 1592. till the Conſecration of Dr. *Bridges* on the twelfth of *February*, *An.* 1603. The Patrimony of that Church being in the mean time much dilapidated and made a prey (for the moſt part) to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to whom it proved as miſerably fatal, as the Gold of *Tholouſe* did of old to the Souldiers of *Cæpio*.

And now being fallen upon his Studies in Divinity, in the exerciſe whereof he met with ſome affronts and oppoſitions, it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the then preſent Eſtate of that Univerſity, that ſo we may the better diſcern the Reaſons of thoſe affronts and oppoſitions

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1600.

tions under which he ſuffered. Know then, that Mr. *Laurence Humphrey*, one of the Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge, being deprived of his Fellowſhip there in Queen *Maries* time, betook himſelf to the City of *Zurich*, a City of chiefeſt note amongſt the *Switzers*, remarkable for the Preachings and Death of *Zuinglius*; from whence, and from the Correſpondence which he had at *Geneva*, he brought back with him at his returning into *England* on Queen *Maries* death, ſo much of the *Calvinian*, both in Doctrine and in Diſcipline, that the beſt that could be ſaid of him, by (*f*) one who commonly ſpeaks favourably of all that Party, is, that he was *a moderate and conſcientious Non-conformiſt*. Immediately on his return he was by Queen *Elizabeth* made *Preſident* of *Magdalen* Colledge, and found to be the fitteſt man (as certainly he was a man of very good parts, and the Maſter of a pure Latine ſtyle) for governing the *Divinity Chair*, as her Majeſties *Profeſſor* in that *Faculty*; in which he continued till the year 1596. and for a great part of that time was *Vice-chancellor* alſo. By which advantages he did not only ſtock his Colledge with ſuch a generation of *Non-conformiſts* as could not be wormed out in many years after his deceaſe; but ſowed in the Divinity-Schools ſuch ſeeds of *Calviniſm*, and laboured to create in the younger Students ſuch a ſtrong hate againſt the Papiſts, as if nothing but Divine Truths were to be found in the one, and nothing but abominations to be ſeen in the other. And though Dr. *John Holland* Rector of *Exeter* Colledge, who ſucceeded *Humphries* in the *Chair*, came to it better principled than his Predeceſſor, yet did he ſuffer himſelf to be born away by the violent current of the times, contrary in ſome caſes to his own opinion.

(*f*) *Full. Hiſt. lib.* 9. *p.* 234.

And yet as zealous as Doctor *Humphries* ſhewed himſelf againſt the *Papiſts* (inſomuch as he got the title of a *Papiſto-Maſtix*) he was not thought, though ſeconded by the Lady *Margarets* Profeſſor for that Univerſity, to make the diſtance wide enough betwixt the Churches. A new Lecture therefore muſt be founded by Sir *Francis Walſingham* Principal Secretary of Eſtate, a man of Great Abilities in the Schools of *Policy*, and extreme hater of the *Popes* and Church of *Rome*, and no leſs favourable unto thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction. The deſign was to make the Religion of the Church of *Rome* more odious, and the differences betwixt them and the *Proteſtants* to appear more irreconcileable than before they did. And that he might not fail of his purpoſe in it, the Reading of this Lecture was committed to Doctor *John Reynolds* Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, a man of infinite Reading, and as vaſt a Memory; who having lived ſometimes in one of our *Engliſh* Seminaries beyond the Seas, declared himſelf as profeſt a *Papiſt*, and as eager in the purſuit of that way, as any other whatſoever: But being regained unto this Church by his Brother *William*, who loſt himſelf in the encounter, he thought he could not ſufficiently expreſs his deteſtation of the errors and corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, but by running to the other extreme, and making himſelf conſiderable amongſt the *Puritans*. On which account, as he became very gracious to Sir *Francis Walſingham*, ſo was he quickly made the Spiritual Head of the *Puritan* Faction; in which capacity he managed their buſineſs for them

in

in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, *Anno* 1603. where he appeared the principal if not onely Speaker, the other three (that is to say, *Spark*, *Chadderton*, and *Knewstubs*) serving no otherwise than as Mutes and Cyphers to make up the mess. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1600.

By the power and practices of these men, the disposition of those times, and the long continuance of the Earl of *Leicester* (the principal Patron of that Faction) in the place of *Chancellor*, the face of that University was so much altered, that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of *England*, according to the Principles and Positions upon which it was at first Reformed. All the *Calvinian* Rigors in matters of *Predestination*, and the Points depending thereupon, received as the Established Doctrines of the Church of *England*; the necessity of the one Sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the powerful efficacy of both unto mans salvation, not only disputed, but denyed; the Article of Christs *local descent into hell*, so positively asserted in two Convocations, *Anno* 1552. and 1562. at first corrupted with false Glosses, afterwards openly contradicted, and at last totally disclaimed, because repugnant to the Fancies of some Foreign Divines, though they at odds amongst themselves in the meaning of it; *Episcopacy* maintained by halves, not as a distinct *Order* from that of the *Presbyters*, but only a *degree* above them; or perhaps not that, for fear of giving scandal to the Churches of *Calvins Platform*; the Church of *Rome* inveighed against as the *Whore of Babylon*, or the *Mother of Abominations*; the *Pope* as publickly maintained to be *Antichrist*, or the Man of Sin, and that as positively and magisterially as if it had been one of the chief Articles of the Christian Faith; and then for fear of having any good thoughts for either, the visibility of the Church must be no otherwise maintained, than by looking for it in the scattered *Conventicles* of the *Berengarians* in *Italy*, the *Albigenses* in *France*, the *Huffites* in *Bohemia*, and the *Wickliffists* among our selves. Nor was there any greater care taken for the *Forms* and *Orders* of this Church, than there had been for points of Doctrine, the Surplice so disused in officiating the Divine Service of the Church, and the Divine Service of the Church so slubbered over in most of the Colleges, that the *Prelates* and *Clergie* assembled in *Convocation*, *Anno* 1603. were necessitated to frame two *Canons*, that is to say, *Can.* 16, 17. to bring them back again to the ancient practice; particularly, the bowing at the Name of JESUS, commanded by the Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1559. and used in most Churches in the Kingdom, so much neglected and decryed, that *Airy* (g) *Provost* of *Queens College* writ a Tract against it; the Habits of the Priests, by which they were to be distinguished from other men, (not only by the Queens Injunctions, but also by some following Canons made in *Convocation*) so much despised, and laid aside, that Doctor *Reynolds* had the confidence to appear in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court* in his *Turkey* Gown, and therefore may be thought to have worn no other in the University: And in a word (*h*) the Books of *Calvin* made the Rule by which all men were to square their Writings, his only word (like the *ipse dixit* of *Pythagoras*) admitted for the sole Canon to which they were

(g) *Cant. Dome. p.* 469.

(h) *Hooker Preface.*

to

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to frame and conform their Judgments, and in comparison of whom the Ancient Fathers of the Church (men of Renown, and the Glories of their several Times) must be held contemptible; and to offend against this *Canon*, or to break this Rule, esteemed a more unpardonable Crime, than to violate the Apostles *Canons*, or dispute the Doctrines and Determinations of any of the four first general Councils; so as it might have proved more safe for any man, in such a general deviation from the Rules and Dictates of this Church, to have been look'd upon as an *Heathen* or *Publican*, than an *Anti-Calvinist*.

But *Laud* was of a stronger Metal than to give up himself so tamely, and being forged and hammered on a better Anvil, would not be wrought on by the times, or captivate his Understanding to the Names of Men, how great soever they appeared in the eyes of others. Nor would he run precipitately into common Opinions (for common Opinions many times are but common Errors) as *Calderinus* is reported to have gone to (*i*) *Mass*, because he would not break company with the rest of his friends. His Studies in Divinity he had founded on the Holy Scriptures, according to the Glosses and Interpretations of the ancient Fathers; for doing which he had the countenance and direction of a *Canon* made in *Convocation*, *Anno* 1571. by which it was appointed, That in interpreting the Scriptures, they were to raise no other Doctrines from them than what had been collected thence from the ancient Fathers, and other godly Bishops of the primitive times. (*k*) And laying to this Line the establish'd doctrines and determinations of the Church of *England*, it was no hard matter to him to discern how much the Church had deviated from her self, or most men rather from the Church, in those latter times; how palpably the Articles had been wrested from the *Literal* and *Grammatical* sence, to fit them to the sence of particular persons; how a different construction had been put upon them, from that which was the true and *genuine* meaning of the men that framed them, and the Authority which confirmed them; and finally, that it would be a work of much glory, but of much more merit, to bring her back again to her native Principles. But then withal, it was as easie to discern how desperate an attempt it must needs appear for a single man, unseconded, and not well befriended, to oppose himself against an Army; how vain a thing to strive against so strong a stream, and cross the current of the times; that the disease by long neglect was grown so natural and habitual, that more mischief might be feared from the Medicine, than from the Malady; that he must needs expose himself to many Censures and Reproaches, and possibly to some danger also by the undertaking. But these last considerations being weighed in the Scale of the *Sanctuary*, appeared so light, that he was resolved to try his fortune in the work, and to leave the issue thereof unto God, by whom *Paul's planting* and *Apollo's watering do receive increase*.

(i) *Eamus ergo, quia sic placet, in communes errores.* Ludo. Vives in Aug. de Civit. Dei.

(k) *Nisi quod ex illa ipsa doctrina, catholici Patres & veteres Episcopi collegerint.* Lib. Can. cap. *De concionat.* p. 19.

1602. For being thus resolved upon the point, it was not long before he had an opportunity to set it forwards. He had before attained unto an high esteem for Arts and Oratory, and was conceived to have made so good a proficiency in the Studies of Divinity also, that in the year 1602. he

he was admitted to read the Lecture of Mrs. *May's* Foundation, with the general liking of that College. With the like general conſent and approbation he was choſen out of all the reſt of that Society to be a *Candidate* for the *Proctorſhip* in the Univerſity, into which Office he was choſen on the fourth of *May*, 1603. which was as ſoon as he was capable of it by the Univerſity Statutes; which Office he diſcharged with great applauſe as to himſelf, and general ſatisfaction unto others. Doctor *George Abbot* Maſter of *Univerſity* College (who afterwards attained to the See of *Canterbury*) was at that time *Vice-chancellor* of the Univerſity, whom with the reſt of the Doctors and *Heads* of Houſes he accompanied to *Woodſtock* Mannor, to preſent themſelves and tender their moſt humble ſervice to the moſt Mighty Prince King *James*, ſucceeding on the 24th. of *March* before to the Crown of *England*: And in this year it was (but whether in reading of the Lecture of Mrs. *May's* Foundation, or ſome other *Chappel Exerciſe*, I am not able to ſay) he maintained the conſtant and perpetual *viſibility* of the Church of Chriſt, derived from the Apoſtles to the Church of *Rome*, continued in that Church (as in others of the *Eaſt* and *South*) till the *Reformation*. Dr. *Abbot* Maſter of *Univerſity* College, and *Vice-chancellor*, was of a different opinion, and could not find any ſuch viſibility of the Chriſtian Church, but by tracing it as well as he could from the *Berengarians* to the *Albigenſes*, from the *Albigenſes* to the *Wickliffiſts*, from the *Wickliffiſts* unto the *Huſſites*, and from the *Huſſites* unto *Luther* and *Calvin*; for proof whereof, we may conſult a Book of his, entituled, *The Viſibility of the Church*, publiſhed in thoſe buſie Times when this impertinent Queſtion, *viz. Where was your Church before Luther?* was as impertinently inſiſted on by the Prieſts and Jeſuites. This being his opinion alſo when he lived in *Oxon*, he thought it a great derogation to his Parts and Credit, that any man ſhould dare to maintain the contrary, and thereupon conceived a ſtrong grudge againſt him, which no tract of time could either aboliſh or diminiſh.

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In the next year, *viz.* 1604. he performed his Exerciſe for *Batchelor of Divinity*, in which he maintained theſe two Points: Firſt, *The* neceſſity *of Baptiſm*: Secondly, *That there could be no true Church without* Dioceſan *Biſhops*: For which laſt he was ſhrewdly ratled by Doctor *Holland* above-mentioned, as one that did endeavour to caſt a bone of Diſcord betwixt the Church of *England*, and the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; and for the firſt it was objected, That he had taken the greateſt part of his *Suppoſition* out of *Bellarmines* Works, as if the Doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, or any neceſſary Truths, were to be renounced becauſe they are defended by that Learned Cardinal. But misfortunes ſeldom come alone, if at the leaſt it may be counted a misfortune to be reproach'd for ſtanding up in defence of truth: For not long after, *viz. Anno* 1606. he was queſtioned by Dr. *Airy*, being *Vice-chancellor* for that year, for a Sermon preached in St. *Maries* Church on the 26th. of *October*, as containing in it ſundry ſcandalous and *Popiſh* paſſages; the good man taking all things to be matter of *Popery*, which were not held forth unto

1604.

1606.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1606. him in *Calvins Inſtitutes*; conceiving that there was as much Idolatry in *bowing at the name of* JESUS, as in worſhipping the *brazen Serpent*, and as undoubtedly believing that *Antichriſt* was begotten on the Whore of *Babylon*, as that *Pharez* and *Zara* were begotten on the body of *Tamar*. Which advantage being taken by Doctor *Abbot*, he ſo violently perſecuted the poor man, and ſo openly branded him for a *Papiſt*, or at leaſt very *Popiſhly* inclined, that it was almoſt made an *Hereſie* (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be ſeen in his company, and a *miſpriſion* of *Hereſie* to give him a civil Salutation as he walked the ſtreets. But there will one day come a time, when Doctor *Abbot* may be made more ſenſible of theſe Oppreſſions, when he ſhall ſee this poor deſpiſed man ſtanding upon the higher ground, and more above him in reſpect of power, than beneath in place: So unſafe a thing it is for them that be in Authority to abuſe their power, and carry matters on to the laſt extremities, as if they had *Fortune* in a ſtring, and could be ſure to lead her with them whitherſoever they went.

This ſcandal being raiſed at *Oxon*, it was not long before it flew to *Cambridge* alſo, at what time Mr. *Joſeph Hall* (who died Biſhop of *Norwich* about the year 1657.) was exerciſing his Pen in the way of Epiſtles, in one of which inſcribed to Mr. *W. L.* (the two firſt Letters of his Name) it was generally ſuppoſed that he aimed at him, and was this that followeth. *L. Decad. 3. Epiſt.* "I would (*ſaith he*) I knew where to find you, "then I could tell how to take direct aims; whereas now I muſt pore "and conjecture. To day you are in the Tents of the *Romaniſts*, to "morrow in ours; the next day between both, againſt both. Our "Adverſaries think you ours, we theirs; your Conſcience finds you "with both, and neither. I flatter you not: This of yours is the worſt "of all tempers: Heat and cold have their uſes; Luke-warmneſs is "good for nothing, but to trouble the ſtomach. Thoſe that are ſpi-"ritually hot, find acceptation; thoſe that are ſtark cold, have a leſſer "reckoning; the mean between both is ſo much worſe, as it comes "nearer to good, and attains it not. How long will you halt in this "indifferency? Reſolve one way, and know at laſt what you do hold, "what you ſhould: Caſt off either your wings or your teeth, and "loathing this Bat-like Nature, be either a Bird or a Beaſt. To die "wavering and uncertain, your ſelf will grant fearful. If you muſt "ſettle, when begin you? If you muſt begin, why not now? It is "dangerous deferring that whoſe want is deadly, and whoſe oppor-"tunity is doubtful. God cryeth with *Jehu*, *Who is on my ſide, who?* "Look at laſt out of your window to him, and in a reſolute courage "caſt down the *Jezebel* that hath bewitched you. Is there any impe-"diment which delay will abate? Is there any which a juſt anſwer "cannot remove? If you had rather waver, who can ſettle you? "But if you love not inconſtancy, tell us why you ſtagger? Be plain, "or elſe you will never be firm, *&c.*

But notwithſtanding theſe falſe bruits, and this ſmart Epiſtle, Doctor *Buckridge* who had been his *Tutor*, and from whom he received his Principles, had better aſſurance of his unfeigned ſincerity in the true Prote-

Proteſtant Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed, than to be ſo perſwaded of him: he had not elſe preferred him to the ſervice of Biſhop *Neile*, or recommended him to the Colledge, as the fitteſt man to ſucceed him in the *Preſidents* place, when he himſelf was at the point of his preferment to the See of *Rocheſter*. So alſo had the whole Body of the Univerſity, when they conferred upon him his Degrees in Divinity, which certainly they had never done, if either they had believed him to have been a *Papiſt*, or at the leaſt ſo *Popiſhly* affected as the Faction made him. Neither could he have taken thoſe Degrees (had it been ſo with him) without a moſt perfidious diſſimulation before God and man; becauſe in taking thoſe Degrees, he muſt both take the Oath of *Supremacy*, and ſubſcribe to the three Articles contained in the 36. *Canon* of the year 1603. In the firſt of which he was to have abjured the Popes Authority, and in the next to have declared his approbation of the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: Which may ſufficiently ſerve to over-ballance the Depoſitions of Sir. *Nath. Brent* and Doctor *Featly*, the firſt of which depoſed at his Tryal, *That whilſt the Archbiſhop remained in* Oxon, *he was generally reputed to be Popiſhly affected*; the other, *Not only that the Archbiſhop was generally reported to be Popiſh when he lived in* Oxon, *but that both he and others conceived ſo of him.* But both theſe men were *Abbot*'s Creatures, and had received their Offices and Preferments from him; I need ſay no more, for had he either been a *Papiſt*, or ſo ſtrongly biaſſed on that ſide, what ſhould have hindred him from making an open *Declaration* of it, or ſtop him from a reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*? His Fellowſhip was not ſo conſiderable, but that he might preſume of a larger Maintenance beyond the Seas: Nor was he of ſuch common parts, but that he might have looked for a better welcome, and far more civil uſage there than he found at home. Preferments in the Church he had none at the preſent, nor any ſtrong preſumptions of it for the time to come, which might be a temptation to him to continue here againſt the clear light of his Underſtanding. And this may be a further Argument, not only of his unfeigned ſincerity, but of his conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs in the Religion here eſtabliſhed, that he kept his ſtation; that notwithſtanding all thoſe clamours under which he ſuffered, he was reſolved to ride out the ſtorm, and neither to deſert the Barque in which he ſailed, nor run her upon any of the *Roman Shores*. In this of a far better temper than *Tertullian* was, though as much provok'd, of whom it is reported by *Beatus Rhenanus*, That at firſt he only ſeemed to favour *Montanus*, or at the leaſt not to be diſpleaſed with his proceedings: But afterwards being continually tormented by the tongues and pens of the *Roman* Clergy, (*m*) he fell off from the obedience of the Church, and became at laſt a downright *Montaniſt*. All which together make it plain, that it was not his deſign to deſert the Church, but to preſerve her rather from being deſerted, to vindicate her by degrees from thoſe *Innovations* which by long tract of time, and the cunning practices of ſome men, had been thruſt upon her. And being once reſolved on this, the bluſtring winds which ſo raged againſt him, did rather fix him

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Cant. Doom, p. 409.

(m) *Injuria & contumeliis*, R. E. *Clericorum exagitatus in* Montani *partes tranſit.* B. Rhen. in Tertull.

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at the root, than either ſhake his reſolution, or force him to deſiſt from his purpoſe in it: And therefore it was well reſolved by Sir *Edw. Dering*, (*n*) though his greateſt enemy, *That he was always one and the ſame man; that beginning with him at* Oxon. *and ſo going on to* Canterbury, *he was unmoved and unchanged; that he never complyed with the times, but kept his own ſtand until the times came up to him*, as they after did. Such was the man, and ſuch the purpoſe of the man, whom his good friends in *Oxon.* (out of pure zeal *no doubt* we muſt take it ſo) had declared a *Papiſt*.

(n) *Collect. of Speeches, p.* 5.

During theſe Agitations and Concuſſions in the *Univerſity*, there hapned an accident at *Wanſteed* in the County of *Eſſex*, which made as great a noiſe as his being a *Papiſt*; but ſuch a noiſe as might have freed him from that Accuſation, if conſidered rightly. In the year 1605. he had been made Chaplain to *Charles* Lord *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonſhire*, a man in great favour with King *James* for his fortunate Victory at *Kinſale* in *Ireland*, by which he reduced that Realm to the obedience of this Crown, broke the whole Forces of the Rebels, and brought the Earl of *Tir-owen* a Priſoner into *England* with him. For which great Services he was by King *James* made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and one of the Lords of his Privy Council, created Earl of *Devonſhire*, and one of the Knights of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*. This Gentleman being a younger Brother of *William* Lord *Mountjoy*, and known only by the name of Sir *Charles Blunt*, while his Brother lived, had bore a ſtrong and dear affection to the Lady *Penelope* Daughter of *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*, a Lady in whom lodged all attractive Graces of Beauty, Wit, and ſweetneſs of Behaviour, which might render her the abſolute Miſtreſs of all Eyes and Hearts. And ſhe ſo far reciprocated with him in the like affection (being a compleat and gallant man) that ſome aſſurances paſt between them of a future Marriage. But her friends looking on him as a younger Brother, conſiderable only in his depending at the Court, choſe rather to diſpoſe her in Marriage to *Robert* Lord *Rich*, a man of an independent Fortune, and a known Eſtate, but otherwiſe of an uncourtly diſpoſition, unſociable, auſtere, and of no very agreeable converſation to her. Againſt this *Blunt* had nothing to plead in Bar, the promiſes which paſſed between them being made in private, no Witneſſes to atteſt unto it, and therefore not amounting to a pre-Contract in due form of Law.

But long ſhe had not lived in the Bed of *Rich*, when the old flames of her affection unto *Blunt* began again to kindle in her, and if the Sonnet in the *Arcadia* (*A Neighbour mine not long ago there was, &c.*) be not too generally miſconſtrued, ſhe made her Husband the ſole inſtrument to acquaint him with it: But whether it were ſo or not, certain it is, that having firſt had their private meetings, they afterwards converſt more openly and familiarly with one another, than might ſtand with honour unto either; eſpecially when by the death of his elder Brother, the Title of Lord *Mountjoy*, and the Eſtate remaining to it, had accrued unto him: As if the alteration of his Fortune could either leſſen the offence, or ſuppreſs the *fame*. Finding her, at his coming back from the Wars of *Ireland*, to be free from *Rich*, legally freed by a Divorce,

Divorce, and not a voluntary ſeparation only, *à toro & menſa*, as they call it; he thought himſelf obliged to make her ſome Reparation in point of Honour, by taking her into his Boſom as a Lawful Wife. Beſides, he had ſome Children by her, before ſhe was actually ſeparated from the Bed of *Rich* (ſome of which afterwards attained to Titles of Honour) whom he conceived he might have put into a capability of a Legitimation, by his ſubſequent Marriage, according to the Rule and Practice of the Civil Laws, in which it paſſeth for a Maxim, That *ſubſequens Matrimonium legitimat prolem.* And to that end he dealt ſo powerfully with his Chaplain, that he diſpoſed him to perform the Rites of that Solemnization, which was accordingly done at *Wanſteed, Decemb.* 26. being the Feſtival of St. *Steven Anno* 1605. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1605.

Nor did he want ſome Reaſons to induce him to it (beſides the perſwaſion of his Friends) which might have gained upon a man not ſo much concerned in it as he was, and may be uſed for his excuſe, if not for his juſtification alſo. He found by the averment of the Parties, that ſome aſſurances of Marriage had paſſed between them, before ſhe was eſpouſed to *Rich*; which though they could not amount to a pre-Contract *in Foro Judicii*, in a Court of Judicature; yet he might ſatisfie himſelf in the truth thereof *in Foro Conſcientiæ*, in the Court of his own private Conſcience: And thereupon he might conclude, That being ſatisfied in the reality and truth of thoſe Aſſurances, and finding that *Rich* had quitted his pretenſions to her by a formal Sentence of Divorce, he might conceive it lawful for him to perform that Service which was required at his hands. He had found alſo three Opinions touching the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of ſuch Marriages, which are made after a Divorce: The firſt, *That ſuch Marriages are lawful unto neither Party, as long as either of them liveth*; which is the Doctrine of the *Papiſts*, determined poſitively in the Council of *Trent*: The ſecond, *That ſuch Marriages are lawful to the Party wronged, but not unto the Guilty alſo*; which Opinion is maintained by ſome of the *Calviniſts* and divers of the Ancient Writers: The third, *That both the innocent and the guilty Party may lawfully marry if they pleaſe*; which *Maldonate* (*o*) makes to be the general Opinions of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Miniſters, as alſo of ſome *Catholick Doctors*. And then why might he not conceive that courſe moſt fit to be followed, in which all Parties did agree, than either of the other two, which was commended to him but by one Party only. And though he followed in this caſe the worſt way of the three, yet may it ſerve for a ſufficient Argument that he was no *Papiſt*, nor *cordially* affected unto that Religion, becauſe he acted ſo directly againſt the Doctrines and Determinations of the Church of *Rome*. If any other conſiderations of Profit, Preferment, or Compliance, did prevail upon him (as perhaps they might) they may with Charity be looked on as the common incidencies of Humane frailty, from which the holieſt and moſt learned men cannot plead Exemption.

(*o*) *Maldon. in* Mat. 19. 9

But whatſoever motives either of them had to put a fair colour upon the buſineſs, certain it is, that it ſucceeded well with neither: The Earl found preſently ſuch an alteration in the Kings countenance towards

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wards him, and ſuch a leſſening of the value which formerly had been ſet upon him, that he was put to a neceſſity of writing an Apology to defend his action: But finding how little it edified both in Court and Country, it wrought ſuch a ſad impreſſion on him, that he did not much ſurvive the miſchief, ending his life before the end of the year next following. Nor did the Chaplain brook it long without ſuch a check of Conſcience, as made him turn the Annual Feſtival of St. *Steven* into an Anniverſary Faſt, humbling himſelf from year to year upon that day before the Father of Mercies, and craving pardon for that Error which by the perſwaſions of ſome Friends, and other the temptations of fleſh and blood, he had fallen into. And for this purpoſe he compoſed this enſuing Prayer.

Cant. Doom, 29.

BEhold thy Servant, O my God, and in the bowels of thy mercy have compaſſion on me. Behold I am become a Reproach to thy holy Name, by ſerving my Ambition and the ſins of others; which though I did by the perſwaſion of other men, yet my own Conſcience did check and upbraid me in it. Lord I beſeech thee for the mercies of Jeſus Chriſt, enter not into Judgment with me thy Servant; but hear his blood imploring thy mercies for me: Neither let this Marriage *prove a* Divorcing *of my Soul from thy grace and favour; for much more happy had I been, if being mindful of this day, I had ſuffered* Martyrdom, *as did St.* Steven *the firſt of* Martyrs, *denying that which either my leſs faithful friends or leſs godly friends had preſſed upon me. I promiſed to my ſelf that the darkneſs would hide me, but that hope ſoon vaniſhed away: Nor doth the light appear more plainly, than I that have committed that foul offence: Even ſo, O Lord, it pleaſed thee of thy infinite mercy to deject me with this heavy Ignominy, that I might learn to ſeek thy Name. O Lord how grievous is the remembrance of my ſin to this very day, after ſo many and ſuch reiterated Prayers poured forth unto thee from a ſorrowful and afflicted Spirit. Be merciful, O Lord, unto me; hearken to the Prayers of thy humble and dejected Servant, and raiſe me up again O Lord, that I may not die in this my ſin, but that I may live in thee hereafter, and living evermore rejoyce in thee, through the merits and the mercies of Jeſus Chriſt my Lord and Saviour.* Amen.

A brave example of a penitent and afflicted Soul, which many of us may admire, but few will imitate. And though I doubt not but that the Lord in mercy did remit this fault, yet was he not ſo mercifully dealt with at the hands of men, by whom it was ſo frequently and reproachfully caſt in the way of his Preferment, that he was fain to make the *Duke* of *Buckingham* acquainted with the ſtory of it, and by his means to poſſeſs King *Charles* his *gracious Maſter* with the truth thereof: So long it was before his Enemies had deſiſted from preſſing this unhappy Error to his diſadvantage.

9 Bre. p.4. & p.6.

1608. The *Earl* of *Devonſhire* being dead, he was by Doctor *Buckridge* his moſt conſtant friend (*Anno* 1608.) commended to the Service of Doctor *Richard Neile*, then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, a man who very well underſtood the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, though otherwiſe not

not ſo eminent in all parts of Learning, as ſome other Biſhops of his time: But what he wanted in himſelf, he made good in the choice of his Servants, having more able men about him from time to time than any other of that Age: Amongſt which (not to reckon *Laud*, of whom now I ſpeak) were Doctor *Auguſtine Linſell* Biſhop of *Hereford*, Doctor *Thomas Jackſon* Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxon.* and Dean of *Peterborough*, Doctor *John Coſen* Prebend of *Durham*, and Dean of *Peterborough* after *Jackſon*, Doctor *Benjamin Lany* Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and Dean of *Rocheſter*, Doctor *Robert Newell* his half Brother, Prebend of *Weſtminſter* and *Durham*, and Archdeacon of *Buckingham*, Doctor *Gabriel Clarke* Prebend and Archdeacon of *Durham*, Doctor *Eliazer Duncum* one of the Prebends of *Durham* alſo, Mr. *Barlow* a right ſolid man, but not poſſeſſed of any Dignity in the Church to my beſt remembrance; and ſome others of good note, whoſe Names and Titles I cannot preſently call to mind. In the beginning of the Reign of King *James* (by the power and mediation of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*) he was made Clerk of the Cloſet to that King, that ſtanding continually at his Elbow, he might be ready to perform good offices to the Church and Church-men: And he diſcharged his truſt ſo well, that though he loſt the love of ſome of the Courtiers, who where too viſibly inclined to the *Puritan* Faction, yet he gained the favour of his Maſter, by whom he was preferred to the *Deanry* of *Weſtminſter*, and afterwards ſucceſſively to the Biſhopricks of *Rocheſter*, *Litchfield*, *Lincoln*, and *Durham*, one of the richeſt in the Kingdom; which ſhews that there was in him ſomething more than ordinary, which made that King ſo bountiful and gracious to him. Nor ſtaid he there, but by the Power and Favour of this his Chaplain, he was promoted in the Reign of King *Charles* to the See of *Winton*, and finally exalted to the *Metropolitan* See of *York*, where at laſt he died about the latter end of *October* 1640. None of his Chaplains received ſo much into his Counſels as Doctor *Laud* (to which degree he was admitted in the year 1608.) whom he found both an active and a truſty Servant, as afterwards a moſt conſtant and faithful friend upon all occaſions. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1608.

The firſt Eccleſiaſtical Preferment which fell unto him was the Vicarage of *Stamford* in *Northamptonſhire*: But having put himſelf into the Service of Biſhop *Neile*, he was by him preferred unto the Rectory of *Cuckſtone* in *Kent*, toward the latter end of *May* 1610. On the acceptance thereof he gave over his Fellowſhip in *October* following, that ſo he might more fully apply himſelf to the ſervice of his Lord and Patron. But *Cuckſtone* proving an unhealthy place, he exchanged it for another called *Norton*; a Benefice of leſs value, but ſituate in a better and more healthy Air: His Patron in the mean time being tranſlated to the See of *Litchfield* on the end of *September*, whoſe Fortunes he was reſolved to follow, till God ſhould pleaſe to provide otherwiſe for him: For firſt the Biſhop, before his going off from the Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, which he held *in commendam* with his Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*, obtained for him of King *James*, (to whom not otherwiſe known but by his Recommendation) the Reverſion of a *Prebend* 1610.

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bend in that Church; which though it fell not to him until ten years after, yet it fell at last, and thereby neighbour'd him to the Court. And on the other side, his good Friend and Tutor Doctor *Buckridge* being nominated Successor unto *Neile* in the See of *Rochester*, laid a good ground for his succession in the *Presidentship* of St. *John's* College, thereby to render him considerable in the University. But this was both suspected and feared by *Abbot*, who being consecrated Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* on the third of *December* 1609. and from thence removed to *London* in the end of *January* next ensuing, resolved to hinder the design with all care and diligence: So natural a thing it is to hate the man whom we have wronged; to keep him down, whom we have any cause to fear, when we have him under. To which end he made great Complaints against him to *Thomas* Lord *Elsmer*, Lord Chancellor of *England* many years before, and newly then made Chancellor of that University, on the death of the Lord Archbishop *Bancroft*, insinuating to him, *That he was at the least a* Papist *in heart, and cordially addicted unto* Popery; *That he kept company with none but profest and suspected* Papists; and, *That if he were suffered to have any place of Government in the University, it would undoubtedly turn to the great Detriment of Religion, and Dishonour of his Lordship.* The Chancellor hereupon makes his Address unto the King, informing him of all which had been told him concerning *Laud*, which was like to have destroy'd his hopes to that design (notwithstanding his petition to the King to believe otherwise of him) if Bishop *Neile* his constant and unmoveable Friend, had not acquainted his Majesty with the Abilities of the man, and the old grudge which *Abbot* had conceived against him.

This Bar being thus removed, the design for the Presidentship went on; in the obtaining whereof, he found a greater difficulty than he had expected: *Rawlinson*, once a Fellow of the same House, and afterwards Principal of St. *Edmonds Hall*, appearing a Competitor for it. Each of them having prepared his Party, the Fellows proceeded to an *Election*, *May* 10. *Anno* 1611. The *Scrutiny* being made, and the *Election* at the point to be declared, one of the Fellows of *Rawlinson's* Party, seeing which way the business was like to go, snatch'd up the Paper, and tore it suddenly in pieces. The Nomination being thus unhappily frustrated, an Appeal was made unto King *James*, who spent three hours in giving Audience to both parties; and upon full consideration of the Proofs and Allegations on either side (notwithstanding all the former practices and prejudices to incline him otherwise) he gave Sentence in behalf of *Laud*; which hapning on the 29th. of *August*, being the day of the beheading of St. *John Baptist*, by whose Name that College was entituled by the Founder of it, had given an occasion unto some to look upon it as an *Omen* or *Prognostication*, that this new Head should suffer death by being beheaded, as the other did. The King having thus passed Judgment for him, he was thereupon sworn and admitted *President*; and being so sworn and admitted, he could not for example sake but inflict some punishment on the party who had torn the *Scrutiny*: But knowing him for a man of hopeful Parts,

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Parts, induſtrious in his Studies, and of a Courage not to be diſliked, he not only releaſed him from the Cenſure under which he lay, but took him into ſpecial Favour, truſted him in all his weighty buſineſſes, made him his Chaplain, and preferred him from one good Benefice to another, married him to his Brothers Daughter, and finally promoted him to the very *Preſidentſhip* (which had been the firſt cauſe of that breach) and one of the beſt *Deanries* of the Kingdom. To ſuch others of the Fellows as had oppoſed him in his Election to that place, he always ſhewed a fair and equal countenance, hoping to gain them by degrees: But if he found any of them to be untractable, not eaſily to be gained by favours, he would find ſome handſom way or other to remove them out of the Colledge, that others not engaged upon either ſide might ſucceed in their places. But notwithſtanding all this care, the Faction ſtill held up againſt him, the younger fry inclining to the ſame ſide which had been taken by their Tutors. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1611.

But whiles theſe things were in agitation, there hapned a great alteration in the Church of *England*, by the death of the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, who died on the ſecond of *November* 1610. and with whom died the *Uniformity* of the Church of *England*. A man he was of eminent parts, and of a moſt undaunted ſpirit; one who well knew his work and did it. When Chaplain only to the Lord *Chancellor Hatton*, he piec'd himſelf with Doctor *Whitgift*, not long after his firſt coming to the See of *Canterbury*, to whom he proved a great ſupport in gaining the Lord *Chancellor* for him, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was enabled to hold out againſt the over-ruling Power of the *Earl* of *Leiceſter*, the Patron-General of the Faction. In the year 1588. he Preached a Sermon at Saint *Paul's* Croſs, and therein made an open Declaration of thoſe manifold Dangers which the prevalency of that Faction would bring upon the Church and State, if they might be ſuffered; which blow he followed in a Book entituled, *Dangerous Poſitions and Proceedings publiſhed and practiſed within this Iſland of* Britain, *under pretence of Reformation, and for the* Presbyterial *Diſcipline:* And in that Book he made ſuch a perfect diſcovery of their Plots and Practices, and ſo anatomized them in every part, that he made them odious unto thoſe who before had been their greateſt Patrons. In the year 1593. he publiſhed another Treatiſe, entituled, *A Survey of the Pretended holy Diſcipline*, in which he ſo diſſected the whole Body of *Calvin's Presbyterial Platform*, ſhewing the incoherencies of it in it ſelf, and the inconſiſtencies thereof with *Monarchical* Government, that he took off the edge of many (and thoſe Great ones too) who had not only ſeemed to like it, but had longed for it: The Plot was ſo laid down by *Whitgift*, that at the ſame time there ſhould come out two other Books, the one written by Doctor *Thomas Bilſon*, Warden of the Colledge near *Winton*, for proof of the Antiquity and perpetual Government of the Church by Biſhops; the other by Doctor *Richard Coſens* a right Learned Civilian, in juſtification of the Proceedings in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. By which four Books the *Puritan* Faction was ſo

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muzled, that they were not able to *bark* in a long time after: nor do they want their ſeveral and juſt Rewards for ſuch good performances, *Bilſon* being firſt made *Biſhop* of *Worceſter*, and not long after Biſhop of *Winton*, *Bancroft* advanced to the See of *London*, and Doctor *Coſens* Vicar-general and Dean of the Arches, within few years after being conſecrated Biſhop of *London*, on the eighth of *May* 1597. he kept ſuch a watchful eye over it, and held ſo ſtrict a hand upon it, that from a receptacle and retreat of the *Grandees* of the *Puritan* party, it became almoſt as free from Faction as any other in the Kingdom: And knowing how much the Peace of this Church did depend upon it, he managed a ſecret Correſpondency with King *James* in *Scotland*, inſinuating unto him the neceſſity of conforming the Churches of both Kingdoms in Government and Forms of Worſhip, and laying down a plot for reſtoring *Epiſcopacy* to that kirk, without noiſe or trouble: Which counſel being adviſedly followed by King *James* before his coming into *England*, was afterwards ſo well purſued (though not without ſome violent ſtrugling of the *Presbyterians* of that Kingdom) that on the 21. day of *October* in the year 1609. the deſigned Biſhops of *Glaſcow*, *Brechen*, and *Gallo-Way* received Epiſcopal Conſecration in the Chappel of *London*-houſe, by the hands of Doctor *George Abbot* then Biſhop of *London*, Doctor *Lancelot Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely*, Doctor *James Montague* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and Doctor *Richard Neile* then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; *Bancroft* himſelf forbearing to lay hands upon them, for the avoiding of all ſcruples amongſt the *Scots*, as if he pretended any Juriſdiction or Authority over them.

In the mean time, *Anno* 1603. he carried a chief hand in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*; and had the ſole management of the *Convocation* of the ſame year alſo, in which he paſſed that excellent body of *Canons* and *Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical*, to ſerve for a perpetual ſtanding Rule to the Church of *England*. Succeeding *Whitgift* in the See of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1604. he reſolved to put the *Canons* into execution, and preſs'd it with ſo ſtout a courage, that few had confidence enough to ſtand out againſt him: Some of them did, and thoſe he either depriv'd or ſilenc'd, and thereby terrified the reſt to an open conformity. They ſaw too plainly that they muſt not dally with his patience, as they did with *Whitgifts*; and that he was reſolved to *break* them, if they would not *bow*: And they did wiſely in ſo *bowing*; for who could ſtand againſt a man of ſuch a ſpirit, armed with Authority, having the Law on his ſide, and the King to friend, who had declared publickly in the (p) *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, That if they would not conform, he would either hurry them out of the Kingdom, or elſe do worſe? In the year 1608, he was choſen *Chancellor* at *Oxon*, and queſtionleſs would have ſet all things right in that Univerſity, if Sickneſs and the ſtroke of Death had not prevented his intendments. But die he muſt; and being dead, there was a Conſultation amongſt ſome of the Biſhops and other Great men of the Court, whom to commend unto King *James* for his Succeſſor in that *See*. They knew that *Montague* and *Abbot* would be venturing

(p) *Conf. at Hamp. p.* 85.

venturing at it, but they had not confidence enough in either of them, both of them being extremely popular, and ſuch as would ingratiate themſelves with the *Puritan* Faction, how dearly ſoever the Church paid for it: And thereupon it was reſolved to fix on *Andrews* for the man; a man, as one ſays very well of him, of Primitive Antiquity, in whom was to be found whatever is deſirable in a Biſhop, even to admiration; to whom they found the King to be well affected, for taking up the Bucklers for him againſt Cardinal *Bellarmine*. The Motion was no ſooner made, but it was embraced, and they departed from the King with as good aſſurance as if the buſineſs had been done, and *Andrews* fully ſetled in the Throne of *Canterbury*. In confidence whereof, ſome of them retired to their Country Houſes, and others leſſened their accuſtomed diligence about the King, and thereby gave an opportunity to the Earl of *Dunbar* (a powerful Miniſter of State) to put in for *Abbot*, who had attended him in ſome Negotiations which he had with the *Scots*; and he put in ſo powerfully in his behalf, that at laſt he carried it, and had the Kings Hand to the paſſing of the publick Inſtruments, before the other Biſhops ever heard of the Plot: But when they heard of it, there was no *Remedy* but Patience; but it was *Patience perforce*, as the Proverb hath it: For much they feared that *Abbot* would unravel all the Web which *Bancroft* with ſuch pains had weaved, and *that he was* (as the ſame Author well obſerves) *better qualified with Merit for the Dignity, than with a ſpirit anſwering the Function*. Follow his Character to the end, and you ſhall be told, "That in the exerciſing of his Functi- "on he was conceived too facil and yielding: His extraordinary Re- "miſneſs in not exacting ſtrict Conformity to the preſcribed Orders "of the Church in point of Ceremony, ſeemed to reſolve thoſe Le- "gal Determinations to their firſt Principle of Indifferency, and led in "ſuch an habit of Inconformity, as the future Reduction of thoſe ten- "der Conſcienced men, to long diſcontinued Obedience, was at the "laſt interpreted an Innovation. If *Andrews* had ſucceeded *Bancroft*, and *Land* followed *Andrews*, the Church would have been ſetled ſo ſure on a Foundation, that it could not eaſily have been ſhaken; to the preventing of thoſe deplorable Miſeries, which the Remiſs Government of that Popular Prelate did ſo unfortunately bring both on the Church and State.

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1610.

Hiſt. of K. Charles by H. L. p. 31.

But to go forward where we left, *Land* was no ſooner ſetled in the Preſidentſhip of his Colledge, but he conceived himſelf advanced, one ſtep at the leaſt, towards a Precedency in the Church, and therefore thought it was high time to caſt an eye upon the Court. His good Friend and Patron Biſhop *Neile*, then being of *Rocheſter*, had procured him a Turn before the King at *Theobalds* on the 17th. of *September* 1609. and by the power and favour of the ſame man, being then tranſlated unto *Litchfield*, he was ſworn one of his Majeſties Chaplains in Ordinary on the third of *November*, *Anno* 1611. yet ſo that he continued his dependencies on his former Lord, to whom he was as dear and neceſſary as before he was; enjoying freely all the accommodations of his Houſe, whenſoever his occaſions brought him to *London*.

1611.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1611. Having thus ſet foot within the Court, he promiſed himſelf great hopes of ſome preſent preferment; but thoſe hopes deceived him. Nothing is more uncertain than Court Preferments: Some have them ſuddenly at the firſt, and then continue at a ſtand without farther Additions, as in the caſe of Doctor *Young* Dean of *Wincheſter*: Some attend long, and get nothing, as in the Caſe of Mr. *Arthur Terringham*, and many others; and ſome are in the ſame caſe with the Apoſtles in St. *John* (z.) when they went a fiſhing, of whom it is ſaid, *That having caught nothing all the night, they caſt their net the next morning on the right ſide of the Ship, and then they were not able to draw it for the multitude of Fiſhes.* And ſo it was with this new Chaplain; many Preferments fell, but none fell to him; For whenſoever any opportunity was offered for his Advancement, Archbiſhop *Abbot* (who had before defamed him to the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, and by his mouth unto the King) would be ſure to caſt ſomewhat in his diſh; ſometimes inculcating to him all his actings at *Oxon*, and ſometimes rubbing up the old ſore of his unfortunate buſineſs with the Earl of *Devonſhire*. Theſe Artifices ſo eſtranged the Kings Countenance from him, that having waited four years, and ſeeing his hopes more deſperate than at the firſt, he was upon the point of leaving the Court, and retiring wholly into his Colledge: But firſt he thought it not amiſs to acquaint his dear Friend and Patron Biſhop *Neile*, both with his reſolution and the reaſons of it. But *Neile* was not to be told what he knew before; and therefore anſwered, That he was very ſenſible of thoſe many neglects which were put upon him, and ſaw too clearly that he had been too long under a cloud; but howſoever adviſed him to ſtay one year longer, and that if he had no better encouragement within that year, he would conſent to his retirement. In the mean time to keep him up in heart and ſpirit, as he had given him the *Prebendary* of *Bugden* belonging to the *Church* of *Lincoln* (to which See he had been tranſlated *Anno* 1613.) but the year before; ſo in the year of his complaint, which was 1615. he conferred upon him alſo the *Archdeaconry* of *Huntington*. It had pleaſed God to diſpoſe of his Affairs, that before the year of expectation was fully ended, his Majeſty began to take him into his better thoughts, and for a teſtimony thereof beſtowed upon him the *Deanry* of *Gloveſter*, void by the Death of the Reverend Right Learned Doctor *Field*, whoſe excellent Works will keep his Name alive to ſucceeding Ages: A *Deanry* of no very great value, but ſuch as kept him up in reputation, and made men ſee he was not ſo contemptible in the Eyes of the King as it was generally imagined.

(z) *Joh.* 21. *v.* 3, 6.

1614.

But before we follow him to *Gloceſter*, we muſt take *Oxon* in our way, in which had hapned no ſmall alteration ſince we left it laſt: Doctor *Henry Holland* Rector of *Exeter* Colledge, and his Majeſties Profeſſor for Divinity, having left his Life in the end of the year 1611. it ſeemed good to Archbiſhop *Abbot* to make uſe of his Power and Favour with King *James*, for preferring to that place his Elder Brother Doctor *Robert Abbot*, being then Maſter of *Baliol* Colledge, and Rector of *Bingham* in the County of *Nottingham*: He had before been Fellow of it, and Doctor *Lilly* dying ſo opportunely for the furtherance of his Pre-

Preferment in the Univerſity, he ſucceeded Maſter in his place *March* 9. 1609. being the next Month after his Brother had been advanced to the See of *London*: A man he was of eminent Learning, as his Works declare, and a more moderate *Calvinian* than either of his Predeceſſors, which he expreſſed by countenancing the *Sublapſarian* way of *Predeſtination*; by means whereof he incurred the high diſpleaſure of the *Supralapſarians*, who until then had carried all before them, without gaining any thing on thoſe who liked well of neither: But depending altogether on the will of his Brother, he thought he could not gratifie and oblige him more, than in purſuing his old quarrels againſt *Laud* and others, whom he knew to be diſreliſhed by him, which he thus purſued. It hapned that *Laud* Preaching on *Shrove-Sunday*, *Anno* 1014. inſiſted on ſome points which might indifferently be imputed either to *Popery* or *Arminianiſm*, (as about that time they began to call it) though in themſelves they were no other than the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England*: And having occaſion in that Sermon to touch upon the *Presbyterians* and their Proceedings, he uſed ſome words to this effect, *viz. That the* Presbyterians *were as bad as the* Papiſts: Which being ſo directly contrary to the Judgment and Opinion of this Doctor *Abbot*, and knowing how much *Laud* had been diſtaſted by his Brother when he lived in *Oxon.* conceived he could not better ſatisfie himſelf, and oblige his Brother the Archbiſhop, than by expoſing him (on the next occaſion) both to ſhame and cenſure, which he did accordingly: For being *Vice-chancellor* for the year, and Preaching at St. *Peters* upon *Eaſter-day* in the afternoon, he pointed at him ſo directly, that none of the Auditors were ſo ignorant, as not to know at whom he aimed. *Laud* not being preſent at the firſt Preaching of the Sermon, was by his friends perſwaded to ſhew himſelf at St. *Maries* on the *Sunday* after, when it ſhould come to be repeated (according to the ancient Cuſtom of that Univerſity) to whoſe perſwaſions giving an unwilling conſent, he heard himſelf ſufficiently abuſed for almoſt an hour together, and that ſo palpably and groſly, that he was pointed too as he ſate: Some of the paſſages of which Sermon I ſhall here ſubjoyn, becauſe howſoever they might bring to him ſome preſent and perſonal diſgrace, yet they redounded at the laſt to the great good and benefit of the Univerſity.

LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1615.

Some (ſaid the Doctor in his Sermon) *are partly* Romiſh, *partly* Engliſh, *as occaſion ſerved them, that a man might ſay unto them*, Noſter es, an Adverſariorum? *who under pretence of Truth, and Preaching againſt the* Puritan, *ſtrike at the heart and root of the Faith and Religion now eſtabliſhed amongſt us*, &c. *That they cannot plead they are accounted* Papiſts, *becauſe they ſpeak againſt the* Puritan, *but becauſe, being indeed*, Papiſts, *they ſpeak nothing againſt them*; *If they do at any time ſpeak againſt the* Papiſts, *they do but beat a little about the buſh, and that but ſoftly too, for fear of waking and diſquieting the birds that are in it*; *they ſpeak nothing but that wherein one* Papiſt *will ſpeak againſt another*; *as againſt Equivocation, and the Popes Temporal Authority, and the like*; *and perhaps ſome of their blaſphemous ſpeeches:*

But

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But in the Points of Free Will, Juſtification, Concupiſcence being a ſin after Baptiſm, Inherent Righteouſneſs, and certainty of Salvation; *The* Papiſts *beyond the Seas can ſay they are wholly theirs*; *and the* Recuſants *at home make their brags of them. And in all things they keep themſelves ſo near the brink, that upon any occaſion they may ſtep over to them. Now for this ſpeech, that the* Presbyterians *are as bad as the* Papiſts, *there is a ſting in the ſpeech, which I wiſh had been left out, for there are many Churches beyond the Seas which contend for the Religion eſtabliſhed amongſt us, and yet have approved and admitted the* Presbytery, *&c.*

After which, having ſpoken ſomewhat in juſtification of *Presbyteries*, he proceeded thus:

Might not Chriſt ſay (ſaith he) *What art thou,* ROMISH *or* ENGLISH? PAPIST *or* PROTESTANT? *Or what art thou? A Mungrel or compound of both: A* Proteſtant *by* Ordination, *a* Papiſt *in point of Free Will, Inherent Righteouſneſs, and the like. A* Proteſtant *in receiving the Sacrament, a* Papiſt *in the Doctrine of the Sacrament? What, do you think there are two Heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place your ſelves there, for into this where I am ye ſhall not come.*

It is not to be doubted but that he was much troubled at this harſh uſage, and might have been more troubled at it had he ſtood alone; had not ſome others of eminent note, been handled in as ill a manner not long before: *Howſon*, and *Corbet*, both of *Chriſt-church*, had been Præcurſors in this caſe, to the Preſident of St. *John Baptiſt*, the *Præcurſor of Chriſt*: Of theſe, the firſt, being a grave and Reverend perſon, an ancient Doctor in Divinity, and one of the *Canons* of the Church, had been Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, when *Laud* had but newly taken on him the Order of Prieſthood; but none of theſe could priviledge him from feeling the dint of that mans ſpirit: For Preaching at St. *Maries* in the year 1612. he took occaſion to ſpeak of the *Geneva* Notes on the Bible, accuſing them as guilty of miſinterpretation touching the Divinity of Chriſt and his Meſſiahſhip, (as my Author (*f*) hath it) as if ſymbolizing with *Arrians* and *Jews* againſt them both. Whereupon he was ſuſpended by this Dr. *Abbot*, *Propter conciones publicas minus Orthodoxas, & offenſionis plenas*; that is to ſay, for ſome publick Sermons being leſs Orthodox, and fuller of offence than they ought to have been. The other, being a man of great wit and able parts, had been Proctor of the Univerſity, in the ſame year in which *Howſon* did incur this Cenſure: And preaching the *Paſſion* Sermon at *Chriſt-Church*, *Anno* 1613. inſiſted on the Article of Chriſts deſcending into Hell, and therein grated upon *Calvins* manifeſt perverting of the true ſenſe and meaning of it: For which he was ſo ratled up by the Repetitioner, not without *Abbots* ſetting on (as it was generally conceived) that if he had not been a man of a very great courage, it might have made him aſhamed of ſtaying in the Univerſity;

(*f*) Church Hiſt. *l.* 10. *p.* 59.

sity; so dangerous a thing it was to touch at any thing in which *Geneva* was concerned. For the best was, that none of them sunk under the burden of these oppressions, if (like the *Camomile*) they did not rise the higher by it. For *Howson* on the ninth of *May*, 1616. succeeded Dr. *John Bridges* in the See of *Oxon.* from thence translated unto *Durham*, *Anno* 1627. and left behind him this commendation, (*t*) that he was a very learned man, and plentifully endowed with all those vertues which were most proper for a Bishop, as *Godwin* tells us of him in his *Continuation*. *Corbet*, being made *Dean* of *Christ-church* in the year 1620. succeeded Bishop *Howson* in the See of *Oxon.* and died Bishop of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1635. And how it did succeed with *Land*, the course of this ensuing History will at large inform us.

(*t*) *Vir eruditus & virtutibus Episcopalibus instructus.* Godw. in Continuat.

For he being very sensible of so great an injury, thought it fit to prevent the same by giving an account of it to the Bishop of *Lincoln*; which he did on the Morrow after the Repetition, being the eighteenth day of *April*, desiring his advice, whether he should sit down by the wrong, or make *Abbot* as sensible of it as he was himself. What direction he received in it I am not able to say, but as it seems he was advised to sit down with patience, not to exasperate either of the *Abbots*, and thereby to provoke more enemies against him than he had already. And I conceive that this Advice was given unto him, because I cannot find that he stirred any further in it; the rather in regard that *Abbot* was nominated not long after to the Bishopriek of *Salisbury* in the place of Dr. *Henry Cotton*, who died on the seventh of *May* next following. And yet this Bishopriek was not carried so clearly for him, notwithstanding his Brothers great power and credit in the Court: but that a very strong opposition was made against him; which being overcome at last, he received Episcopal Consecration on the third of *December*, leaving the Chair to Dr. *John Prideaux*, Rector of *Exeter* Colledge, who proved a vehement assertor of all the *Calvinian* rigours in the matter of Predestination, and the Points depending thereupon; as appears by his first Lecture, *De Absoluto Decreto*, and the rest which followed.

Dr. *Abbot* being thus removed to an higher sphere, it seemed not good to *Land* to pursue the quarrel, but patiently to attend the year of his expectation; before the expiring whereof the King bestowed upon him the Deanry of *Glocester*, as before was said. At the bestowing of which Deanry his Majesty told him, that he had been informed that there was scarce ever a Church in *England* so ill governed, and so much out of order as that was, requiring him in the general to reform and set in order what he found amiss. Being thus forewarned, and withal forearmed, he makes haste to *Glocester*, where he found the Church in great decay, many things out of order in it, the Communion Table standing almost in the middest of the Quire, contrary to the posture of it in his Majesties Chappel, and of all the Cathedral Churches which he had seen. Which being observed, he called a *Chapter* of the Prebends, and having acquainted them with his Majesties Instructions, easily obtained their consent to two *Chapter* Acts: The one, for the speedy Repairing of the Church where it was most necessary:

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1616.

neceſſary: The other, for tranſpoſing the Communion Table to the Eaſt end of the Quire, and placing it all along the Wall, according to the ſituation of it in other Cathedral or Mother Churches, which Tranſpoſition being made, he recommended to the Prebendaries, the Quire-men, Choriſters, and the under-Officers of the Church the making of their humble reverence to Almighty God, not only at their firſt entrance into the Quire, but at their approaches toward the holy Table; according to the laudable cuſtom of the Primitive times, retained ſtill in the ſolemnities of the Knights of the Garter at the Act in *Oxon*, in the Chappels of his Majeſty, and divers great perſons in the Realm. His Majeſties inſtructions, the Contents of the two Chapter Acts, and how he had proceeded on them, I find certified under his hand in two Letters; The one, to his good Friend the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, bearing date *March* 3. 1616. The other, unto the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* (who had ſhewed himſelf offended at his proceedings) bearing date one the twenty ſeventh of *February* then next foregoing.

The Biſhop of *Gloceſter* at that time was Dr. *Miles Smith*, once of *Brazen-noſe* Colledge, a great Hebrician, and one that took as much pains as any in the laſt Tranſlation of the Bible, as a reward for which he received this Biſhoprick. But then withal he was a man that ſpared not to ſhew himſelf upon all occaſions in favour of the *Calvinian* party; and more particularly in countenancing the Lecturers within his Dioceſs againſt the lawful Miniſter of the Pariſh whenever any complaint of their proceedings was made unto him. No ſooner had he heard what the new *Dean* had done about the Communion Table, but he expreſſed his diſlike of it, and oppoſed it with all the power he had; But finding that he could not prevail according unto his deſires, he is ſaid to have proteſted unto the *Dean*, and ſome of the Prebends, that if the Communion Table were removed, or any ſuch Innovations brought into that Cathedral, he would never come more within thoſe Walls; which Promiſe or Proteſtation he is ſaid by ſome to have made good, and not to have come within that Church to his dying day: Which if he did forbear upon that occaſion, he muſt needs ſhew himſelf a man of great pertinacity, and one that feared not to give a publick ſcandal to the Church, and the Court to boot; This tranſpoſition being made in the declining of the year 1616. his Palace ſtanding near the walls of that Cathedral, and he not dying till the year 1624. which was eight years after. Seeing how little he prevailed, one *White* his Chaplain takes upon him in a Letter written to the *Chancellor* of that *Dioceſs*, to acquaint him with the ſtrange Reports which were come unto them touching the ſituation of the Communion Table in the place where the High Altar ſtood before, and that low obeyſances were made to it, aſſuring him, how much the ſecret Papiſts would rejoyce, in hope that that which they long looked for was now near at hand; In which Letter he alſo challenged and upbraided the Prebends, and other Preachers of that City, that they did not offer either by word or deed to reſiſt the *Dean* in thoſe proceedings; admiring that no man ſhould have any ſpark of *Elias* Spirit to ſpeak a word in Gods behalf, that the Preachers ſhould ſwallow down ſuch things in

in ſilence, and that the Prebends ſhould be ſo faint-hearted as to ſhrink in the firſt wetting, eſpecially having the Law on their ſide againſt it. LIB. I. *Anno Dom.* 1616.

It was not long before this Letter was made a Libel: Either the Letter it ſelf, or a Copy of it, being caſt into the Pulpit at St. *Michaels* Church, where *Prior* the *Sub-dean* uſed to preach; to the end that he and others of the *Prebendaries* might take notice of it. Found by the Pariſh-Clerk, and by him put into the hands of the Curate, by them communicated unto others, who took Copies of it, and in ſhort time divulged it over all the City. The City was at that time much peſtered with the Puritan Faction, which was grown multitudinous and ſtrong by reaſon of the ſmall abode which the Dean and Prebendaries made amongſt them, the dull connivence of their Biſhop, and the remiſs Government of their *Metropolitan*, ſo that it ſeemed both ſafe and eaſie to ſome of the Rabble to make an out-cry in all places, that *Popery* was coming in; that the tranſlating of the Communion Table into *an Altar*, with the worſhip and obeyſance which were done to it, were Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and the like. *Jones*, one of the Aldermen of the City, and a Juſtice of the Peace withal, cauſed ſome of the principal diſperſers of this Libellous Letter to be brought before him, committed ſome of them to priſon, and threatned to bind the reſt to their good behaviour. But fearing leſt his own power might not be ſufficient to cruſh that Faction which had begun to gather ſtrength by long connivence, he adviſed that the buſineſs might be referred to the *High Commiſſioners*, as men more able to deal with them. Notice hereof being given to the new *Dean* by ſome Letters thence, bearing date *Feb.* 21. he addreſſed this Letter abovementioned to the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*: In which he deſired ſuch Favour and Equity at his hands, as that his Lordſhip would join to reform ſuch Tongues and Pens as knew not how to ſubmit to any Law but their own; that of neceſſity he was to acquaint his Gracious Majeſty, not only with the thing it ſelf, but with the entertainment which it found among Turbulent Spirits; and that he doubted not but that his Majeſty would be well pleaſed to hear how careful his Lordſhip ſhewed himſelf in preſerving the Order and Peace of the Church. But fearing that the Biſhop, whoſe Chaplain was the ſole cauſe of the miſchief, would not be very forward to redreſs it, he diſpatched the other Letter, abovementioned, to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and in that Letter he deſired his Lordſhip (having firſt moved that the High Commiſſion would be pleaſed to take ſome ſpeedy order in it) to let him have his lawful aſſiſtance, to the end that ſo long as he did nothing but what was eſtabliſhed and practiſed in the Church of *England*, he might not be brought into contempt by turbulent Spirits, at his firſt entrance on that place, and ſo be diſinabled to do that good ſervice which he owed to the Church of Chriſt; withal propounding to his Lordſhip, that if it ſtood with his good liking, his Majeſty might be acquainted with the firſt ſucceſs of his endeavours for reforming ſuch things as he found moſt amiſs in that Church, *&c.*

Whilſt theſe things were thus agitated in the Reformation of the Church of *Gloceſter*, there were other Actings in the Court, touching

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the Reformation of ſome things in the *Univerſity* of *Oxon.* *Laud* had before informed the Biſhop of *Lincoln* concerning the coarſe uſage which he had from Dr. *Abbot*, as before was ſaid. Which being repreſented to his Majeſty, it was withal inſinuated to him what dangers would proceed by the training up of young Students in the Grounds of *Calviniſm*, if ſome directions were not iſſued from his Majeſty for the courſe of their ſtudies; that there was no readier way to advance the *Presbyterial* Government in this Kingdom than by ſuffering young Scholars to be ſeaſoned with *Calvinian* Doctrines; that it was very hard to ſay, whether of the two, either the Puritan, or the Papiſt were more deſtructive of *Monarchical* Government; and finally, that for want of ſubſcription to the three Articles contained in the 36. *Canon*, not only *Lecturers*, but divers other Preachers, in and about the Univerſity, poſitively maintained ſuch points of Doctrine, as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of *England*. Which matter his Majeſty having taken into conſideration, by the advice of ſuch Biſhops and others of the Clergy, as were then about him, upon the eighteenth of *January* he diſpatch't theſe Directions following to the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Colledges and Halls, the two Profeſſors, and the two Proctors of the Univerſity, to be carefully and ſpeedily put in execution.

JAMES REX.

1. *That it was his Majeſties pleaſure that he would have all that take any degree in Schools, to ſubſcribe to the three Articles in the* 36th Canon.
2. *That no Preacher be allowed to Preach in the Town, but ſuch as are every way conformable both by ſubſcription and every other way.*
3. *That all Students do reſort to the Sermons in St.* Maries, *and be reſtrained from going to any other Church in the time of St.* Maries *Sermons; and that proviſion be made that the Sermons in St.* Maries *be diligently made and performed, both before noon and after noon.*
4. *That the ordinary* Divinity *Act be conſtantly kept with three* Replicants.
5. *That there be a greater Reſtraint of Scholars haunting Town-houſes, eſpecially in the night.*
6. *That all Schollars, both at the Chappels, and at the Schools, keep their* Scholaſtical Habits.
7. *That young Students in Divinity be directed to ſtudy ſuch books as be moſt agreeable in Doctrine and Diſcipline to the Church of* England, *and incited to beſtow their times in the Fathers, and Councils, Schoolmen, Hiſtories, and Controverſies, and not to inſiſt too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviatures, making them the Grounds of their ſtudy in* Divinity.
8. *That no man, either in Pulpit or Schools, be ſuffered to maintain Dogmatically any point of Doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of* England.
9. *That Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and the two Profeſſors, or two of the Heads of Houſes, do at ſuch time as his Majeſty reſorts into thoſe parts wait upon*

upon his Majeſty, and give his Majeſty a juſt account how theſe his Majeſties Inſtructions are obſerved.

10. *Let no man preſume, of what condition or degree ſoever, not to yield his obedience to theſe his Majeſties Directions, leſt he incur ſuch cenſures as the Statutes of this Univerſity may juſtly inflict upon ſuch tranſgreſſors.*

This was the firſt ſtep toward the ſuppreſſing of that Reputation which *Calvin* and his Writings had attained unto in that Univerſity; and a good ſtep it might have been, if Dr. *Goodwin*, *Dean* of *Chriſt-Church*, who was then Vice-Chancellor, had not been Father-in-law to *Prideaux*, or rather if *Prideaux* himſelf had approved the Articles, or that Dr. *Benfield* of *Corpus Chriſti*, the other Profeſſor for Divinity, a grave but ſedentary man, had been active in it. But howſoever being publiſhed, though it went no farther, it gave ſuch a general Alarm to the *Puritan Faction*, that the terrour of it could not be forgotten in 20 years after: Certain I am, that in the year 1636. it was charged by *H. Burton* of *Friday-ſtreet* for an Innovation, one of the many *Innovations* introduced by *Laud*, and others of the *Prelatical* party, to ſubvert *Religion*. But leaving them to the folly of their own affrightments, let us look back unto the King, who being confident that he had left the Univerſity in a ready way for coming to an *Unity* in matters of Doctrine, prepared for his Journey into *Scotland*, with a like confidence of effecting an *Uniformity* in Forms of Worſhip: A matter of conſequence and weight, and therefore to be managed by able Miniſters, ſuch as knew how to winde and turn the *Presbyterians* of that Kingdom, if matters ſhould proceed to a Diſputation. The known Abilities of *Laud* mark'd him out for one; which though it were like to bring a great Charge upon him, yet he preferred the Reputation before the Charge, and chearfully embrac'd the Service. Nor was it more welcom unto him, than grateful to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, aſſured thereby not only of a truſty Friend, but of a ſociable Companion, for that tedious Journey. His Majeſty having filled up the Liſt of his Attendants, on the 14th. day of *March* began his Journey, accompanied by the Queen and Prince as far as *Theobalds*, and from thence went forward with his Train before appointed. By the way he called in at the City of *Lincoln*, where it is not to be doubted but that the Biſhop gave him as magnificent an Entertainment as the Place and Country would afford: And from this place it was that he dated his Inſtructions of the 14th. of *April*, to the Lord *John Digby*, then going Embaſſador into *Spain*, to Treat upon and Conclude a Marriage between Prince *Charles*, and the *Infanta Maria* the Second Daughter of that King; one of which Articles was to this effect, *That the Eſpouſals being made in* Spain *according to the Order of the Council of* Trent, *the Marriage ſhould be ſolemnized in* England, *where there ſhould be ſuch a Solemnization as by the Laws of this Realm ſhould make the Marriage valid, and take away all ſcruple touching the Legitimation of the Iſſue.* Which temperament ſeems to me to have very much in it of *Laud*'s hand and ſpirit.

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In the beginning of *May* 1617. his Majesty was come as far as *Berwick*, and from thence visiting the West parts of *Scotland*, came at last to *Edenburgh*, where he soon found that he might have saved himself a great part of his care, and taken such of his Chaplains with him as came next to hand; the *Presbyterian Scots* not being to be gained by Reason, as he had supposed: For he was scarce setled in that City, when the *Presbyters* conceiving that his coming was upon design to work an Uniformity between the Churches of both Kingdoms, set up one *Struthers* to preach against it, who laid so lustily about him in the chief Church of *Edenburgh*, that he not only condemned the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*, but prayed God to save *Scotland* from the same. *Laud*, and the rest of the Chaplains who had heard the Sermon, acquainted his Majesty with those passages; but there was no remedy: The *Scots* were *Scots*, and resolved to go their own way whatsoever came of it. For though the Archbishop of Saint *Andrews* had forewarned them, that they should not irritate his Majesty, whom they should find a gracious Prince, and one that would hear Reason, and give way unto it; yet this prevailed nothing with them; they were resolved neither to give Reason to him, nor take any from him, but only to gain them by delays and artifices: For they knew well, that his Majesty had no resolution to stay long amongst them, and that when he was gone they might do what they listed: And therefore when his Majesty, in a Speech made to them at St. *Andrews*, had told them, *That it was a Power belonging to all Christian Princes to order matters in the Church; and that he would never regard what they approved or disapproved, except they brought him a Reason which he could not answer*; all that they did was to require a little time of Consultation, which being granted, they returned with this Resolution, *That if his Majesty would grant them a free Assembly, they would therein satisfie his Majesty in all the Points he had propounded.* *Patrick Galloway*, one of the chiefest amongst them, passing his word for the performance. But when the King was gone, and the day of the Assembly come, those promises vanished into smoak; so that the King gained nothing by that chargeable Journey, but the neglect of his Commands, and a contempt of his Authority. His Majesty therefore took a better course, than to put the point to Argument and Disputation; which was to beat them by the Belly, and to withdraw those Augmentations which he had formerly allowed them out of his Exchequer: Which Pill so wrought upon this indigent and obstinate People, that the next year, in an Assembly held at *Perth*, they pass'd an Act for admitting the five *Articles* for which his Majesty had been courting them for two years together.

Hist. Scot. l. 7. p. 531.

Idem. p. 534.

But whatsoever the King lost by the Journey, I am sure the Bishop of *Lincoln* got well by it: For *James* the Bishop of *Durham* dying during the Kings abode in *Scotland*, his Majesty bestowed upon him that wealthy Bishoprick; one of the wealthiest in Revenues, but absolutely the greatest in Power and Priviledges. Into this Bishoprick being canonically confirmed on the ninth of *October*, he presently set himself on work to repair the Palaces and Houses belonging to it, which

which he had found in great decay; but he ſo adorned and beautified them in a very ſhort ſpace, that they that ſaw them could not think that they were the ſame. Three thouſand pounds he is affirmed by Biſhop *Godwin* to have disburſed only upon this account, having laid out before no leſs than a thouſand Marks on the Epiſcopal Houſes of the See of *Lincoln*, beſides a good round Sum on the Houſe of *Bromley*, the Habitation and Retreat of the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*. But that which gave him moſt content was his Palace of *Durham-houſe* in the *Strand*, not only becauſe it afforded him convenient Room for his own Retinue, but becauſe it was large enough to allow ſufficient Quarters for *Buckridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Laud* Dean of *Gloceſter*, which he enjoyed when he was Biſhop of St. *David's* alſo; ſome other Quarters were reſerved for his old ſervant Dr. *Linſell*, and others for ſuch Learned men of his Acquaintance as came from time to time to attend upon him; inſomuch as it paſſed commonly by the name of *Durham Colledge*. A man of ſuch a ſtrange compoſition, that whether he were of a larger and more publick Soul, or of a more uncourtly Converſation, it were hard to ſay.

Godwins Cat. Epiſc.

But to return again to *Laud*: Finding his Majeſty reſolved to paſs thorow *Lancaſhire*, and other Counties of the North-weſt of *England*, in his way to *London*, he obtained leave to go directly unto *Oxon.* and on the ſecond of *Auguſt* was inducted into the Rectory of *Ibſtock* in the County of *Leiceſter*; a Rectory belonging to the Patronage of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, of whom he had it in exchange for his *Kentiſh* Benefices. At his return unto the Colledge, he was joyfully welcomed by his Friends, and chearfully received after ſo long an abſence by the greateſt part of that Society: But that which ſeemed moſt agreeable to him at his coming home, was the good News he heard from *Gloceſter*, how all things had been quieted there, and that there was no fear or danger of any further oppoſition to be made againſt him; for the Rabble being terrified by the ſevere proceedings of Alderman *Jones*, and more affrighted at the noiſe of being brought into the Court of *High-Commiſſion*, began to grow more ſenſible of the error which they had committed, the fury of their firſt heats being abated, and Reaſon beginning by degrees (as it is ordinary in ſuch caſes) to take place of Paſſion. Nothing elſe memorable in this year, as in relation to his Story, but ſome misfortunes which befel the Archbiſhop, his perpetual enemy; the greateſt whereof (though perhaps not took moſt to heart) was the death of his Brother the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, which produced great ſorrow to his Friends, the rather in regard of the manner and occaſion of it: For after his advancement to the See of *Sarum*, being then near ſixty years of Age, he married the Widow of one Doctor *Cheynel* a Phyſician, who had been one of his Contemporaries in *Baliol* Colledge; the news whereof being preſented (with ſome circumſtances to his diſadvantage) to his Brother the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he received from him ſuch a ſharp and bitter Letter, ſo full of Reproaches and Revilings, that not being able to bear the burthen of ſo great an inſolency, he preſently took thought upon it, and as preſently died, leaving this life on the ſecond of *March*, the year almoſt expiring with him. The

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1617. The Archbiſhop had been off the hooks ever ſince the affront (as he conceived) was put upon him in burning his Chaplain Doctor *Mockett's* Book, entituled, *De Politia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, which had given no ſmall Reputation to the Church of *England* beyond the Seas; for which ſeverity though many juſt Reaſons were alledged, yet it was generally conceived, that as the Book fared the worſe for the Authors ſake, ſo the Author did not ſpeed the better for his Patron the Archbiſhops ſake, betwixt whom, and Doctor *James Montague* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, there had been ſome differences, which the reſt of the Court Biſhops were apt enough to make ſome uſe of to his diſadvantage.

But having thus fallen upon the burning of this Book, I ſhall ſpeak ſomething of it here, becauſe of ſome particulars in it which may conduce unto our Story in the times ſucceeding. This Dr. *Mockett* being Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and Warden of *All-Souls* Colledge in *Oxon.* had publiſh'd in the *Latin* Tongue the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, the Publick Catechiſms, the 39 Articles, the Book of Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, and many Doctrinal Points extracted out of the Book of Homilies; together with Biſhop *Jewel's Apology*, Mr. *Noël's* Catechiſm, and his own Book *De Politia, &c.* A Collection which the good man publiſhed in a pious zeal, for gaining Honour to this Church amongſt Foreign-Nations: But then this Zeal of his was accompanied with ſo little Knowledge in the Conſtitution of this Church, or ſo much biaſſed toward thoſe of *Calvin's* Plat-form, that it was thought fit not only to call it in, but to expiate the Errors of it in a Publick Flame: For, firſt, his Extracts out of the Book of Homilies were conceived to be rather framed according to his own Judgment, which enclin'd him toward the *Calvinian* Doctrines, as his Patron did; than ſquared according to the Rules and Dictates of the Church of *England*: And poſſible enough it is, that ſome juſt offence might be taken at him, for making the Faſting-days appointed in the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*, to be commanded and obſerv'd *ob Politicas ſolum Rationes*, for politick conſiderations only, as inſiuuated *p.* 308. whereas thoſe Faſting-days were appointed in the firſt *Liturgie* of King *Edward* vj. *Anno* 1549. (with reference only to the Primitive Inſtitution of thoſe ſeveral Faſts) when no ſuch *Politick* Conſiderations were ſo much as thought on. But that which I conceive to have been the true cauſe why the Book was burned, was, that in publiſhing the 20th. Article, concerning the Authority of the Church, he totally left out the firſt Clauſe of it, *viz. Habet Eccleſia Ritus ſive Ceremonias, ſtatuendi jus; & in controverſiis Fidei Authoritatem:* By means whereof, the Article was apparently falſified, the Churches Authority diſavowed, and conſequently a wide gap opened to diſpute her Power in all her Canons and Determinations of what ſort ſoever. I note this here, becauſe of the Relation which it hath to ſome following paſſages in the year 1637. when we ſhall find *Laud* charged by thoſe of the *Puritan Faction*, for adding this omitted Clauſe to the reſt of that Article.

1618. In the next year (1618.) we find not a little done at home, but much

much more abroad; the *Puritan* Faction being diſcountenanced here, and the *Calviniſts* encouraged there. The *Sabbatarian* Doctrines by the diligence of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, and the ſeverity of Juſtice *Popham*, had been cruſh'd at their firſt ſtarting out; and afterwards not daring to implore the Countenance of Authority, they got footing again in divers places by the cunning of the *Puritan* Faction, the ignorant confidence of ſome of their Lecturers, and the miſguided zeal of ſome publick Miniſters of Juſtice: And they prevailed ſo far at laſt, that the Annual Feſtivals being turned into days of Labour, and the Lords day wholly taken up in Religious Duties, there was no time left for *lawful Recreations* amongſt the People: Which being made known unto King *James* as he paſſed thorow *Lancaſhire* the laſt Summer, he gave ſome preſent Order in it, for the eaſe and comfort of his good Subjects in that County; and that it might not ſerve only for the preſent, but the times to come, he publiſhed his Royal Declaration to the ſame effect, bearing date at *Greenwich May* 24. of this preſent year: In which Declaration there are three things to be obſerved; *viz.* the *Motives*, the *Liberties*, and the *Reſtrictions*. Firſt, for the *Motives* which induced that King to this Declaration, they were chiefly four. 1. The general Complaints of all ſorts of People, as he paſſed thorow *Lancaſhire*, of the Reſtraint of thoſe innocent and lawful Paſtimes on that day, which by the Rigors of ſome Preachers and Miniſters of Juſtice, had been laid upon them. 2. The hindrance of the Converſion of many *Papiſts*, who by this means were made to think, that the *Proteſtant* Religion was inconſiſtent with all harmleſs and modeſt *Recreations*. 3. That by debarring them from all manlike Exerciſes on thoſe days, on which only they were freed from their daily Labours, they were made unactive, unable, and unfit for Warriors, if either himſelf or any of his Succeſſors ſhould have ſuch occaſion to employ them. 4. That men being hindred from theſe open Paſtimes, betook themſelves to Tipling-houſes, and there abuſed themſelves with Drunkenneſs, and cenſured in their Cups his Majeſties Proceedings both in Church and State. Next for the *Liberties* which were indulged upon that day, his Majeſty declares his Pleaſure, That after Divine Service being ended, his good People ſhould not be diſcouraged or letted from any *lawful Recreations*, ſuch as Dancing either Men or Women, Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other ſuch harmleſs Recreations, nor from having of *May-games*, *Whitſun-Ales*, and *Morris-dances*, and the ſetting up of *May-poles* and other ſports therewith uſed; and that Women ſhall have leave to carry Ruſhes to the Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old Cuſtom, with this *Proviſo* notwithſtanding, That under the general term of *Lawful Recreations*, he intended neither Bear-baiting nor Bull-baiting, Interludes, nor (at all times in the meaner ſort of People prohibited) Bowling. And laſt of all, for the *Reſtrictions*, they were theſe that follow. 1. That theſe Paſtimes ſhould be no impediment or lett to the publick Duties of that day. 2. That no Recuſant ſhould be capable of the benefit of them. 3. Nor ſuch as were not diligently preſent at the time of all Divine Offices, which the day required.

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And,

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And, 4. That the benefit thereof ſhould redound to none but ſuch as kept themſelves in their own Pariſhes. Such was the ſubſtance of his Majeſties Declaration about *Lawful Sports*, which raiſed great clamour at the preſent, but greater when revived in the Reign of King *Charles* (at what time we ſhall find *Laud* charged for the Re-publiſhing of it) ſo much the greater, by how much the more the *Sabbatarian Doctrines* had prevailed amongſt us.

This being done for the diſcountenancing of the *Calvinian* Faction here at home, we muſt next ſee what was done abroad on the ſame account; that which was done abroad in relation to it, being of great concernment to this Church, and therefore neceſſary to be known in reference to the perſon of whom I write. The Biſhops and conformable Clergy of *Scotland* had paſs'd two Acts in the *Aſſembly* held at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. the one, for making one Uniform Order or Form of Worſhip, to be prepared by ſome Biſhops, and other Learned men amongſt them, by them to be preſented to the King, and being by the King approved, to be by him commended to the uſe of that Kirk: The other for conſulting the Regiſtry of their former *Aſſemblies*, and extracting out of them ſuch Canons, as being ratified by the ſtamp of Royal Authority, might paſs for current in the ſame. To ſpeed this buſineſs, and ſtrike the Iron whilſt it was hot, his Majeſty made that chargeable journey into *Scotland*, which before we ſpake of, with an intent to preſs them perſonally to the receiving of ſome few of the *Engliſh* Ceremonies, which had been offered to the conſideration of the late Aſſembly, the better to advance his hopes of introducing by degrees the Liturgy of the Church of *England*: Which Ceremonies being reduced to five Articles, and propounded to them at his being there, found ſuch ſucceſs, and put the King upon ſuch Councels as have been formerly declared. But what he could not compaſs in in the year foregoing, he obtained in this; thoſe Articles being paſſed an Aſſembly held at *Perth* in the Month of *Auguſt*, and are theſe that follow.

Hiſt. of Scot. fol. 530.

1. *That for the more reverent Receiving of the Holy Communion, the ſame ſhould be celebrated to the People thereafter kneeling, and not ſitting, as had been the cuſtom ſince the Reformation of Religion.*
2. *If any good Chriſtian viſited with ſickneſs which was taken to be deadly, ſhould deſire to receive the Communion at home in his houſe, the ſame ſhould not be denied to him, lawful warning being given to the Miniſter the night before, and three or four of good Religion and Converſation being preſent to Communicate with him.*
3. *That in caſe of neceſſity tried and known to the Miniſter, it ſhould be lawful to Adminiſter Baptiſm in private Houſes, the ſame being always Miniſtred after the form in which it ſhould have been in the Congregation: A publick Declaration of it to be made the next* Sunday *after.*
4. *That the days of the Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of our Saviour Chriſt, and of the coming down of the Holy Ghoſt, in regard of thoſe ineſtimable Benefits which the Church of God had received on them,*

them, ſhould be publickly Solemnized in the Congregation, the Miniſters making choice of fit Texts of Scripture agreeable to the occaſions, for their ſeveral Sermons.

5. *That the Miniſter in every Pariſh, having Catechized all Children above eight years of age, according to the ſhort Catechiſm uſed in the Church, and taught them to repeat by heart the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, ſhould preſent them to their Biſhops in their Viſitations, by them to be bleſſed with prayers for the increaſe of Grace, and continuance of Gods Heavenly Gifts upon them.*

And this indeed was a great ſtep to the work of Uniformity ſo much deſired; which had it been purſued as vigorouſly by the Biſhops of *Scotland*, as by the King it had been piouſly begun, the Service which was ſent into that Kirk almoſt twenty years after, had been better welcom'd by the *Scots*, and drawn leſs danger upon *Laud* (who was then Archbiſhop) for his pious Actings in the ſame.

But on the other ſide, the condemning of the five *Arminian* Articles (as they commonly called them) at the *Synod* of *Dort*, was altogether as much unpleaſing as the others had been grateful to him; for well he ſaw the great dangers which might thence enſue to the Church of *England*, whoſe Doctrines were openly confronted, and her Diſcipline ſecretly undermined, by the Deciſions and Determinations of that *Synodical* Aſſembly: In which regard, it will not be unneceſſary to make a brief Relation of thoſe ſtirs and differences which hapned in the *Belgick* Churches, from the time that Doctor *Jacob van Harmine* was made one of the Divinity Profeſſors in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, concerning which we are firſt to know, That at the Alteration of Religion in thoſe Provinces, the *French* (who were moſt active in it) brought with them *Calvin*'s Platform, both for Doctrine and Diſcipline (as commonly the one makes way to bring in the other) according unto which the *Belgick Confeſſion* was drawn up in the year 1567. Which notwithſtanding, ſuch of their Miniſters as better liked the *Melanchthonian* Doctrines in the points of Predeſtination, Grace, Free-will, *&c.* than they did the other, ſpared not to publiſh their Opinions as they ſaw occaſion, as well before as after the eſtabliſhing of the ſaid Confeſſion, and did it without check or cenſure: Amongſt which we may firſt reckon *Anaſtatius Veluanus*, in a Book of his entituled, *Odegus Laicorum*, or the Lay-mans Guide, publiſhed in the year 1554. and much commended by *Henricus Antonides* the Divinity Reader in the Univerſity of *Franeker*; after whom followed, in the ſame Opinions, *Johannes Isbrandi*, who openly profeſs'd himſelf an *Anti-Calvinian*; *Clemens Martini*, who took his Principles from *Hardinbergius*, one of the firſt Reformers of the Church of *Embden*; *Gellius Sueranus* in *Weſt-Fricſland*, who looked upon thoſe of the other Perſwaſion as Innovators in that Church; *Holmanus* the Divinity Reader in *Leyden*; *Cornelius Menardi*, a man of good eſteem amongſt them; and generally all the Miniſters ſucceſſively in the Province of *Utrecht*, ſome of which had maintained theſe Doctrines before the birth of *Jacob van Harmine* (better known in theſe later times by the name of *Arminius*)

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and all of them before such time as any publick notice had been taken of him; by which it seems, that these Doctrines were of a long standing, and had took deep rooting in these Churches, though they had not gained such a large and general spreading over them as they after did.

For in the year 1603. the Learned *Junius*, one of the Professors for Divinity in the University of *Leyden*, being then deceased, the *Curators*, or Overseers of that University made choice of this *Van Harmine*, the Pastor, (as they phrase it) of the Church of *Amsterdam*, to succeed in his place: But the Inhabitants of that Town, amongst whom he had served in the Ministry for the space of 15 years and more, were so affected to the man, that they would by no means yield unto his departure, till over-ruled by the intreaties of some, and the power of others: A matter very unpleasing to the Rigid *Calvinians* informing against him to the State for several *Heterodoxies* repugnant to the received Doctrine of those Churches. *Arminius* for six years before, had by exchange of Letters betwixt him and *Junius*, maintained the *Melanchonian* Doctrines in those points of Controversie before remembred; which Papers being dispersed abroad in several Copies (but not published till after his death, and then published by the name of *Amica Collatio*, &c.) gave the *Calvinians* some fair colour for their information: But the business being heard at the *Hague*, he was acquitted by his Judges, dispatch'd for *Leyden*, and there confirmed in his place; towards which, the Testimonial Letters, sent from the Church of *Amsterdam*, did not help a little; in which Letters he stands commended for a man of unblamable life, (*b*) sound Doctrine, and fair behaviour, as may be seen at large in the Oration which was made at his Funeral, in the Divinity Schools of *Leyden*, on the 22. of *October*, *Anno* 1609. During his sitting in that Chair, he drew unto him a great part of that University, who by the Piety of the man, his powerful Arguments, his extreme diligence in the place, and the clear light of Reason, which appeared in all his Discourses, were so wedded unto his Opinions, that no time nor trouble could divorce them: For *Arminius* dying in the year 1609. as before was said, the heats betwixt his Scholars, and those of the contrary perswasion, were rather increased than abated; the more increased, for want of such a prudent *Moderator* as had before saved and preserved these Churches from a publick Rupture.

(*b*) *Ob vitæ inculpatæ, sanæ doctrinæ, & morum summam integritatem.*

The breach between them growing wider, each side thought fit to seek the Countenance of the State, and they did accordingly; For in the year 1610. the Followers of *Arminius* address their *Remonstrance* (containing the Antiquity of their Doctrines, and the substance of them) to the States of *Holland*, which was encountred presently by a *Contra-Remonstrance*, exhibited by those of *Calvins* Party. From hence the name of *Remonstrants*, and *Contra-Remonstrants*, so frequent in their Books and Writings; till the *Remonstrants* were condemned in the *Synod* of *Dort*, and either forced to yield the cause or quit their Country; each Party in the mean time had the opportunity to disperse their Doctrines, in which the *Remonstrants* gained exceedingly upon their Adver-

Adverſaries. For the whole Controverſie being reduced to theſe five Points, *viz.* the Method of *Predeſtination*, the *Efficacy* of Chriſts death, the operations of *Grace*, both before and after mans Converſion, and Perſeverance in the ſame; the Parties were admitted to a publick Conference at the *Hague* in the year 1611. in which the *Remonſtrants* were conceived to have had much the better of the day. But theſe Tongue-combates did produce a further miſchief then was ſuſpected at the firſt; for the *Calvinians* hoping to regain by Power what they loſt by Argument, put themſelves under the Protection of *Maurice van Naſſau, Prince* of *Orange*, Commander General of the Forces of the United Provinces, both by Sea and Land. The *Remonſtrants* on the other ſide applyed themſelves unto *John Olden Barnevelt*, a principal Counſellor of State, and of great Authority in his Country: Who fearing the Greatneſs of the Prince, and having (or thinking that he had) ſome cauſe to doubt that he aimed at an abſolute Soveraignty over thoſe Eſtates, did chearfully entertain the offer, in hope to form ſuch a Party by them, as, with the help of ſome other good Patriots, might make a ſufficient Counter-ballance againſt that deſign. But *Barnevelts* projects being diſcovered, he was firſt ſeized on by the Prince, together with *Grotius Leidenburgius*, and others of his chief Adherents; and that being done, he ſhewed himſelf with his Forces before ſuch Towns and Cities as had declared in favour of them; reducing them under his Command, changing their Magiſtrates, and putting new Garriſons into them. Next followed the Arraignment and death of *Barnevelt*, contrary to the Fundamental Laws both of his native Country, and the common Union; whoſe death occaſioned a general dejection (as well it might) amongſt thoſe of the *Remonſtrant* Party; and their dejection animated the *Calvinians* to refer their differences to a National Council, which thereupon was intimated to be held at *Dort*, one of the principal Towns of *Holland*.

This Council being thus reſolved on, their next care was to invite to their aſſiſtance ſome Divines out of all the Churches of *Calvins* Platform, and none elſe; which did ſufficiently declare, that they intended to be both Parties and Judges, as in fine it proved: For unto this Convention aſſembled the moſt *Rigid Calviniſts*, not only of the United Provinces, but alſo of all the Churches of *High Germany*, and amongſt the *Switz*, and from the City of *Geneva* whom it moſt concerned. From *France* came none, becauſe the King, upon good Reaſon of State, had commanded the contrary; and the *Scots* much complained that they were not ſuffered by King *James* to ſend their Commiſſioners thither with the reſt of the Churches: For though King *James* had nominated *Balcanquel* to that imployment in the name of the *Kirk*, yet that could give them no contentment. From *England*, the King ſent Dr. *George Carleton* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Joſ. Hall* Dean of *Worceſter*, Dr. *John Davenant* Maſter of *Queens Colledge* and Lady *Margarets Profeſſor* in *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Sam. Ward* Maſter of *Sydney* Colledge in the ſame Univerſity. And this he did, that by the countenance of his power, and by the preſence of his Divines, he might ſupport the Party of the Prince of *Orange*, and ſuppreſs his Adverſaries. On the third of *No-*

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vember they began the Synod: But things were carried there with ſuch inequality, that ſuch of the *Remonſtrants* as were like to be elected, by their ſeveral Claſſes, were cited, and commanded to appear as *Criminals* only, and being come, could not be ſuffered to proceed to a Diſputation, unleſs they would ſubſcribe to ſuch conditions as they conceived to be deſtructive to their Cauſe, and their Conſcience too: Which being refuſed, they were expelled the houſe by *Bogerman* (who ſate Preſident there) in a moſt fierce and bitter Oration, condemned without anſwering for themſelves; and finally, for not ſubſcribing to their own condemnation, compelled to forſake their native Country, with their Wives and Children, and to beg their bread even in deſolate places. What influence thoſe quarrels had amongſt our ſelves, and what effects that *Synod* did produce in the Church of *England* we ſhall ſee hereafter, when the ſame Points come to be agitated and debated on this ſide of the Seas.

His Majeſty, having thus made himſelf the Maſter of his Deſigns, both at home and abroad, and being recovered from a dangerous ſickneſs which had fallen upon him at *New-Market*, in the year 1619. reſolved on ſuch a work of Magnificent Piety, as might preſerve his name and memory to ſucceeding Ages: To which end upon *Midlent* Sunday, *Anno* 1620. accompanied by the Prince, attended by the *Marqueſs* of *Buckingham*, the Biſhops, Lords, and moſt of the principal Gentlemen about the Court, he intended to viſit St. *Pauls*. From *Temple-bar* he was conducted in moſt ſolemn manner by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*: and at his entrance into the Church, received under a *Canopy* by the *Dean* and *Canons*, attired in rich *Copes*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Habits; Being by them brought into the Quire, he heard with very great reverence and devotion the Divine Service of the day moſt ſolemnly performed with *Organs*, *Cornets*, and *Sagbuts*, accompanied and intermingled with ſuch excellent voices that ſeemed rather to enchant than chant. The Divine Service being done, he went unto a place prepared, where he heard the Sermon at the *Croſs*, preached by the eloquent and religious Prelate, Dr. *John King*, Lord Biſhop of *London*. The Sermon being ended, the *Collation* began; His Majeſty attended with all the Lords, and the reſt of his Train, being entertained by the ſaid Lord Biſhop at a ſumptuous Banquet, with no leſs honour to himſelf than content to his Majeſty. But there was more intended by this Viſit than Pomp and Oſtentation only. For his Majeſty having taken a view of the ruinous Eſtate in which he beheld that goodly Fabrick, iſſued not long after a *Commiſſion* for repair thereof; and ſomewhat was done in it both by Biſhop *King* and Biſhop *Mountain*: But the carrying on of this work was reſerved to another man; For a breach following not long after between *Spain* and *England*, and wars ſoon following on that breach, a ſtop was made to all proceedings in that work till the year 1631. At what time *Laud*, being Biſhop of *London*, obtained a like Commiſſion from the hands of King *CHARLES*, and ſet his heart ſo much upon it, that in few years he had made a mighty Progreſs in it, of which more hereafter.

And

And here it was once feared, that this preſent Hiſtory might have ended without going further; for on the ſecond of *April*, as he paſt from *London* towards *Oxon*, he took up his Inn at *Wickham* upon the Rode; where he fell ſuddenly dead, and was not without much difficulty, and Gods ſpecial favour, reſtored unto his former being. But God reſerved him to a life more eminent, and a death more glorious; not ſuffering him to dye obſcurely, like a traveller, in a private Inn, but more conſpicuouſly, like a Martyr, on the publick *Theatre*; for on the 22. of *January* he was inſtalled Prebend in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, after no leſs than ten years expectation of it; And on the laſt of the ſame month he ſate as Dean of *Gloceſter* in the *Convocation*. The Prince *Elector Palatine*, who married the Kings only Daughter in the year 1612. had the laſt year moſt inconſiderately took upon him the Crown of *Bohemia*; not taking with him the Kings Counſel in it as he might have done, but giving him an account of it on the Poſt-Fact only. The Emperour exaſperated with this Uſurpation (as by him reputed) gave up his Country for a prey, aſſigning the Electoral Dignity with the upper *Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the lower to the King of *Spain*, who had poſſeſt themſelves of divers good Towns and pieces in it.

For the recovery whereof, and the preſervation of the reſt, in which his Daughter and her Children were ſo much concerned; it pleaſed his Majeſty to call a Parliament, to begin on the thirtieth day of *January*, accompanied with a Convocation (as the cuſtom is) on the morrow after. The buſineſs of their Convening being ſignified unto them by the King, the Parliament at their firſt ſitting, which ended *March* 27. beſtowed upon his Majeſty two Subſidies, but they gave no more; which rather ſerved to ſtay his ſtomach than allay his hunger. They had ſome turns to ſerve upon him before they would part with any more money, if they did it then. But the Clergy dealt more freely with him in their Convocation, becauſe they had no other ends in it than the expreſſing of their duty and good affections. In teſtimony whereof they gave him three entire Subſidies of four ſhillings in the pound at their firſt ſitting; and would not have been wanting to his Majeſty in a further addition, in the ſecond or third, if his Majeſty had required it of them. Incouraged with which ſupplies, and the hopes of greater, he ſent ſome Regiments of old *Engliſh* Souldiers for the defence and preſervation of the *Lower Palatinate*, under the command of that Noble Souldier, Sir *Horatio Vere*.

When the Commons beſtowed upon him the ſaid two *Subſidies*, he took them only as a bit to ſtay his ſtomach, as before was ſaid, giving himſelf ſome hopes that at the next Seſſion they would entertain him with a better, and more coſtly dinner; but then they meant that he ſhould pay the reckoning for it. For at their re-aſſembling on the 17. of *April*, inſtead of granting him the ſupplies he looked for, they fell to pick quarrels with his Servants, and one of his chief Miniſters of State, not only queſtioning Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, and Sir *Francis Michael*, but even the Lord *Chancellor Bacon* alſo. Theſe men (ſuppoſing them to have been as criminal as their enemies made them) were notwithſtanding

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ſtanding ſuch as acted under his Commiſſions, and therefore not to have been puniſhed by his own Authority only. The giving of them over to the power of the Parliament, not only weakned his own Prerogative, but put the Houſe of Commons upon ſuch a Pin, that they would let no Parliament paſs (for the times to come) without ſome ſuch Sacrifice. And ſo fell *Bacon*, Lord *Chancellor* of *England*, Lord *Verulam*, and Viſcount of St. *Albans*; a man of good and bad qualities, equally compounded, one of a moſt ſtrong brain, and a Chymical head; deſigning his endeavours to the perfecting of the Works of Nature, or rather improving Nature to the beſt advantages of life, and the common benefit of mankind. Pity it was he was not entertained with ſome liberal Salary, abſtracted from all affairs both of Court and Judicature, and furniſhed with ſufficiency both of means, and helps for the going on in his deſign, which had it been, he might have given us ſuch a body of Natural Philoſophy, and made it ſo ſubſervient to the publick good, that neither *Ariſtotle* nor *Theophraſtus* amongſt the Ancients, nor *Paracelſus*, or the reſt of our later Chymiſts would have been conſiderable. In theſe Agitations held the Parliament till the fourth of *June*, without doing any thing in order to his Majeſties Service, who thereupon adjourned them till the fourteenth of *November* following, before which time we find *Laud* mounted one ſtep higher, and ready to take place amongſt the Biſhops in the Houſe of *Peers*: And therefore here we will conclude the firſt Part of our preſent Hiſtory.

THE

THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. II.

Extending from his being made Biſhop of St. Davids *till his coming to the See of* Bath *and* Wells.

IT is an obſervation no leſs old than true, that *Patience and Perſeverance overcome all difficulties*: And ſo it hapned unto *Laud*. He had with moſt incredible patience endured the baffles and affronts which were put upon him by the power and practices of his enemies. Nor did he ſhew leſs patience in his ſo long and chargeable attendance at the Court, for which he had ſo ſmall regard, that he was rather looked upon as the Biſhop of *Durhams* Servant than the Kings. But notwithſtanding theſe croſs winds he was reſolved to ride it out, neither to ſhift his ſails, nor to tack about, but ſtill to keep his way, and to ſtem the current till he had gained the Port he aimed at. His Majeſty had been made acquainted by long experience with his great abilities, his conſtancy, courage, and dexterity, for managing affairs of moment. And thereupon entring into ſpeech with him, in the beginning of *June* he was pleaſed to take notice of the long and unrewarded ſervice which he had done him, telling him, that he looked on the *Deanry* of *Glocester* but as a Shell without a Kernel. This gave him the firſt hopes of his growing Fortunes. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

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Fortunes. On Sunday the nineteenth of that Month he preached before the King at *Wansteed*, that being the first of those Sermons, which are now in Print. And on St. *Peters* day next following, there was a general expectation about the Court that he should have been made Dean of *Westminster*, in the place of *Williams*; who having been sworn Privy-Counseller on the tenth of that month, and nominated to the See of *Lincoln*, was on the tenth of *July*, honoured with the custody of the great Seal of *England* upon the Deprivation of the Lord Chancellor St. *Albans*, which before we spake of: but *Williams* so prevailed at Court, that when he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, he retained this Deanry in *Commendam*, together with such other Preferments as he held at that time; That is to say, A *Prebend* and Residentiary place in the Cathedral Church at *Lincoln*, and the Rectory of *Walgrave* in *Northampton-shire*, so that he was a perfect Diocess within himself, as being *Bishop*, *Dean*, *Prebend*, *Residentiary*, and *Parson*; and all these at once. But though *I and* could not get the Deanry, yet he lost nothing by the example; which he made use of in retaining not only his Prebends place in the same Church of *Westminster*, and his Benefices in the Country (that being an ordinary indulgence to such as were preferred to the smaller Bishopricks) but also the Presidentship of his Colledge in *Oxon*, which he valued more than all the rest. For that his own expectation might not be made as frustrate, as was that of the Court, his Majesty nominated him the same day to the See of St. *Davids*, in former times the Metropolitan City of the *Welsh* or *Brittish*. But though he was nominated then, he could not receive the Episcopal Character till five months after; the stay was long, but the necessity unavoidable, by reason of a deplorable misfortune which had befallen Archbishop *Abbot*, and was briefly this:

The Archbishop had long held a dear and entire Friendship with *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, a person of an eminent and known Nobility; On whom he pleased to bestow a visit in his house at *Bramshall*, invited to see a Deer hunted, that he might take the fresh air, and revive his Spirits; a Cross-bow was put into his hand to shoot one of the Deer: but his hand most unhappily swerving, or the Keeper as unfortunately coming in his way, it so pleased God (the disposer of Humane Affairs) that he missed the Beast, and shot the Man. On which sad accident, being utterly uncapable of consolation, he retired himself to *Guilford*, the place of his birth; there to expect the Issue of his woful Fortunes in an Hospital of his own Foundation. The news of this wretched misadventure (as ill news flies far) came the same day to the Lord Keeper *Williams*; and he as hastily dispatches this Advertisement of it to the Marques of *Buckingham*.

My most Noble Lord,

AN unfortunate occasion of my Lords Grace, his killing of a man casually (as it is here constantly reported) is the cause of my seconding of my yesterdays Letter unto your Lordship. His Grace upon this accident is by the Common Law of England *to forfeit all his Estate unto his Majesty, and*

and by the Canon Law (which is in force with us) irregular ipſo facto, *and ſo ſuſpended from all Eccleſiaſtical Function, until he be again reſtored by his Superiour, which (I take it) is the King's Majeſty in this Rank and Order of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. If you ſend for Doctor* Lamb, *he will acquaint your Lordſhip with the diſtinct penalties in this kind. I wiſh with all my heart his Majeſty would be as mereiful as ever he was in all his life; but yet I held it my duty to let his Majeſty know by your Lordſhip, that his Majeſty is fallen upon a matter of great advice and deliberation. To adde affliction unto the afflicted (as no doubt he is in mind) is againſt the King's Nature: To leave* virum ſanguinum, *or a man of blood, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a thing that ſounds very harſh in the old Councils and Canons of the Church. The* Papiſts *will not ſpare to deſcant upon one and the other. I leave the knot to his Majeſties deep Wiſdom to adviſe and reſolve upon. A rheum fallen into mine eye,* &c.

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Which Letter bearing date *July* 27. 1621. points us directly to the time of this woful Accident.

Being thus pre-judged and pre-condemned, the miſerable man muſt needs have had a hard bout of it, if his cauſe had been referred to an hearing in *Chancery*: But King *James* was as compaſſionate as juſt, and as regardful of the Church as he was compaſſionate to the man. Adviſing therefore with his Council, and ſome chief Clergymen about him, though more with his own gracious diſpoſition, he after iſſued a Commiſſion to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Winchester*, Saint *David's*, and *Exon*, as alſo unto *Hubbert* and *Dodderidge*, two of the Juſtices of the Courts at *Weſtminſter-hall*, *Martin* and *Steward*, Doctors of the Civil Laws, men of great Eminence and Abilities in their ſeveral Studies, to make Inquiry into the Fact: And having made Inquiry into the Fact, they were to give their reſolution unto his Majeſty, whether the Archbiſhop had been made *irregular* by that ſad accident, as it was commonly reported. In the managing of which great Cauſe, there was much variety of Opinions amongſt the Delegates; ſome making him obnoxious to *Irregularity*, and others as much labouring to acquit him of it: Amongſt theſe laſt were Doctor *Andrews* then Biſhop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Henry Martin* then Dean of the *Arches*, and not long after Judge of the *Prerogative Court*, to whoſe Authority and Judgment the reſt of the Commiſſioners did in time conform. *Martin* for his part had received his Offices and Preferments from him, and therefore in an honeſt Gratitude thought himſelf obliged to bend the Law (as much as poſſibly he could) to his beſt advantage: But *Andrews* had no ſuch impulſives, there being between them ſome diſguſt, which might have rather prevailed with him to have been his Enemy: Firſt therefore he was willing not to ſtand too rigidly upon the ſtrictneſs of the *Canons*, for fear leſt others of the Biſhops, and himſelf amongſt them, either through ignorance or incogitancy, might commit ſome acts, which without a fair and mild conſtruction, might render them as uncanonical as that poor man was: And then he ſaw, that if the Archbiſhop at that time had been pronounced *irregular*, and the

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See made void, *Williams* being then Lord Keeper, and in great favour with his Majesty and the Marques too, would have step'd into it; of whom he knew too much, to venture that great charge and trust of the Church of *England* to his care and Government; the dangerous Consequences whereof he was able to foretel without the Spirit of Prophesie. Nor was this conjecture of his without very good grounds, *Williams* declaring in his said Letter to the Marques, That his Majesty had promised him upon the relinquishing of the Seal, one of the best places in this Church. And what place could be more agreeable to his affection than the Chair of *Canterbury*? Nor was this unfortunate Prelate less befriended in this desperate plunge by Sir *Edward Coke*, a man of most profound Learning in the Laws of this Land, who being ask'd the Question, Whether a Bishop might lawfully hunt in his own or in any other Park? (in which point lay the greatest pinch of the present difficulty) returned this Answer thereunto; *viz. That by the Law a Bishop at his death was to leave his Pack of Dogs* (by the *French* called *Marte de Chens* in some old Records) *to be disposed of by the King at his Will and Pleasure.* And if the King was to have the Dogs when the Bishop died, there is no question to be made, but that the Bishop might make use of them when he was alive.

By reason of this intercurrence, the new Elected Bishops could not receive the Episcopal Character till *November* following; on the eleventh day of which month, the Lord Keeper *Williams* was Consecrated Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the Chappel of King *Henry*, by vertue of a Commission under the Broad Seal, directed to certain other Bishops, according to the Statute of King *Henry* viij. And on the *Sunday* following, by vertue of a like Commission directed to the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, *Ely*, *Landaff*, and *Oxon*. Doctor *Laud* Lord *Elect* of Saint *David's*, Doctor *Duvenant* Lord *Elect* of *Salisbury*, and Doctor *Cary* Lord *Elect* of *Exeter*, received Episcopal Consecration in the Chappel of *London-house*. The next day after he took his place amongst the Bishops in the House of Peers, the Parliament having been re-assembled some few days before: But there was little for them to do as the case then stood; The Commons were so far from gratifying the King with fresh Supplies, who before had gratified them in the destruction of such Ministers as were near unto him, that they entertained him with Petitions and Remonstrances touching the danger, threatned to our Religion, by the growth of *Popery*; in which they were so far transported beyond their bounds, as to propose unto the King, *the taking of the Sword into his Hands against the Spaniard, and the marrying of his dear Son the Prince to a Lady of the Reformed Religion*: Of this the King had speedy notice; and in a Letter sent to Sir *Tho. Richardson*, then Speaker of the House of Commons, he lets them know how sensible he was of their incroachments, how bold they had made themselves with the King of *Spain*; forbidding them to deal hereafter in Affairs of State, or meddle with the Marriage of his Son the Prince: concluding, That if any such Petition or Remonstrance should be brought unto him, he would neither vouchsafe

ſafe the Anſwering or the Reading of it. The Commons ſtartled with this Letter, and thinking to have made a benefit of the Kings neceſſities, cry out againſt it as a violation of their Ancient Priviledges; and on the nineteenth day of *December* then next enſuing, drew up the following *Proteſtation*, and cauſed it to be entred on Record in their Journal Books, *viz.* L I B. H. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

The *PROTESTATION* of the *COMMONS.*

THe Commons *now Aſſembled, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, concerning ſundry Liberties, Franchiſes, and Priviledges of Parliament, amongſt others here mentioned, do make this Proteſtation here following: That the Liberties, Franchiſes, Priviledges, and Juriſdictions of Parliaments, are the ancient and undoubted Birthright and Inheritance of the Subjects of* England; *and the maintenance and making of Laws, and redreſſes of Miſchiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this* Realm, *are proper Subjects and matter of Debate in Parliament; and that in the handling or proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes, every Member of the Houſe of Parliament hath and of right ought to have freedom of Speech, to Propound, Treat, Reaſon, and bring to concluſion the ſame; and that the Commons in Parliament have like freedom and liberty to treat of thoſe matters in ſuch order as to their Judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt: and that every Member of the ſaid Houſe hath like freedom from all Impeachments, Impriſonment, and Moleſtation (other than by Cenſure of the Houſe it ſelf) for or concerning any Speaking, Reaſoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament buſineſs; and that if any of the ſaid Members be complained of, or queſtioned for any thing done or ſaid in Parliament, the ſame is to be ſhewed to the King by the Advice and Aſſent of all the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private Information.*

More was the King ſtartled at the news of this *Proteſtation* (whereof he had Intelligence before it came unto the Vote) than the Commons were upon the reading of his Majeſties Letters. He ſaw his Prerogative invaded, his Paternal Right diſputed, a popular State growing up in the midſt of a Monarchy, and at the preſent a great Faction formed againſt him, which if not ſpeedily ſuppreſſed might prove unreſiſtible. Way he found none to extricate himſelf out of theſe troubles, but to proceed vigorouſly in the Treaty for the Match with *Spain*, which he conceived to be the only expedient to compoſe all Differences, and recover the Patrimony of his Children. For ſhould he break off with that King, and declare for a preſent War againſt him, as had been deſired, he was to caſt himſelf entirely on the Love of his People, of whoſe Affections and Deſigns their preſent Actions gave juſt cauſe to be diſtruſtful. He therefore firſt gives Order on the nineteenth of *December* (being the very day on which the Proteſtation was Voted at *Weſtminſter*) to Adjourn the Parliament to the 8th. of *February*, under pretence that the Members might retire into the Country, for

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keeping Hospitality, and entertaining their Neighbours in the *Christmas* Holy-days, according to the laudable custom of the *English Nation*: But having thus dismissed them to their several Countries, without noise or trouble, it was not his intent or purpose that they should come together again at the time appointed; according to which resolution he dissolves the Parliament, and by his Proclamation bearing date the ninth of *January*, discharges the Members of both Houses from any further attendance.

The dissolving of this Parliament, and the Transactions in the same, administred much variety of Discourse in all parts of the Kingdom. It was observed by some, That his Majesty had broken one of the strongest Ligaments of the Regal Power, by delivering up his Servants and Ministers into the hands of his People in Parliament, which was a thing not used by any of his Predecessors; That neither *Wolsey*'s exorbitant Power, or *Cromwel*'s contempt of the Nobility, under *Henry* viii. or *Leicesters* Tyranny and Oppressions under Queen *Elizabeth*, were ever suffered to be canvased or condemned in Parliament; That the King got nothing by that unhappy condescension, but the laying himself open to all disadvantages which a Prince abandoning his Ministers, or abandoned by them, might have just reason to expect; That when Princes begin to fall so much beneath themselves, as to manage Pen Combate with their Subjects, they put themselves as it were upon equal ground, and stand on the same Level with their Vassals, and by the loss of their Authority, get nothing but the Reputation of an able Writer. And then the Reason of these his yieldings being brought in Question, they were by some imputed to a natural timidity or want of Courage, which rendred him unable to hold out long, when he encountred those who would put him to it: Others ascribed it to his wants, and his wants unto his prodigality, which made his Exchequer always empty; and Mony must be had, whatever it cost him: But those who thought they came most neer unto the mark, discoursed of him as a man that loved not business, and loved no business less than that of Parliaments; That it was usual with him, when he called a Parliament, and had given them their Errand, as he thought, to retire to *Theobalds*, *Hampton-Court*, or *Windsor*, and sometimes further off, to *Royston*, or *New-Market*, as his pleasure carried him; That by this means the Commons, not having opportunity of Access to his Person, were forced upon a plausible necessity of making their Addresses to him by Messages, Remonstrances, and Petitions; That those Remonstrances and Petitions did beget their Answers, and their Answers did beget Replies which ended commonly in Exasperations on either side.

But nothing was so much admired at, as the encreasing of the Priviledges of the House of Commons, as well in nature as in number. And thereupon it was observed, that the Commons had mistook themselves in the very ground on which they built their Protestation; That the known Priviledges of the Commons were only liberty of speech in Debate and Conference; Freedom from all Arrests for themselves and their Servants, and opportunity of access to his Majesties Person,

Perſon, as their occaſions did require; that even thoſe Priviledges could not be called the undoubted Birth-Right and Inheritance of the Subjects of *England*, becauſe they were no otherwiſe exerciſed and enjoyed than from one Parliament to another, by the grace and goodneſs of their Kings; That were it otherwiſe, it muſt needs be a great impertinency in their *Speaker* (at the firſt opening of every Parliament) to put himſelf upon his knees, and humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, in behalf of the Houſe of Commons, to indulge them the continuance of thoſe Priviledges which were of right their own before; That they had been as much miſtaken in making the Houſe of Commons (by involving both Houſes in the name of Parliament) to be of equal Power and Priviledg with the Houſe of *Peers*, the contrary whereof being ſo well known; That the *Peers* and People being ſummoned to Parliament by ſeveral Writs, the *Peers* were called only *ad conſulendum*, to counſel and adviſe the King, in matters of moſt concernment to the Church and State; And that the People were called only *conſentiendum & faciendum*, to give conſent, and yield obedience to ſuch things as were ordained in the Great Council of the *Peers*; that even the *Peers* themſelves had no general warrant to meddle in all Affairs of State, but in ſuch only as his Majeſty commends and propounds to them; And therefore that theſe words in the Writ, *Super arduis regni negotiis*, are not left at large, but limited and reſtrained by the word *quibuſdam*, to ſuch particulars, and ſuch only, in which the King required their Counſels.

But nothing ſeemed ſo new or ſtrange, as that no Member of the ſaid Houſe *ſhould be impeached, impriſoned, and moleſted, other than by Cenſure of the Houſe it ſelf, for or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament buſineſs.* A Priviledge not heard of in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when in the 35. of her Reign She impriſoned no leſs than five of the Members at a clap, not only without their leave, but againſt their liking; and held them in ſo ſtrict a durance, that the Commons did not think it ſafe to move her Majeſty to reſtore them to their former liberty. And therefore that they were to ſhew under what ruſt and rubbiſh of Antiquity this Priviledg had ſo long been hidden, and how it came to be found out at laſt, when no body heard of it, or looked after it. The like diſcourſed alſo of the following Priviledg, which had been long buried in the ſame grave, and never came till now to a reſurrection, *viz.* That the King is to take no private information of any complaint, concerning matters ſaid or done in that Houſe, till it be ſhewn unto him by the Houſe it ſelf; of which it was affirmed, that it was contrary to the Preſidents and Practice of former times as the other was: That when the Queen had laid an Impoſition upon Currans, and that this Impoſition had been complained of by ſome Merchants to the Houſe of Commons, ſhe had preſent notice given her of it by ſome of her Servants in that Houſe, that ſhewing her diſlike thereof to Sir *Robert Cicill*, principal *Secretary* of State, he ſignified the ſame unto the Houſe, telling them it was a *Noli me tangere*, a point not fit for them to touch at; and that if they deſiſted not from

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PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1621. entertaining that complaint, he must acquaint her Majesty with it, as in duty bound. Nor was there any better ground for that other branch, touching their Liberty and Freedom in breaking of all matters which came under their Cognizance in such method and order as to them seemed fittest; but that they did intend to lay it as a foundation for preferring their own business before the Kings in all times to come.

I had not dwelt so long upon these Discourses, nor on the former passages between his Majesty, and the House of Commons, as being Exotical to my business: but that they were the chief occurrences of this first Parliament, of which our new Bishop was a Member. And though the sitting was but short, not above a Month; yet it afforded him a liberal prospect into the Humours and Affections, the Counsels and Designs of the House of Commons, of which he was not to be taught how to make such use, as should prove most to the advantage of the Church and State. But that which chiefly did concern him to take notice of, was the interposing and embracements of that House in the cause of Religion; which if it were so much in danger by the extraordinary increase of *Popery*, as they gave it out, it must be much to the Reproach both of himself and the rest of the Bishops, that none of them had neither perspicuity enough to see it, or Zeal enough to give warning of it. And therefore he must needs conceive, that Religion was made use of only for a blind or curtain to screen some dark design from the publick view, which had not yet attained to so ripe a confidence as to shew it self abroad in the open light. The *Mystery of iniquity* had long been working in this Church, not so much in the *Popish* as the *Puritan* Faction. Who seeing they had no more prevailed against it by their open batteries than the Roman Emperours had done on the Primitive Church by their persecutions, resolved upon more secret (and consequently more dangerous) practices to attain their ends. In order whereunto they had perpetually alarm'd this King (from his first coming to the Crown) with continual dangers from the Papists; for which the Gunpowder-treason gave them too much ground. Nor would they suffer any Session of Parliament pass from that time forward, in which the dangerous practices of *Priests*, *Jesuits*, &c. did not sound in his ears. And this they did, not so much because they saw any such visible increase of *Popery*, as was by them pretended from time to time: but that they thought it the best way to carry on their other projects, which they were in hand with. For well they knew, that when the thoughts both of King and People were totally taken up with the apprehension of the dangers which were feared from the *Papists*, the *Puritan* party in the mean time might gather strength without being noted or observed. But because these interposings of the Commons in the cause of Religion, became to be more eagerly pursued in some following Parliaments, we shall refer the further consideration of them to another time.

1622. The Parliament being ended, we must follow our new Bishop to his Dioceſs, whom we will wait upon to St. *Davids* (a poor City God wot) situate on the Promontory in *Pembroke-shire*, by the Ancients called

called *Ortopite*, in a ſafe place, and far enough from the *Saxons*, whom the *Welſh* moſt feared: but incommodious enough for all the reſt of the Clergy to repair unto. Nor did it prove ſo ſafe for the Biſhop, and other Inhabitants of it, as had been preſumed, in reſpect of ſundry other Nations who have often ſpoiled and defaced it. For ſtanding near the Sea it had been frequently viſited and ſpoiled by the *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and other *Pyrates*; inſomuch that the Biſhops were inforced to remove their dwelling to *Caermarthen*, a fair Market Town, and beautified with a goodly Collegiate Church, not far from which, in a Village called *Abergenilly*, the Biſhop hath his ordinary place of Reſidence. This brought the City of St. *David's*, ſmall enough before, to the condition of a Village, there being nothing almoſt remaining of it but the Church, the ruines of the Biſhops Palace, and ſome Houſes appertaining to the Canons of it. The Church, as now it ſtands, (if any of it be now left ſtanding) was the work of Biſhop *Peter* the forty eighth Biſhop of this Dioceſs, and by him dedicated by the name of St. *Andrew* and St. *David*; though now St. *Andrew* be left out, and St. *David* bears the name, (as before it did) in reference to St. *David*, who firſt removed the Archiepiſcopal See from *Caer-leon* thither. The place at that time by the *Welſh* called *Menew*, whence the Latines borrow their *Menevenſes*, by which name theſe Biſhops are entituled. From this removal of the *See*, which hapned in 519. the Biſhops hereof were for ſome time the Metropolitans, and for a long time the ſupreme Ordinaries of the *Welſh* or *Britiſh*. For although Archbiſhop *Samſon*, the twenty ſixth from St. *David*, in the year 910. or thereabouts, had carried the *Archiepiſcopal Pall* (and therewithal the Archiepiſcopal dignity) to *Dole* in *Bretagne*, by reaſon of an extreme Peſtilence, then raging amongſt the *Welſh*; yet his Succeſſors, though they loſt the name, reſerved the power of an Archbiſhop. Nor did the reſidue of the *Welſh* Biſhops receive their Conſecration from any other hand than his till the Reign of *Hen.* I. At what time *Bernard*, the forty ſixth Biſhop of this See, was forced to ſubmit himſelf to the Church of *Canterbury*.

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But our Biſhops journey into *Wales* was not ſo much to viſit St. *David's*, (in which Church he had been before inſtalled by Proxy) as to beſtow a viſitation upon his Dioceſs, and therein to take order for the rectifying of ſuch things as he found amiſs. A Dioceſs containing the whole Counties of *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Radnor*, and *Brecknock*, with ſome ſmall parts of *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, *Montgomery*, and *Glamorgan* Shires! For managing whereof the Biſhop hath under him four Archdeacons, that is to ſay, of *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Brecknock*, and Saint *David's*; diſtributing amongſt them all the Pariſhes which belong to this Dioceſs, amounting to no more (in ſo great a quantity of ground) than 308. of which 120 are accounted for Impropriations. But then we are to underſtand this number, of Parochial Churches, not taking into the Account ſuch ſubordinate Chappels as had been built in ſeveral Pariſhes for the eaſe of the People, which might very much increaſe the reckoning. And yet he added one more to them of his own foundation; and ſuch a one as for the

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the elegancy of the building, and richneſs of the Furniture, exceeded all the reſt together. Chappels he found none at his Epiſcopal houſe of *Aberguilly*, and one he was reſolved to beſtow upon it, proportionably to ſuch a Family as was fit for a Biſhop of St. *David's* to have about him; which being finiſhed, he provided it of rich Furniture, and coſtly Utenſils, and whatſoever elſe was neceſſary or convenient for the Service of God; the very Plate deſigned for the celebrating of the holy Supper amounting to one hundred fifty five pounds eighteen ſhillings four pence. Inſomuch that if *Felix* the *Proconſul* had been ſtill alive, he might have cried out now, as he did in the time of *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, viz. (g) *Behold in what rich Veſſels they adminiſter to the Son of Mary.* But this unhappy Age hath given us *Felix's* enough to reckon this amongſt his crimes, and ſo they do his ſolemn Conſecration of it, performed by himſelf in perſon, according to an order firmly drawn up by the moſt learned Biſhop *Andrews*, than whom there could not be a greater enemy to the Errours, Superſtitions, and Corruptions of the See of *Rome*. I know it was objected, (*h*) that neither *Gratian*, nor the *Roman Pontifical*, conceive ſuch Conſecrations neceſſray to a Private Chappel; but then they are to be underſtood of ſuch Chappels only as are meant for prayers, and in propriety of ſpeech are no more than *Oratories*; and not of ſuch as are intended for Preaching, Miniſtring the Sacraments, and other acts of Divine Worſhip, as this Chappel was. And this appears ſo plainly by the Authentick Inſtrument of the Dedication, that no man who hath ſeen the ſame can make queſtion of it.

(g) *Vide quàm pretioſis vaſis adminiſtrant Mariæ Filio.* Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3.

(h) *Cant. Dom.* p. 504. *Et tam ad Sacramenta quam Sacramentalia, tum Cœna Dominicæ, tum etiam Baptiſmatis Sacri in eandem miniſtrantur*, &c.

I have laid all theſe things together, from his Conſecration in *November* 1621. till his return toward *London* on the fifteenth of *Auguſt* 1622. though the building and conſecrating of this Chappel was the work of ſome following years, and that there intervened a buſineſs of another nature betwixt the end of the Parliament and the beginning of his journey. The Treaty for a Match with *Spain* was conceived to be very forwards, and the Parliament had ended in diſguſt for declaring againſt it, which much encreaſed the audaciouſneſs of the *Papiſts*, and the diſcontents of the Puritan Faction. And though the Projects of theſe laſt were not yet ripe enough for a preſent diſcovery, yet ſo it hapned, that one *Knight*, a young Divine of *Broadgates* in *Oxon.* (now better known by the name of *Pembroke Colledge*) broke out a little before his time into ſuch expreſſions as plain enough declared the purpoſe of all the reſt. For preaching at Saint *Peters* on *Palm-Sunday* in the afternoon (being the fourteenth day of *April*) on thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *viz. Let every ſoul be ſubject*, &c. *Rom.* 13. 1. he broacht this dangerous Doctrine: viz. *That the Inferiour Magiſtrate had a lawful power to order and correct the King if he did amiſs.* For illuſtration of which Doctrine he uſed that ſpeech of *Trajans* unto the Captain of his Guard: *Accipe hunc gladium, quem pro me ſi bene imperavero diſtringes; ſin minus contra me*; That is to ſay, Receive this Sword, which I would have thee uſe for my defence if I govern well; but if I rule the Empire ill, to be turned againſt me. For this being called in queſtion by Dr. *Pierce*, one of the Canons of *Chriſt-Church*,

Church, being then Vice-Chancellor, he was commanded to deliver a Copy of his Sermon, which he did accordingly; and Letters preſently were diſpatcht to the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, as the only *Oxford* Biſhop then about the King, to make his Majeſty acquainted with it. It was his Majeſties pleaſure, that both the Preacher and the Sermon ſhould be ſent to the Court. Where being come, he was very ſtrictly examined about the Doctrine he had Preached, and how he came to fall upon it: He laid the fault of all upon ſome late Divines of Foreign Churches, by whom he had been ſo miſguided; eſpecially on *Pareus* a Divine of *Heidelberg*, who in his Commentary on the Epiſtle to the *Romans* had poſitively delivered, all which he had vented in his Sermon, even to that very ſaying of the Emperour *Trajan*. On this acknowledgment, it pleaſed the King of his ſpecial goodneſs to remit the errour of the Preacher, conſidering him as a young man, and eaſily ſeduced by ſo grave an Author; but then withal he gave ſuch order in the Point, That the ſaid Book of *Pareus* ſhould be publickly burnt, not only in both the Univerſities, but alſo after the end of the Sermon at St. *Paul's* Croſs *London*, on ſome *Sunday* following; which Sentence was accordingly executed at *Oxon.* in St. *Maries* Church-yard, on the ſixth of *June*, in a frequent Aſſembly of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, Heads of Houſes, Regents, Non-Regents, and many others, whom curioſity or deſire of ſatisfaction did allure unto it. The like done at St. *Paul's* Croſs alſo on *Sunday* the 23. of *June* next following; *Mountain* then Biſhop of *London*, Preaching there upon that occaſion. The like was done at *Cambridge* alſo, but the time I know not.

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But yet the buſineſs ſtaid not here: The Univerſity of *Oxon.* thought themſelves concerned to acquit the whole Body from that Cenſure, which the Error of one Member might have drawn upon it; and thereupon it was thought fit, that the moſt ſeditious Maxims and Poſitions, which in that point had been delivered by *Pareus*, ſhould be extracted out of that Book; and being ſo extracted, ſhould be preſented to the Vice-chancellor, and by him referred unto the Judgment of the Univerſity: Which being done, a Convocation was aſſembled on the 25th. day of *June*, in which the ſaid Maxims and Poſitions were by an unanimous conſent condemned as falſe, ſeditious, impious, and deſtructive of all Civil Government. Nor did the Univerſity think they had done enough in looking back on Times paſt only, if they provided not alſo for the preventing of the like miſchiefs for the time to come; and thereupon it was declared by the ſaid Univerſity; Firſt, That according to the *Canon* of Holy Scripture it was not lawful for the Subject to reſiſt his Sovereign by force of Arms, or to make War againſt him, either *Offenſive* or *Defenſive*, whether it were for the cauſe of Religion, or upon any other Pretence whatſoever. Secondly, That all Doctors, Maſters of Arts, Batchelors of *Law*, and Batchelors of *Phyſick*, living within the verge of the Univerſity, ſhould ſubſcribe to thoſe Cenſures and Decrees: and Thirdly, That whoſoever did hereafter take any Degree in any Faculty whatſoever, ſhould firſt acknowledge the truth and juſtice of thoſe Cenſures, by his Subſcription to the ſame; and ſhould withal take his Corporal

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Oath (the form of which Oath was then preſcribed) That he did not only from his heart condemn the ſaid Doctrines of *Pareus*; but that he would neither preach, teach, or maintain the ſame, or any of them for the future. And for the better avoiding of the like inconveniencies which *Knight* had run himſelf upon, by that prepoſterous courſe of Study which was then generally uſed in that Univerſity, order was given that his Majeſties Inſtructions of the 18th of *June* 1616. ſhould be publiſhed in all the Chappels of Colledges, and ſome publick place in every Hall, that all young Students in Divinity might take notice of them: And this produced by little and little ſuch an alteration, that the name of *Calvin* (which before had carried all before it) began to leſſen by degrees; his Reaſons more looked upon than his Affirmations, and the Doctrines of the Church of *England* more cloſely followed than they had been formerly.

Nor did his Majeſty ſo much neglect his own ſafety, or the peace and happineſs of his People, as not to take ſuch order in it as might prevent the like falſe, factious, and ſeditious preachings for the time to come. He found by this example, that divers young Students, by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, might and did broach unprofitable, unſound, ſeditious, and dangerous Doctrines, to the ſcandal of this Church, and diſquieting of the State and preſent Government; That the falling off of ſome to *Popery*, and of others to *Anabaptiſtry*, or to ſome other kind of ſeparation from the Church, could not ſo rationally be imputed to any other thing than to the lightneſs, affectedneſs, and unprofitableneſs of that kind of Preaching, which had been of late years too much taken up in Court, Univerſity, City, and Country; That too many Preachers were noted to be ſoaring up in points of Divinity too deep for the capacities of the people; That others ignorantly meddled in Civil matters, as well in the private meetings of ſeveral Pariſhes and Corporations, as in the Publick of the Kingdom, for the venting of their own diſtaſte, or ſmoothing up of thoſe idle fancies, which in this bleſſed time of ſo long a peace, doth boil in the brains of an unadviſed People; That many of their Sermons were full of rude and undecent railings, not only againſt the Doctrines, but even againſt the perſons of *Papiſts* and *Puritans*: And finally, that the People never being inſtructed in the Catechiſm, and fundamental grounds of Religion; for all theſe aiery novelliſms which they received from ſuch Preachers, were but like new Table-books, ready to be filled up, either with the Manuals and Catechiſms of the *Popiſh* Prieſts, or the Papers and Pamphlets of *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, and other *Puritans*. His Majeſty thereupon taking the Premiſes into his Princely conſideration, which had been repreſented to him by ſundry grave and reverend Prelates of this Church, thought it expedient to cauſe ſome certain Limitations and Cautions, concerning preachers and preaching, to be carefully digeſted and drawn up in writing: which done (ſo done as *Laud* appears to have a hand in the doing of it) and being very well approved by the King, he cauſed them to be directed to the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, by them to be communicated to the Biſhops of their ſeveral Provinces, and by thoſe Biſhops

to

to be put in execution in their ſeveral Dioceſſes. Which directions bearing date the fourth of *Auguſt*, 1622. being the 20th. year of his Majeſties Reign, I have thought convenient to ſubjoin, and are theſe that follow, *viz.* LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

I. *That no Preacher under the degree and calling of a Biſhop, or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church (and they upon the Kings days only, and ſet Feſtivals) do take occaſion by the Expounding of any Text of Scripture whatſoever, to fall into any ſet courſe or common place, otherwiſe than by opening the coherence and diviſion of his Text, which ſhall not be comprehended and warranted in eſſence, ſubſtance, effect, or natural inference, within ſome one of the Articles of Religion ſet forth* 1562. *or in ſome one of the Homilies ſet forth by Authority in the Church of* England, *not only for a help of non-preaching, but withal as a pattern, as it were, for the preaching Miniſters; and for their further inſtruction for the performance thereof, that they forthwith read over and peruſe diligently the ſaid Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.*

II. *That no Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, ſhall preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter, upon* Sundays *and* Holy-days *in the Afternoons, in any Cathedral or Pariſh Church throughout this Kingdom, but upon ſome part of the* Catechiſm, *or ſome Text taken out of the* Creed, *or* Commandments, *or the* Lords Prayer, (*Funeral Sermons only excepted*) *and that thoſe Preachers be moſt encouraged and approved of, who ſpend their afternoons exerciſe in the examination of children in their* Catechiſms, *which is the moſt ancient and laudable cuſtom of teaching in the Church of* England.

III. *That no Preacher of what Title ſoever, under the degree of a Biſhop or Dean at the leaſt, do from henceforth preſume to preach in any popular Auditory, the deep points of* Predeſtination, Election, Reprobation, *or of the* univerſality, efficacity, reſiſtibility, *or* irreſiſtibility *of* Gods Grace; *but rather leave thoſe Themes to be handled by Learned Men, and that modeſtly and moderately, by Uſe and Application, rather than by way of poſitive Doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Univerſities, than for ſimple Auditories.*

IV. *That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination ſoever, ſhall preſume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out by way of poſitive Doctrine, in any Lecture or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, Authority, or Duty of Soveraign Princes, or therein meddle with matters of State, and reference between Princes and People, than as they are inſtructed in the Homily of* Obedience, *and in the reſt of the Homilies and Articles of Religion, ſet forth (as before is mentioned) by publick Authority: but rather confine themſelves wholly to theſe two Heads of* Faith *and* Good Life, *which are all the ſubject of the ancient Sermons and Homilies.*

V. *That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination ſoever, ſhall cauſeleſly, and without any invitation from the Text, fall into any bitter Invectives, and undecent railing Speeches againſt the* Papiſts *or* Puritans:

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ritans: *but wisely and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of* England *from the aspersions of either adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection.*

VI. *Lastly, That the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remisness) be more wary and choice in Licencing of Preachers, and Verbal Grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commissary to pass License in this Kingdom: And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom (a new body severed from the ancient Clergy of* England, *as being neither Parson, Vicar, or Curate) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, only upon recommendation of the party from the Bishop of the Diocess under his hand and seal, with a* Fiat *from the Lord Archbishop of* Canterbury, *and a confirmation under the Great Seal of* England; *and that such as transgress any of his directions be suspended by the Bishop of the* Diocess, *or in his default by the Lord Archbishop of that Province,* Ab officio & beneficio, *for a year and a day, until his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation prescribe for some further punishment.*

No sooner were these *Instructions* published, but strange it was to hear the several descants and discourses which were made upon them; How much they were mis-reported amongst the people, and mis-interpreted in themselves; those very men who saw no just reason to condemn the Action being howsoever sure to misconstrue the end. For though they were so discreetly ordered, that no good and godly man could otherwise than acknowledge that they tended very much to Edification; Yet such Interpretations were put upon them, as neither could consist with his Majesties meaning, nor the true sense of the expressions therein used. By some it was given out, that those Instructions did tend to the restraint of Preaching, at the lest as to some necessary and material points; by others, that they did abate the number of Sermons, by which the people were to be instructed in the Christian Faith; by all the Preachers of that Party, that they did but open a gap for Ignorance and Superstition to break in by degrees upon the people. Which coming to his Majesties Ears, it brought him under the necessity of making an Apology for himself, and his actions in it. And to this end having summed up the reasons which induced him to it, he required the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to communicate them to his Brother of *York*; by both to be imparted to their several Suffragans, the inferiour Clergy, and to all others whatsoever, whom it might concern: which notwithstanding, it lay so heavy on the stomach of *H. Burton* (at that time a Waiter in the Court, and afterwards beneficed in *Friday*-street) that it would not down with him for many years. Insomuch that in his seditious Sermon, Entituled, *For God and King, Anno* 1636. he chargeth it for an Innovation in Religion, that the Bishops then about King *James*, (of which *Laud* was one) procured an order from him to inhibit young Ministers from preaching those Doctrines

ctrines (thoſe ſaving Doctrines as he calls them) of Election and Predeſtination, and that none but Biſhops and Deans ſhould handle thoſe Points; which he is confident to have been done by them for no other reaſon, *But thereby the more eaſily to make way for the accompliſhing of their plot*, for the introducing of Popery, ſo long in hammering. So impoſſible was it for that King, (and as impoſſible for his Son and Succeſſor) aſſiſted by the graveſt and moſt moderate Councellors, to fix on any thing conducible to the peace and happineſs of the Church, but what muſt be traduced, and made odious in the ſight of the People by the reports and artifices of thoſe troubleſom Spirits. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1622.

Now as his Majeſty and the Church were exerciſed on the one ſide by the Puritan Faction, ſo were they no leſs troubled and diſquieted by the Popiſh Party on the other. The Prieſts and Jeſuites, upon the breaking up of the Parliament, and the Proceedings of the Treaty, grew to ſuch an height of confidence, that they openly began to practiſe on ſome perſons of Honour for ſeducing them and their dependants to the See of *Rome*. Amongſt whom there was none more aimed at than the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, whom if they could gain unto their Party, they doubted not but by her means to win the *Marqueſs*, and by his power to obtain a toleration at the leaſt of their Superſtition. The Lady beginning to ſtagger in her reſolutions, and *Fiſher* the Jeſuite (who had undertaken the task) continually preſſing her by freſh arguments to declare her ſelf, it came at laſt to the Kings knowledge, who was not wanting to diſcourſe with her for her ſatisfaction. At that time Dr. *Francis White*, Rector of Saint *Peter* in *Cornhil*, was Reader of the Divinity Lecture in the Church of Saint *Paul*, by which he had gained an high eſteem amongſt his Auditors, not only for his honeſt Zeal againſt the Papiſts, in thoſe (as they were then thought) Pendulous times: but for a notable dexterity in the managing of all points of Controverſie. No man thought fitter than this Doctor to encounter *Fiſher*. And to that end, in the beginning of this year, he was deſired by the Marqueſs to hold a Conference with the Jeſuite, at which his Mother being preſent, might hear what anſwers would be given to ſuch Objections as had been made againſt this Church, and the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed. One Conference not being enough to conclude the buſineſs, another followed not long after, to which the King himſelf did vouchſafe his preſence; ſo great was his deſire to free this Honourable Lady from the *Fiſhers* net. But in that ſecond Conference (conſiſting altogether of particular points) there had been nothing ſaid touching an infallible, viſible Church, which was the chief and only point in which the Party doubting required ſatisfaction. And that ſhe might have ſatisfaction in that matter alſo, it pleaſed his Majeſty to adde a third Conference to the former on the twenty fourth of *May* next following, not to be managed by the ſame parties, but by our Biſhop on the one ſide, and the ſaid *Fiſher* on the other; the Lord Keeper *Williams* (who put in a word or two ſometimes) and divers other perſons of Honour being alſo preſent.

How

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How well he ſped in that encounter, the Printed Conference, which came out about two years after, and the juſtification of it publiſhed in the year 1637. do moſt clearly evidence, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter in due time and place. Certain I am, that he gained ſo much by that days work on the *Marqueſs* of *Buckingham*, that from that time forwards he was taken into his eſpecial favour; For he himſelf telleth us in his *Breviate* on *Whitſunday*, *June* the eighth, That the *Marqueſs was pleaſed to enter into a nearer reſpect to him, the particulars whereof were not for paper*; That on the fifteenth of that month he had the honour to be made the *Marqueſs's Confeſſor* (which was to give him in effect the key of his heart;) that on the morrow after, being *Trinity* Sunday, the *Marqueſs* having thus prepared himſelf, received the Sacrament at *Greenwich*. Which if he had not forborn for a long time before, this *Memorandum* in the *Breviate* muſt have been impertinent; and finally, that on the eleventh of *January*, the Marqueſs and he were at ſome private Conſultation, in the inner Chamber at *York*-houſe, on which he prays God to beſtow his bleſſing. Nor was the King leſs pleaſed with his performance at that time, than the Marqueſs was. On the report whereof, he gave him order to digeſt the ſubſtance of it into Form and Method, to make it ready for his hearing in convenient time; and was content to give him acceſs no leſs than thrice in the *Chriſtmaſs* holy-days, that he might hearken to it with the more attention. That King had never the command of ſo ſtrong a patience as to hold out againſt a ſecond or third reading, if he had not found ſome high contentment in the firſt. In which conjuncture, it was no hard matter for him to obtain the renewing and enlarging of his *Commendum* by the addition of the Parſonage of *Creek* in *Northamptonſhire*, into which he was inſtituted and inducted, in the end of *January*.

We are now drawing unto a new and ſtrange adventure, greater than which was never undertaken and performed by a Prince of *England*. The Treaty for the Match with *Spain*, beginning in the year 1617. was afterwards more vigorouſly proſecuted by King *James*, upon a hope of bringing back the *Palatinate* with it; But while he fed himſelf with hopes, the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians*, had devoured the Country, leaving but three Towns (*Heidelberg*, *Frankendale*, and *Manheime*) to keep poſſeſſion for the *Prince Elector*, in the name of the reſt. Which the King finding at the laſt, and ſeeing that one delay begat another, without promiſing any end to his expectations; it was by him reſolved, without the privity and conſent of his Council, that the Prince himſelf ſhould go in perſon into *Spain*, that he might either ſpeed the buſineſs, or break off the Treaty: Nor wanted the Prince ſtrong impulſives to induce him to it. He was now paſt the two and twentieth year of his Age, and was ſo bent upon the Match, that he began to grow impatient with his Fathers Miniſters for not ripening it unto an iſſue; For it is evident by *Digby*'s Letter unto *Calvert* (1) dated *October* 28. 1623. (this laſt then Secretary of State) not only that King *James* did infinitely deſire the Match, but that the Prince deſired it as much as he, and by *Calvert*'s Letter unto *Digby*,

(1) *Hidden works of dark*: p. 47.

Digby, on the fifth of this preſent *January*; *That he could have no reſt for his young Maſter, for being called on early and late to haſten the diſpatch of all.* Some Meſſages and diſpatches had been brought by *Porter* out of *Spain* about three days before, which winged his feet, and added Spurs to the deſign. The journey being thus agreed on, was in the very nature of it, to be made a ſecret; and therefore not communicable to the Lords of the Council for fear of ſtaying him at home, or rendring him obnoxious to the danger of an interception as he paſt through *France*; which miſchief if it had befaln him, he muſt either have ſubmitted unto ſuch conditions, or ſuffered under ſuch reſtraints as might ſeem intolerable in themſelves, but abſolutely deſtructive of his preſent purpoſe; which may the rather be believed by reaſon of the like proceedings of that King with the preſent Prince Elector *Palatine*; who poſting diſguiſed through *France*, in hope to get the Command of Duke *Bernards* Army, was ſtayed in the middle of his Journey by that Kings command, and kept ſo long under reſtraint that he loſt the opportunity of effecting that which he deſired. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1622. *Id. p.* 25.

It is not to be thought but that much danger did appear in the undertaking, but Love, which facilitates impoſſibilities, overcomes all dangers. On the eighteenth day of *February*, accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Endimion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*, he took Ship at *Dover*, and landed ſafe at *Boloigne* a Port of *Picardy*. Advanced on his way as far as *Paris*, his Curioſity carried him to the Court, to ſee a Maſque, at which he had a view of that incomparable Princeſs, whom he after married. But he was like to have paid dear for his curioſity; For no ſooner had he left the City, but the *French* King upon Advertiſement of his being there, diſpatcht away many of his Servants in purſuance of him, commanding them not only to ſtay his Journey, but to bring him back unto the Court. But he rides faſt who rides upon the wings of Love and Fear, ſo that the Prince had paſt *Bayonne* (the laſt Town of *France*) without being overtaken by them; and poſting ſpeedily to *Madrid* he entred the Lord Ambaſſadors Lodging without being known to any but his Confidents only. That Danger being thus eſcaped, he caſt himſelf upon another; For having put himſelf into the power of the King of *Spain*, it was at the courteſie of that King whether he ſhould ever return or not; it being a Maxime among Princes, that if any one of them without leave ſets foot on the ground of another, he makes himſelf *ipſo facto* to become his Priſoner. *Richard* the firſt of *England* paſſing in diſguiſe through ſome part of the dominions of the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, was by him took priſoner, and put unto ſo high a ranſome, that the Arch-Duke is ſaid to have bought the Earldom of *Styria*, or *Styrmark*, with ſome part of the money, and to have walled *Vienna* with the reſt. Nor wanted the *Spaniards* ſome Examples of a later date, which might have juſtified his detention there, had they been ſo minded, and thoſe too borrowed from our ſelves. *Philip* the firſt of *Spain*, (one of the Predeceſſors of the King then Reigning) being caſt by tempeſt on the coaſt of *England*, was here detained by King *Henry* the Seventh till he had delivered up the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had put himſelf under his pro-

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protection. In like manner *Mary* Queen of *Scots* being forced by her Rebellious Subjects to flee into this Realm, was presently seized on as a Prisoner, and so continued till her lamentable and calamitous death. And what could more agree with the rules of Justice, and the old known practice of *Retaliation*, then that the *English* should be punished by the rigour of their own severities?

Such were the Dangers which the Princes person was exposed to by this unparallel'd adventure, not otherwise to be commended (in most mens opinions) but by the happy success of his return. And yet there were some fears of a greater danger than any could befal his person by Sea or Land; that is to say, the danger of his being wrought on to alter his Religion, and to make shipwrack of his Faith; and this by some uncharitable persons is made the ground of the design, to the indelible reproach of those who were supposed to have had a hand in the contrivement of the Plot. Amongst those the *Marquess* stands accused by the Earl of *Bristol*, as appears by the first Article of the Charge which was exhibited against him in the Parliament of the year 1626. And our new Bishop stands reproached for another of them by the Author of the book entituled, *Hidden works of darkness*, &c. (m) But then it cannot be denied, but that his Majesty and the Prince must be the Principals in this Fact, this *Hidden work of darkness*, as that Author calls it; *Buckingham* and Saint *David's* being only accessaries, and subservient instruments. But who can think they durst have undertaken so foul a business, which could not be washt off but by their blood, had not the King commanded, and the Prince consented? Now for the King, there is not any thing more certain than the great care he took that no danger should accrue to the Religion here by Law established by the Match with *Spain*. And this appears so clearly by the Instructions which he gave to *Digby* at the first opening of this Treaty, as if it had been written with a beam of the Sun: "The matter of Religion (saith he) is to us of most principal consideration; "for nothing can be to us dearer than the honour and safety of the Re"ligion we profess: And therefore seeing that this Marriage and Alli"ance (if it shall take place) is to be with a Lady of a different Reli"gion from us; it becometh us to be tender, as on the one part, to "give them all satisfaction convenient; so on the other, to admit no"thing that may blemish our Conscience, or detract from the Reli"gion here established. And to this point he stood to the very last, not giving way to any alteration in this, or toleration of that Religion; though he was pleased to grant some personal graces to the Recusants of this Kingdom, and to abate somewhat of the Rigour of those Capital Laws which had been formerly enacted against Priests and Jesuites.

(m) *Hidden works*. p. 34.

Next for the Prince, he had been brought up, for some years then last past, *at the feet* of this most learned and wise *Gamaliel*; by whom he was so fortified in the true Protestant Religion, established by the Laws of this Realm, that he feared not the encounter of the strongest Adversary; and of this the King was grown so confident, that when *Maw* and *Wren*, the Princes Chaplains, were to receive his Majesties Com-

Commands at their going to *Spain*, there to attend upon their Master, he advised them not to put themselves upon any unnecessary Disputations, but to be only on the defensive part, if they should be challenged. And when it was answered, That there could be no reason to engage in such Disputations where no Moderator could be had; The King replied, That *Charles* should moderate between them and the opposite party. At which when one of them seemed to smile upon the other, the King proceeded, and assured them, that *Charles* should manage a point in Controversie with the best studied Divine of them all; and that he had trained up *George* so far as to hold the Conclusion, though he had not yet made him able to prove the Premises. By which it seems that his Majesty conceived no such fear on the Princes part, as that he could be practised or disputed out of his Religion; and that he had no such fear of *Buckingham* neither, but that he would be able to stand his ground, notwithstanding any Arguments which were brought to move him. And he that is so far confirmed as to stand his ground, will never yield himself though he may be vanquished. It was not then to be believed, that men so principled and instructed, as not to be forced out of their Religion, should take such pains to be perverted, or seduced upon worldly policies, as well against their Science, as against their Conscience. Had they gone thither on that Errand, what could have hindred them from putting the design in execution; having in *Spain* fit opportunity to effect it, at home the Kings Authority to confirm and countenance it, and the whole power of his Catholick Majesty (which was offered more than once or twice) to justifie and defend the mis-rule against all the world? That they brought back the same Religion which they carried with them, is a strong Argument to any man of sense and reason that they went not into *Spain* of purpose to betray it there.

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Let us next look upon the proofs which are offered to us; for *Laud* being privy to this journey, whereof his being of Council to pervert the Prince, and draw him to the Church of *Rome*, there is no proof offered: For first I find it charged, that he wrote a Letter unto *Buckingham* on the fifth day after his departure, and maintained a constant Correspondence with him when he was in *Spain*: And secondly, That he was privy to some Speeches which his Majesty had used to the Prince at his going hence. His Majesty in some of his printed Books had maintained that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*; and now he feared that this might be alledged against him in the Court of *Rome*, to hinder the Popes Dispensation, and obstruct the Marriage: For the removal of which bar, he commands the Prince to signifie (if occasion were) to all it might concern, *That his Majesty had writ nothing in that point* concludingly, *but by way of Argument.* That *Laud* was present at this Conference betwixt his Majesty and the Prince, hath no proof at all: He might be made acquainted with it on the *post-fact*, when the Prince returned; and yet because he was made acquainted with this passage, though upon the *post-fact*, it must be hence concluded, as a matter *certain, That he was one of the Cabinet Council, and privy to the Princes going into* Spain: And secondly, as a matter *probable, That he suggested this*

Cant. Doom. p. 276.

distinction

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distinction unto King James, *to please the* Pope, *and promote the Match.* As little ſtrength there is in the ſecond proof, touching his Writing to the Marqueſs on the fifth day after his departure: But then it was not till the fifth, before which time the Princes Journey into *Spain* was made the general Diſcourſe of all Companies, the ordinary Subject of all Tongues and Pens; communicated by word of mouth, by Letters, and by what means not? Nor can thoſe following Letters, which he received from *Buckingham* when he was in *Spain*, convince him of being privy to that Journey, when it was in project and deſign; there being many others alſo, who both received and diſpatched Letters frequently from that very ſame perſon, ſo far from being of the Council as to that particular, that they were not of the Court at all: So ordinary is the fate of ſuch ſorry Arguments, to conclude nothing at all, or that which is nothing to the purpoſe.

Hidd. Works p. 34. & Brev. p. 3.

But what need more to be ſaid to confute this Calumny on which I have ſo long inſiſted, than the great Care which was immediately taken by the King and his Biſhops, to maintain the Reputation of the Church of *England* in the Court of *Spain*? No ſooner had his Majeſty notice that the Prince was come in ſafety to the Court of that King, but order preſently was taken for Officers of all Qualities, and Servants of all ſorts to be ſent unto him, that ſo he might appear in publick with the greater luſtre. Nor was it the leaſt part of his Royal Care, to accommodate him with two ſuch Chaplains as ſhould be able to defend the Doctrine of this Church againſt all Opponents. And that there might appear a face of the Church of *England* in the outward Forms of Worſhip alſo, his Majeſty was pleaſed by the Advice of the Biſhops then about him (of which *Laud* was one) to give the ſaid Chaplains, *Maw* and *Wren*, theſe Inſtructions following, dated at *Newmarket*, *March* 10.

I. *That there be one convenient Room appointed for Prayer; the ſaid Room to be employed during their abode to no other uſe.*

II. *That it be decently adorned Chappel-wiſe, with an* Altar, *Fonts, Palls, Linen Coverings, Demy-Carpet, four Surplices, Candleſticks, Tapers, Chalices, Pattens, a fine Towel for the Prince, other Towels for the Houſhold, a Traverſe of Waters for the Communion, a Baſon and Flaggons, two Copes.*

III. *That Prayers be duly kept twice a day: That all reverence be uſed by every one preſent, being uncovered, kneeling at due time, ſtanding up at the Creeds and Goſpel, bowing at the Name of* JESUS.

IV. *That the Communion be celebrated in due form, with an Oblation of every Communicant, and admixing Water with the Wine: the Communion to be as often uſed as it ſhall pleaſe the Prince to ſet down; ſmooth Wafers to be uſed for the Bread.*

V. *That in the Sermons there be no Polemical Preachings to inveigh againſt them, or to confute them; but only to confirm the Doctrine and Tenets of the Church of* England, *by all poſitive Arguments, either in Fundamental or Moral Points; and eſpecially to apply themſelves in Moral Leſſons to Preach* Chriſt Jeſus *Crucified.*

VI. *That*

VI. *That they give no occaſions (or raſhly entertain any) of Conference or Diſpute (for fear of diſhonour to the Prince, if upon any offence taken, he ſhould be required to ſend away any one of them): but if the Lord Embaſſador or Mr. Secretary wiſh them to hear any that deſire ſome information, then they may ſafely do it.*

VII. *That they carry the Articles of our Religion in many Copies, the Books of Common Prayer in ſeveral Languages, ſtore of* Engliſh *Service-Books, the Kings own Works in* Engliſh *and* Latin.

Such were his Majeſties inſtructions to the ſaid two Chaplains: and being ſuch, they do *concludingly* demonſtrate, That there was no deſign in the King or Prince, or in any of the Court or Court-Biſhops, of what name ſoever, to alter the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed; or that the Prince was poſted into *Spain* of purpoſe that he might be perverted or debauched from it.

But the beſt is, that he which gave the *Wound* hath made the *Plaiſter*; and ſuch a *Plaiſter* as may aſſuredly heal the Sore without troubling any other Chirurgeon. It is affirmed by him who publiſhed the (p) *Breviate* of our Biſhops Life, That he was not only privy to this Journey of the Prince and *Buckingham* into *Spain*, but that the Journey was purpoſely plotted to pervert him in his Religion, and reconcile him to *Rome*: And this he makes apparent by the following Prayer, found amongſt others in the Biſhops *Manual of Devotions*; than which there can be nothing more repugnant to the Propoſitions, for proof of which it is ſo luckily produced. Now the ſaid Prayer is thus *verbatim, viz.*

(p) *Breviate p.* 14.

O Moſt merciful God and gracious Father, the Prince hath put himſelf to a great Adventure: I humbly beſeech thee, make clear the way before him; give thine Angels charge over him; be with him thy ſelf in Mercy, Power, and Protection, in every ſtep of his Journey, in every moment of his Time, in every Conſultation and Addreſs for Action, till thou bring him back with Safety, Honour, and Contentment, to do thee ſervice in this place. Bleſs his moſt truſty and faithful Servant the Lord Duke of Buckingham, *that he may be diligent in Service, provident in Buſineſs, wiſe and happy in Counſel, for the honour of thy Name, the good of the Church, the preſervation of the Prince, the contentment of the King, the ſatisfaction of the State: Preſerve him, I humbly beſeech thee, from all envy that attends him; and bleſs him, that his eyes may ſee the Prince ſafely delivered to the King and State; and after it to live long in happineſs, to do thee and them ſervice, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

And with this Prayer (ſo plainly deſtructive of the purpoſe for which it was publiſhed) I ſhut up the Tranſactions of this preſent year.

We will begin the next with the diſmiſſion of the Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, a man defamed by the *Italians* at his coming hither, and as much reproached by the *Engliſh* at his going hence: His name was

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Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbiſhop of *Spalato* in Fact, and Primate of *Dalmatia* in Title: Such anciently and of right thoſe Archbiſhops were, till the Biſhop of *Venice* being made a Patriarch by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, *Anno* 1450. aſſumed that Title to himſelf, together with a Superintendency over all the Churches of that Country, as ſubordinate to him. He had been long converſant with the Fathers and Ancient Councils; By this Light he diſcerned the Darkneſs of the Church of *Rome*, and the blind Title which the Popes had for their Supremacy. Inclining to the Proteſtant Religion, he began to fear that his own Country would prove too hot for him at the laſt; and therefore after he had ſate in the See of *Spalato* about fourteen years, he quitted his Preferments there, and betook himſelf for Sanctuary to the Church of *England*, *Anno* 1616. Extremely honoured at his firſt coming by all ſorts of people: entertained in both Univerſities with ſolemn Speeches; preſented, complemented, feaſted, by the great Lords about the Court, the Biſhops, and ſome principal perſons about the City: Happy was he that could be honoured with his Company, and ſatisfied with beholding his comely preſence, though they underſtood not his Diſcourſes. Commended by King *James* at firſt for a conſtant Sojourner and Gueſt to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, in whoſe Chappel at *Lambeth* he aſſiſted at the Conſecration of ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops. Make afterwards by the King the Maſter of the *Savoy*, and Dean of *Windſor*, and by himſelf made Rector of *Weſt-Illesby* in the County of *Berks*: A Revenue not ſo great as to bring him under the ſuſpicion of coming hither out of Covetouſneſs, for the ſake of filthy Lucre; nor ſo contemptible, but that he might have lived plentifully and contentedly on it. During his ſtay here, he publiſhed his learned and elaborate Book entituled, *De Republica Eccleſiaſtica*, never yet anſwered by the Papiſts, and perhaps unanſwerable. He had given great trouble to the Pope by his defection from that Church, and no ſmall countenance to the Doctrine of the Proteſtant Churches by his coming over unto ours. The foundring of ſo great a Pillar, ſeemed to prognoſticate, that the Fabrick of that Church was not like to ſtand. And yet he gave greater blows to them by his Pen, than by the defection of his perſon; the wound ſo given, being conceived to be incurable.

In theſe reſpects, thoſe of that Church beſtirred themſelves to diſgrace his perſon, deviſing many other cauſes, by which he might be moved or forced to forſake thoſe parts, wherein he durſt no longer tarry: but finding little credit given to their libellous Pamphlets, they began to work upon him by more ſecret practices, inſinuating, That he had neither that reſpect nor thoſe Advancements which might encourage him to ſtay; That the new Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth was his ſpecial Friend; That he might chuſe his own Preferments, and make his own Conditions, if he would return. And on the other ſide they cunningly wrought him out of credit with King *James*, by the Arts of *Gundamore*, Embaſſadour at that time from the King of *Spain*; and leſſened his eſteem amongſt the Clergy, by ſome other Artifices: So that the poor man, being in a manner loſt on both ſides, was forced to

to a neceſſity of ſwallowing that accurſed bait, by which he was hooked over to his own deſtruction. For having ſollicited King *James* by ſeveral Letters (the laſt of them bearing date on the third of *February*) to licenſe his departure home, he was by the King diſdainfully turned over to the *High-Commiſſion*, or rather to a ſpecial Commiſſion directed to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Wincheſter*, with certain of the Lords of the Privy Council. Theſe Lords aſſembling at *Lambeth* on the 30th. of *March*, and having firſt heard all his excuſes and defences, commanded him to depart the Realm within twenty days, or otherwiſe to expect ſuch puniſhment as by the Laws of the Land might be laid upon him, for holding Intelligence by Letters, Meſſages, *&c.* with the Pope of *Rome*. To this Sentence he ſorrowfully ſubmitted, proteſting openly, That he would never ſpeak reproachfully of the Church of *England*, the Articles whereof he acknowledged to be ſound and profitable, and none of them to be *Heretical*, as appears by a Book entituled, *SPALATO's Shiftings in Religion*, publiſhed (as it was conceived) by *Laud's* eſpecial Friend, the Lord Biſhop of *Durham*. How well, or rather how ill he performed this promiſe, and what became of him after his return to *Rome* is not now my buſineſs. The man is baniſhed out of *England*, and my Hiſtory leads me next into *Spain*, not *Italy*.

The Church of *England* had a great ſtock at that time to be driven in *Spain*, and many of the *Romiſh* Factors were deſirous to be trading in it. No ſooner was the Princes Train of Lords and Gentlemen come to the City of *Madrid*, but the King of *Spain* aſſigned a day for his Reception. A Reception ſo Magnificent, ſo full of State and Royal Pomp, that it redounded infinitely to the honour of the *Spaniſh* Court, and the ſatisfaction of the Prince. Never was King of *Spain* on the day of his inauguration received into that City with a more general concourſe of all ſorts of people, and greater ſigns of Joy and Gallantry; then the Prince was conducted through it to the Palace Royal. In which his Quarters being aſſigned him, there wanted no allurements on their parts to win him to a fair eſteem of their Religion, and to put ſome high value alſo on their Court and Nation. Nor was the Prince wanting for his part in all fit compliances, by which he might both gain on them, and preſerve himſelf; for by his Courtly Garb he won ſo much on the affections of the Lady *Infanta*, and by his Grace and circumſpect behaviour got ſo much ground upon that King and his Council, that the Match went forward in good earneſt. A diſpenſation for the marriage was procured from *Gregory* the Fifteenth then ſitting in the See of *Rome*. The Articles of the marriage with all the circumſtances thereof were agreed upon, and ſolemnly ſworn to by both Kings. Nothing remained to bring the whole buſineſs to a joyful iſſue but the Conſummation. But before that could be obtained, the Prince muſt try his fortunes in an harder Conflict than any he had learnt in the Schools of Love.

The change of his Religion was much hoped for by the Court of *Spain* at his firſt coming thither. To perfect which he was plied from time

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time to time with many perſwaſive Arguments by many perſons of great honour about that King. And many of the moſt learned Prieſts and Jeſuites made their Addreſſes to him, with ſuch Rhetorical Orations, with ſuch inſinuating Artifices, and ſubtle Practices, as if they had a purpoſe rather to conquer him by kindneſs, than by diſputation. Nor ſtop they there, but dedicated many Books unto him, to gain him fairly to their party; invited him to behold their ſolemn Proceſſions to captivate his outward ſenſes; and carried him to the moſt Religious places, famous for their magnificent Fabricks, and pretended Miracles. In which conjuncture of deſigns, it is not to be thought but that the Pope beſtirred himſelf in gaining to his Church a Prince of ſuch parts and greatneſs. For firſt he writes unto the Biſhop of *Conchen*, *Inquiſitor* general of *Spain*, not to be wanting to the opportunity which God had put into his hands. The next day, being the twentieth of *April*, he addreſſed his lines unto the Prince, extolling the piety of his Predeceſſors, their zeal unto the Catholick Church, and to the head thereof the Pope, inviting him by all the blandiſhments of Art, to put himſelf upon the following of their brave examples. Never had Prince a harder game to play than Prince *Charles* had now: He found himſelf under the Power of the King of *Spain*, and knew that the whole buſineſs did depend on the Popes diſpenſation, with whom if he complyed not in ſome handſome way, his expectation might be fruſtrate, and all the fruits of that long Treaty would be ſuddenly blaſted. He therefore writes unto the Pope in ſuch general terms as ſeemed to give his Holineſs ſome aſſurances of him: but being reduced unto particulars, ſignified nothing elſe but ſome civil complements; mixt with ſome promiſes of his endeavours to make up the breaches in the Church, and reſtore Chriſtendom to an happy and deſirable peace. Which notwithſtanding was after reckoned amongſt his crimes, by ſuch as rather would not, then did not know the neceſſity which lay upon him, of keeping at that time a plauſible correſpondence with the Catholick party.

But theſe Temptations and Allurements, theſe Artifices and Inſinuations, prevailed ſo little with the Prince, that he ſtill kept his ſtand, and was found impregnable; carrying himſelf with ſuch a prudent Moderation in theſe encounters, that he came off always without Envy, but not without Glory. And that it might appear on what grounds he ſtood, it was thought fit to let them ſee that he profeſſed no other Religion than what was agreeable to the Rules of Antiquity, and not much abhorrent from the Forms then uſed in the Church of *Rome*. And to this end, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, the *Engliſh Liturgie* was tranſlated into Spaniſh; ſo many Copies of the book then Printed being ſent into *Spain*, as gave great ſatisfaction both to the Court and Clergy. The work performed by a converted *Dominican* (q) who was gratified for his pains therein by a good Prebend, and a Benefice, as he well deſerved. And this I muſt needs ſay was very ſeaſonably done; for till that time the *Spaniards* had been made believe by their Prieſts and Jeſuites, that when the *Engliſh* had caſt off the *Pope*, they had caſt off all Religion alſo. That from thence-

(q) *Cab. p.* 47

thenceforth they became meer *Atheiſts*; and that the name of God was never uſed amongſt them, but with a purpoſe to expoſe it to profanation. An Argument whereof may be the extreme ſqueamiſhneſs of the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, ſent into *England* in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, to ſwear the peace between both Kings. Who underſtanding that the buſineſs was to be performed in the Chappel, where ſome *Anthems* were to be ſung, deſired, *that whatſoever was ſung, Gods name might not be uſed in it; and that being forborne, he was content they ſhould ſing what they liſted.* And when the Earl of *Notingham*, attended by many Gentlemen of worth and quality went into *Spain*, to take the like Oath of the *Catholick* King, it was reported by his followers at their coming back, how much it was commiſerated by the Vulgar *Spaniards*, that ſo many goodly perſons ſhould be trained up in no other Religion than to worſhip the Devil.

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Spotſw. Hiſt. of Scot. f. 530.

But let us leave the Prince, and return for *England*, where the King had as hard a game to play; For having left ſuch a Pawn in *Spain*, he was in a manner bound to his good behaviour, and of neceſſity to gratifie the *Popiſh* Party in this Kingdom with more than ordinary Favours. He knew no marriage could be made without the *Popes* Diſpenſation, and that the *Popes* Diſpenſation could not be obtained without indulging many graces to his Catholick Subjects. To ſmooth his way therefore to the point deſired, he addreſſeth ſeveral Letters to the *Pope* and Cardinals, in which he gives him the title of moſt holy Father; and imploys *Gage*, as his Agent in the Court of *Rome*, to attend the buſineſs. At home he diſchargeth all ſuch *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites* as had been formerly impriſoned; inhibiting all Proceſſes, and Superſeding all proceedings againſt Recuſants; and in a word, ſuſpends the execution of ſuch penal Laws as were made againſt them. The People hereupon began to cry out generally of a *Toleration*, and murmur in all places againſt the King, as if he were reſolved to grant it. And that they might not ſeem to cry out for nothing, a Letter is diſperſed abroad, under the name of Archbiſhop *Abbot*. In this Letter his Majeſty is told, "That by granting any ſuch Toleration he ſhould ſet "up the moſt damnable and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of "*Rome*, the whore of *Babylon*; that it would be both hateful to God, "grievous to his good Subjects, and contradictory to his former Writ-"ings, in which he had declared their Doctrines to be Superſtitious, "Idolatrous, and deteſtable; That no ſuch toleration could be "granted but by Parliament only, unleſs it were his purpoſe to ſhew "his people that he would throw down the Laws at his pleaſure; That "by granting ſuch a Toleration, there muſt needs follow a diſconti-"nuance of the true Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and what could follow "thereupon, but Gods heavy wrath and indignation both on himſelf "and all the Kingdom; That the Prince was not only the Son of his "Fleſh, but the Son of his People alſo, and therefore leaves him to "conſider what an errour he had run into, by ſending him into *Spain* "without the privity of his Council, and conſent of his Subjects; And "finally, That though the Princes return might be ſafe and proſpe-"rous, yet they that drew him into that dangerous and deſperate Acti-"on, would not ſcape unpuniſhed.

This

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This was the ſubſtance of the Letter, whoſoever was the Writer of it. For *Abbot* could not be ſo ill a Stateſman (having been long a Privy Counſellour) as not to know, that he who ſitteth at the Helm muſt ſteer his courſe according unto wind and weather; And that there was a very great difference betwixt ſuch perſonal indulgencies, as the King had granted in that caſe to his Popiſh Subjects, and any ſuch Publick Exerciſe of their Superſtitions, as the word *Toleration* doth import; and howſoever, that it was a known Maxime in the Arts of Government, that neceſſity over-rules the Law, and that Princes many times muſt act for the publick good, in the infringing of ſome perſonal and particular rights which the Subjects claim unto themſelves. Nor could he be ſo ignorant of the Kings affections as to believe, that the King did really intend any ſuch toleration, though poſſibly he might be content, on good reaſon of State, that the people ſhould be generally perſwaded of it: For well he knew that the King loved his Soveraignty too well to quit any part thereof to the *Pope* of *Rome*, and conſequently to part with that Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical matters (as needs he muſt have done by a Toleration) which he eſteemed the faireſt Flower in the Royal Garland. In which reſpect, King *James* might ſeem to be made up of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, as impatient of enduring an equal, as of admitting a Superiour in his own Dominions. Or had he been a greater ſtranger at the Court than can be imagined, yet could he not be ignorant, that it was the Kings chief intereſt to preſerve Religion in the ſame ſtate in which he found it; and could not fear but that he would ſufficiently provide for the ſafety of it. Upon which Premiſes, it may be rationally inferred, that *Abbot* was only the *reputed* Author of this Baſtard Letter, and not the natural Parent of it.

Nor was the Toleration more feared by the Engliſh Proteſtants, than hoped for by the *Papiſts* here, and preſumed by the *Pope* himſelf. In confidence whereof, he nominated certain Biſhops to all the Epiſcopal Sees of *England* to exerciſe all manner of Juriſdiction in their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes, as his falſe and titular Biſhops did in the Church of *Ireland*. The intelligence whereof being given to the Jeſuites here in *England*, who feared nothing more than ſuch a thing, one of them, who formerly had free acceſs to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, acquaints him with this mighty ſecret; aſſuring him, that he did it for no other reaſon, but becauſe he knew what a great exaſperation it would give the King, and conſequently how much it would incenſe him againſt the Catholicks. Away with this Intelligence goes the Lord Keeper to the King, who took fire thereat as well as he, and though it was ſomewhat late at night, commanded to go to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, and to require him to ſend unto the King his Maſter to take ſome courſe that thoſe proceedings might be ſtopt in the Court of *Rome*; or otherwiſe that the Treaty of the Match ſhould advance no further. The Lord Keeper finds the Embaſſadour ready to ſend away his Pacquet, who upon hearing of the news commanded his Currier to ſtay till he had repreſented the whole buſineſs in a Letter to the King his Maſter. On the receiving of which Letter, the King im-

imparts the ſame to the *Popes Nuncio* in his Court. Who preſently ſends his diſpatches to the *Pope*, acquainting him with the great inconveniencies and unavoidable dangers of this new deſign; which being ſtopt by this device, and the Treaty of the Match ending in a rupture not long after, the ſame Jeſuite came again to the Lord Keepers lodging, and in a fair and facetious manner thanked him moſt humbly for the good office he had done for that Society, for breaking and bearing off which blow all the friends they had in *Rome* could find no buckler. Which Story as I heard from his Lordſhips own mouth (with no ſmall contentment) ſo ſeemed he to be very well pleaſed with the handſomneſs of the trick which was put upon him.

Laud was not ſleeping all this while. It was not poſſible that a man of ſuch an Active Spirit ſhould be out of work, and he had work enough to do in being the Dukes Agent at the Court. The Marqueſs was made Duke of *Buckingham*, at his being in *Spain*, to make him more conſiderable in the eye of that Court: and this addition to his honours, was an addition alſo to that envy which was born againſt him. Great Favourites have for the moſt part many enemies, ſuch as are carefully intent upon all occaſions which may be made uſe of to ſupplant them. Which point the Duke had ſo well ſtudied; that though he knew himſelf to be a very great Maſter of the Kings affections: yet was he apprehenſive of the diſadvantages to which this long abſence would expoſe him. It therefore concerned him nearly to make choice of ſome intelligent and truſty friend, whom he might confide in (and he was grown more confident of *Laud* than of any other) from whom he might receive advertiſement of all occurrences, and ſuch advice as might be moſt agreeable to the complexion of affairs. Nor did it happen otherwiſe than he expected, for long he had not been in *Spain*, when there were many fearings of him in the Court of *England*, many ſtrange whiſperings into the ears of the King concerning the abuſe of his Royal Favours; the general diſcontentments which appeared in the people for the Princes Journey into *Spain*; the ſad conſequents which were feared to enſue upon it in reference to his Perſon, and the true Religion; that the blame of all was by the People laid on the Duke, and that it was ſafeſt for his Majeſty to let it reſtwhere they had laid it. But nothing could be thought more ſtrange unto him, than that the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Cranfield* ſhould be of Counſel in the Plot, both of them being of his raiſing, and both (in the ſtile of Court) his Creatures. Of all which practices and proceedings *Laud* gives intelligence to the Duke, and receives back again directions in his actings for him. (Pity it is that none of theſe reciprocal Letters have been found to make up the *Cabala*, and to enrich the treaſures in the *Scrinia Sacra*) From hence proceeded the conſtancy of affection which the Duke carried to him for ever, after the Animoſity between *Laud* and *Williams*; the fall of *Cranfield* firſt, and of *Williams* afterwards; *Laud* by his diligence and fidelity overtopping all.

The news of theſe practices in the Court, made the Duke think of leaving *Spain*, where he began to ſink in his eſtimation; and haſting his

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return to *England*, for fear of ſinking lower here than he did in *Spain*. Some claſhings there had been betwixt him and the *Conde d' Olivarez*, the Principal Favourite of that King; and ſome *Careſſes* were made to him by the Queen of *Bohemia*, inviting him to be a God-father to one of her Children. In theſe diſquiets and diſtractions he puts the Prince in mind of the other Game he had to play; namely, the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which the *Spaniard* would not ſuffer to be brought under the Treaty of the Match; reſerving it (as they pretended, and perhaps really intended) to be beſtowed by the *Infanta* after the marriage, the better to ingratiate her ſelf with the *Engliſh* Nation. Which being a point of too great moment to depend upon no other aſſurance than a Court-complement only, it was concluded by the Prince, That ſince he could not prevail in the one, he would not proceed to the Conſummation of the other. But then it did concern him ſo to provide for his own ſafety, that no intimation might be made of the intended Rupture, till he had unwinded himſelf out of that *Labyrinth* into which he was caſt: For which cauſe having deſired of his Father, that ſome Ships might be ſent to bring him home, he ſhewed himſelf a more paſſionate Lover than ever formerly, beſtowed upon the Lady *Infanta* many rich Jewels of moſt ineſtimable value, and made a *Proxy* to the Catholick King, and Don *Charles* his Brother, in his name to Eſpouſe the Lady. Which *Proxy* being made and executed in due form of Law, on the Fourth of *Auguſt* 1623. was put into the hands of *Digby* (on the Fifteenth of *September* after made Earl of *Briſtol*) by him to be delivered to the King of *Spain* within ten days after the coming of the Diſpenſation from the new *Pope Urban*, which was then every day expected. But no ſooner had he took his leave, and was out of danger, but he diſpatch'd a Poſt unto him, commanding him not to deliver up the *Proxie* until further order: And having ſo done, he hoiſed Sails for *England*.

Arriving at *Portſmouth* on *Sunday* the fifth of *October*, he rides Poſt the next day to *London*, and after Dinner on the ſame day to the Court at *Royſton*; his welcom home being celebrated in all places with Bells and Bonfires, and other accuſtomed expreſſions of a Publick Joy. Being come unto the Court, they acquaint his Majeſty with all that hapned, informing him that no aſſurance of regaining the *Palatinate* could be had in *Spain*, though the Match went forwards. His Majeſty thereupon diſpatches Letters to the Earl of *Briſtol* on the eighth of *October*, requiring him not to deliver up the *Proxie*, and ſo not to proceed to the Eſpouſals, till the *Chriſtmaſs* Holy-days; and in the mean time to preſs that King to a poſitive anſwer, touching the *Palatinate*. The expectation whereof not being anſwered by ſucceſs, a Parliament is ſummoned to begin on the 17th. of *February* then next following, to the end that all things might be governed in this great Affair by the publick Counſel of the Kingdom. Not long after the beginning whereof, the Duke declared before both Houſes (more to the diſadvantage of the *Spaniard* than there was juſt ground for) how unhandſomly they had dealt with the Prince when he was in *Spain*; how they had fed him with delays; what indignities they had put upon him; and finally,

finally, had ſent him back, not only without the *Palatinate*, but without a Wife; leaving it to their prudent conſideration what courſe to follow. It was thereupon Voted by both Houſes, That his Majeſty ſhould be deſired to break off all Treaties with the King of *Spain*, and to engage himſelf in a War againſt him for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, not otherwiſe to be obtained. And that they might come the better to the end they aimed at, they addreſſed themſelves unto the Prince, whom they aſſured, That they would ſtand to him in that War, to the very laſt expence of their Lives and Fortunes; and he accordingly (being further ſet on by the Duke) became their inſtrument to perſwade his Father to hearken to the Common Votes and Deſires of his Subjects, which the King (preſs'd by their continual importunities) did at the laſt (but with great unwillingneſs) aſſent to: Such was the conduct of this buſineſs on the part of the *Engliſh*.

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Look we next what was done in *Spain*; and we ſhall find in Letters from the Earl of *Briſtol*, (r) *That as ſoon as news was come to* Spain, *that King* James *had ſworn the Articles of the Treaty, (which was done on the* 26th. *of July) the Lady* Infanta *by all the Court, with the Approbation of that King, and her own good-liking, was called* La Princeſſa de Inglaterra; *That as ſuch, ſhe gave her ſelf the liberty of going publickly to ſuch Comedies as were preſented in the Court, (which before was not allowable in her:)* (s) *That as ſuch alſo, not only he himſelf (as the Kings Embaſſadour) was commanded to ſerve her; but the Duke, and all the* Engliſh *were admitted to kiſs her hands, as her Servants and Vaſſals; That after the Princes departure, there was no thought of any thing but of providing Preſents for the King and him, the ſetling of the Princeſſes Family, and making Preparations for the Journey on the firſt of* March; *That the Princeſs alſo had begun to draw the Letters which ſhe intended to have written the day of her* diſpoſories *to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-Law; That beſides ſuch aſſurances as were given by the* Count *of* Olivarez, *and other Miniſters of that King, the Princeſs had made the buſineſs of the* Palatinate *to be her own, and had therein moſt expreſſly moved the King her Brother, and written to the* Conde *of* Olivarez *to that effect, and had ſet her heart upon the making of her ſelf grateful and welcome to the King and Kingdom, by overcoming the difficulties that appeared in it: In which reſpect it was very truly ſaid by* Digby, *in one of his Letters to King* James, *That it would be held a point of great diſhonour to the* Infanta, *if the Powers called for by her Friends ſhould be detained on the Princes part; and that whoſoever had deſerved ill, ſhe certainly had deſerved neither diſreſpect nor diſcomforts.* Adde hereunto, That the *Popes Diſpenſation* coming to the Court of *Spain* in the beginning of *December*, that King cauſed Bonfires to be made in all the parts of his Realms, intending on that day (in ſatisfaction of the Oath which he had made to the Prince) to proceed to the *Eſponſals* with all due ſolemnity. Which being the true ſtate of this affair, as far as I am able to look into it, I ſhall refer it to the judgment of the equal Readers, whether this poor Lady were more *diſhonoured* and *diſcomforted* by her own Brother and his Miniſters, if they meant not really and effectually to ſatisfie all expectations touching either Treaty; or by the *Engliſh*, if they did.

(r) Digby *to* Calvert, *July* 25.

(s) *To* Calvert. *Dec.* 28.

To K. James, *Octob.* 24.

Hidd. works, p. 61.

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But it is now time to leave these Foreign Negotiations, and keep close at home, where we shall find the *Priests* and *Jesuites* as busie in seducing the people, and the *Lay-Papists* as audacious in hearing and frequenting *Masses*, as if they had been fortified by a *Toleration*. But it pleased God to put some Water into their Wine, and abate the fervour of those heats, by letting them feel the strokes of his heavy hand, when they look'd not for it. Being assembled in a fair and capacious room at *Hunsdon* House in *Black-Friers*, to hear the Sermon of one *Drury* a Jesuite, their numbers were so great, and their weight so heavy, that the Floor sunk under them. Most lamentable were the cries of those which fell under that Ruine, 94 of them (of which the Preacher himself was one) being killed out-right; most of the rest so miserably bruised and maimed, that the condition of the dead was esteemed far happier than that of the living: A matter of great astonishment to their Party here; and that it might not be so abroad, they thought it good to shift the Scene, and change the Actors, publishing to that end a Pamphlet, which they dispersed in divers parts of *France* and *Italy*, containing a relation of Gods Judgments shown on a sort of *Protestant Hereticks*, by the fall of an House in St. *Andrews* Parish in *Holborn*, in which they were assembled to hear a *Geneva* Lecture, *October* 26. *A. D.* 1623. So wickedly wise are those of that Generation, to cheat their own Souls, and abuse their Followers. And yet the Pamphleteer says well, That this disaster hapned on the 26th. of *October*; for so it did according to the *Old Style* and account of *England*: But it was on the fifth day of *November*, according to the *New Style* and account of *Rome*. And this indeed may seem to have somewhat of Gods Judgment in it, That the intended blowing up of the Parliament, to the unavoidable destruction of the King, Prince, Prelates, Peers, and the chiefest Gentry of the Nation, on the fifth day of our *November*, should on the fifth day of their own be recompenced or retaliated by the sinking of a Room in which they met, to the present slaughter of so many, and the maiming of more.

But leaving them to their ill Fortunes, it was not long before *Buckingham* found the truth of such Informations as he had received touching those ill Offices which had been done to him in his absence, from some whom he esteemed his Friends. Hereupon followed an estranging of the Dukes Countenance from the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and of his from the Bishop of St. *Davids*, whom he looked upon as one that stood in the way betwixt him and the Duke: with which the Duke was not long after made acquainted. But these displeasures were not only shewn in offended Countenances, but brake out within little time into sharp Expostulations on either side. The Duke complained to *Laud*, *December* 15. That the Lord Keeper had so strangely forgotten himself to him, as he seemed to be dead in his affections; and began to entertain some thoughts of bringing him by a way which he would not like, to a remembrance of his duty: and on the eleventh of *January* the Lord Keeper meets with *Laud* in the *Withdrawing Chamber*, and fell into very hot words with him, of which the Duke hath an account also within three days after. But *Williams* seeing how

how unable he was to contend at once with Wit and Power, applied himſelf with ſo much diligence to regain the Favour of the Duke, that in the beginning of *February* a Reconciliation was made between them; the Duke accepting his ſubmiſſion, and learning from him, That his great Favours unto *Laud*, were the chief reaſons which had moved him unto that forgetfulneſs. And that the benefit of this Reconciliation might extend to all who were concerned in the diſpleaſures, *Williams* engageth to the Duke to be friends with *Laud*, and did accordingly beſtow ſome Complements upon him; but ſuch as had more ceremony than ſubſtance in them. From henceforth nothing but an appearance of fair weather between theſe Great Perſons, though at laſt it brake out again more violently into open ſtorms. The wound was only skinned, not healed; and feſtred the more dangerouſly, becauſe the ſecret Rancor of it could not be diſcerned. In the mean time *Laud* was not wanting to himſelf in taking the benefit of this Truce: *Abbot* had ſtill a ſpite againſt him, and was reſolved to keep him down as long as he could; to which end he had cauſed him to be left out of the *High-Commiſſion* (and *Williams* was not forward to put him in) though never a Biſhop that lived about *London* was left out but himſelf, and many who lived not there put in: Of which Indignity he complained to the Duke, by his Letter bearing date *November* 1. 1624. and was remedied in it.

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During the heat of theſe Court-combats, the Parliament beforementioned was aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, on the ſeventeenth of *February*; upon whoſe humble Petition and Advice his Majeſty diſſolved the Treaties, and engaged himſelf in a War with *Spain*: But this he had no ſooner done, when they found into what perplexities they had plunged themſelves by this Engagement; there being nothing more derogatory to the Honour and Proſperity of a King of *England*, than to be caſt on the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, which rendreth them obnoxious to the power and pride of each popular ſpirit, and makes them leſs in Reputation both at home and abroad: For firſt they Petitioned him for a Faſt, which he alſo granted. They had deſired the like in ſome former Parliaments, and Seſſions of Parliaments, as they had done alſo in Queen *Elizabeths* time; but could never obtain the ſame from either. It was then told them, That there were weekly Faſts appointed to be kept by the Laws of the Land, which if they did obſerve, as they ought to do, there would be no need of Solemn Faſts, to begin their Parliaments. The blame of which Anſwer, in the Parliament immediately foregoing this, was by the *Puritan* Faction caſt upon the Biſhops (who at the ſame time had oppoſed ſome Propoſition tending to ſome *Reſtraints* on the *Lords day*, not impoſed before) as men whoſe Pride hindred all ſuch Religious Humiliations, and whoſe Profaneneſs made them Enemies to all Piety. But the King having now caſt himſelf into the arms of his People, had brought himſelf to a neceſſity of yielding to their deſire, and thereby left a fair Preſident both for them to crave, and his Succeſſor to grant the like: So that from this time forward, till the laſt of King *Charles*, we ſhall ſee no Parliament, nor Seſſion of Parliament, to begin without them; though that King checked ſome times at the opportunity. So

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So far his Majesty had gone along with them, in yielding unto their desires; but he must go a little further. And therefore, secondly, They thought it not enough that his Majesty had made *a Publick Declaration for the real and utter Dissolution of the said Treaties*; but it must be *declared also by Act of* Parliament, *that the said two Treaties were by his Majesty dissolved:* Which gave them some colour of pretence in the following Parliament to claim a share in managing the War (which the Dissolving of these Treaties had occasioned) and of being made acquainted with the Enterprise which was then in hand. But for this time they were contented to have engaged the King for the future War, toward the carrying on of which, and more particularly (as the Act expresseth) "for the Defence of this Realm of *England*, the "securing of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the assistance of his Majesties "Neighbours the *States* of the *United Provinces*, and other his Majes"ties Friends and Allies, and for the setting forth of his Royal Navy; they granted to him three *Subsidies*, together with three *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be payed before the tenth of *May* which should be in the year 1625. Which though it be affirmed in the said Act *to be the greatest Aid which ever was granted in Parliament to be levied in so short a time*; yet neither was the time so short as it was pretended, there being almost fifteen months between the dissolving of the Treaties, and the last payment of the Monies. Nor did the King get any thing by it, how great soever the said Aid was supposed to be. For, thirdly, before the King could obtain this Act, he was fain to gratifie them with some others, amongst which that entituled, *An Act for the general quiet of the Subject against all pretext of* Concealments *whatsoever*, was the most considerable. An Act of such a grand Concernment to the Peace and Happiness of the Subject, and of such Disprofit to the King in his Gifts and Graces to his Servants, that it was affirmed by Justice *Dodderidge* at the *Oxon.* Assises next ensuing, That his Majesty had bought those *Fifteenths* and *Subsidies* at ten years purchase. Nor fourthly, did one penny of this Money, so dearly paid for, accrue unto his Majesties particular use, or was to come into his Coffers; it being ordered in the Act aforesaid, That the said Monies, and every part and parcel of them, should be paid to certain Commissioners therein nominated; and that the said Commissioners should issue and dispose the same, according as they should be warranted by *George* Lord *Carew*, *Foulk* Lord *Brooke*, and certain other Commissioners to the number of ten, nominated and appointed for a Council of War; by them to be expended in the Publick Service. And albeit the Grant of the said *Fifteenths*, *Tenths*, and *Subsidies*, might possibly be the *greatest Aid* which had been given in Parliament for *so short a time*; yet did this greatness consist rather in tale than weight, the *Subsidy*-Books being grown so low (for those of the *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* do never vary) that two entire *Subsidies* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* came to more than all.

Act of Parl. A. 11. Jac. 21. c. 34.

More nobly dealt the Clergy with him in their *Convocation*, because it came into his own Coffers, and without Conditions. For taking into consideration (amongst other motives) the great Expen-

ces

ces at which his Majeſty was then, and was like to be hereafter, as well for the ſupport of his Royal Eſtate, as for the neceſſary Defence of this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions, whereby was like to grow the ſafety of *Religion* both at home and abroad; they granted to him four entire *Subſidies*, after the rate of 4 *s.* in every Pound; which was indeed the *greateſt Aid* that was ever given by *Convocation* in ſo *ſhort a time*; the Subſidies of the Clergy being fixed and certain, thoſe of the Laity diminiſhing and decreaſing daily. A Burden which muſt needs fall exceeding heavy on many poor Vicars in the Country, whoſe Benefices are for the moſt part of ſmall yearly value, and yet rated very high in the Kings Books (according to which they are to be Taxed); Inſomuch as I knew ſeveral Vicarages, not worth above 80 *l. per Annum*, which were charged higher than the beſt Gentlemen in the Pariſh, whoſe yearly Revenues have amounted unto many Hundreds. *Laud* who had ſometimes been Vicar of *Stamford* in *Northamptonſhire* (as before is ſaid) was very compaſſionate of the caſe of theſe poor men; for whoſe eaſe he deviſed a courſe in this preſent Seſſion; which being digeſted into form, he communicated to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who very readily promiſed to prepare both the King and Prince for the paſſing of it. This done, he imparted it alſo to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and the Biſhop of *Durham*, who look'd upon it as the beſt ſervice which had been done for the Church many years before, and adviſed him to acquaint the Archbiſhop with it: But *Abbot* either diſliking the Deſign for the Authors ſake, or being an enemy to all Counſels which had any Author but himſelf, inſtead of favours returned him frowns; asking him, What he had to do to make any ſuit for the Church? And telling him withal, That never any Biſhop attempted the like at any time, and that no body would have done it but himſelf; That he had given the Church ſuch a wound, in ſpeaking to any Lord of the Laity about it, as he could never make whole again. And finally, That if the Lord Duke did fully underſtand what he had done, he would never endure him to come near him again. St. *David* replies very mildly, That he thought he had done a very good office for the Church, and ſo did his betters too; That if his Grace thought otherwiſe, he was ſorry that he had offended: But hoped that he had done it out of a good mind, and for the ſupport of many poor Vicars abroad in the Country, who muſt needs ſink under the payment of ſo many Subſidies; and therefore that his error might be pardonable, if it were an error. Thus ſoundly ratled he departs, and acquaints the Duke with the ſucceſs, for fear ſome ill offices might be otherwiſe done him to the King and Prince. So miſerable was the caſe of the poorer Clergy, in living under ſuch an *High Prieſt*, who though he was ſubject to the ſame *infirmity*, was altogether inſenſible of thoſe heavy preſſures which were laid upon them: It being his Felicity, but their unhappineſs, that he was never Parſon, Vicar, nor Curate; and therefore the leſs careful or compaſſionate of their hard condition.

LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

Before the riſing of this Parliament (which was on the twenty ninth of *May*) came out a book of Dr. *Whites*, entituled, *A reply to Jeſuite Fiſhers*

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Fiſhers Anſwer to certain Queſtions propounded by his moſt Gracious Majeſty King *JAMES*. (*s*) The occaſion this: His Majeſty being preſent at the ſecond Conference betwixt *White* and *Fiſher*, beforementioned, obſerved in his deep Judgment how cunning and ſubtle the Jeſuite was, in eluding ſuch Arguments as were brought againſt him, and of how little ſtrength in particular queſtions he was when he came to the confirmation of his own Tenets. And thereupon it pleaſed him to have nine Queſtions of Controverſie propounded to the Jeſuite, that he might in writing manifeſt the Grounds and Arguments whereupon the *Popiſh* Faith in thoſe Points were builded. Now the nine Points were theſe that follow: 1. *Praying to Images.* 2. *Prayings and Oblations to the bleſſed Virgin* Mary. 3. *Worſhipping and Invocation of Saints and Angels.* 4. *The Liturgie and private Prayers for the Ignorant in an unknown tongue.* 5. *Repetition of Pater-Noſters, Aves, and Creeds, eſpecially affixing a kind of merit to the number of them.* 6. *The Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.* 7. *Communion under one kind, and the abetting of it by Concomitancy.* 8. *Works of Supererogation, eſpecially with reference to the treaſure of the Church.* 9. *The opinion of Depoſing Kings, and giving away their Kingdoms by Papal power, whether directly or indirectly?* To theſe nine Queſtions the Jeſuite returned a cloſe and well-wrought Anſwer, the unraveling whereof was by the King committed to this Dr. *White*, for his encouragement and reward made one of his Majeſties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Dean of *Carlile*. This Book being finiſhed at the Preſs about the beginning of *April*, and forthwith publiſhed to others, was very welcome to moſt moderate and learned men; the rather in regard that the third of thoſe Conferences, which was that between *Laud* and *Fiſher*, was ſubjoyned to it.

(*s*) D. *Whites* Preface to his Reply, &c.

Concerning which the Reader may pleaſe to call to mind, that this Conference had been digeſted and read over to the King in the Chriſtmas Holidays as before is ſaid. But why it ſtaid ſo long before it was publiſhed, why publiſhed in the name of *R. B.* (Mr. *Richard Bayly*) afterwards Preſident of St. *John's* Colledg and Dean of *Sarisbury*, being at that time one of his Chaplains, and not in his own; and finally, why it came out not as a diſtinct book of it ſelf, but as an *Appendix unto Whites*, himſelf is better able to tell us than any other, and he tells it thus: (*t*) "The cauſe (ſaith he) why the diſcourſe upon this *Conference* ſtaid ſo long before it could endure to be preſſed. It was neither my *Idleneſs*, nor my unwillingneſs to right both my ſelf and the "cauſe againſt the *Jeſuite*, which occaſioned this delay; For I had then "moſt Honourable Witneſſes, and have ſome yet living, that this "diſcourſe was finiſhed long before I could perſwade my ſelf to let it "come into publick view: And this was cauſed partly by reaſon there "was about the ſame time three *Conferences* held with *Fiſher*, of which "this was the third; and could not therefore conveniently come a-"broad into the world till the two former were ready to lead the way, "which till now they were not. And this is in part the reaſon alſo "why this Tract crept into the end of a larger work; for ſince that "*work* contained in a manner the ſubſtance of all that paſſed in the "two

(*t*) Epiſt. dedicat. to the King, 1637.

"two former *Conferences*, and that this *third* in divers points concur- LIB. II.
"red with them, and depended on them, I could not think it *Subſtan-* *Anno Dom.*
"*tive* enough to ſtand alone. But beſides this *affinity* between the 1624.
"*Conferences*, I was willing to have it paſs, as ſilently as it might, at
"the end of another work, and ſo perhaps little to be looked after,
"becauſe I could not hold it worthy (nor can I yet) of that great du-
"ty and ſervice which I owe to my dear mother the Church of *England*.
As for the Reaſons why it was publiſhed in the name of *R. B.* Chaplain to the Biſhop, rather than his own, it neither was his own deſire, (though the Breviate telleth us that it was) nor *for fear of being engaged thereby againſt his friends his Papiſts*, as is there affirmed. *His Reaſons, whatever they were, were propoſed by others, and approved by Authority, by which it was thought fit that it ſhould be ſet out in his Chaplains name, and not his own.* To which he readily ſubmitted. But of this *Conference* we ſhall ſpeak further, when we come to the defence and engagements of it, *Anno* 1637.

The ſeaſonable publiſhing of theſe two Books did much conduce to the advancement of his Majeſties Service. The Commons at that time had been hammering a ſharp Remonſtrance againſt the Papiſts, as if there were no Enemies of the Religion here eſtabliſhed to be feared but they. In the Preface to which Petition, they took notice of ſo many dangers threatned both to the Church and State by the power and practiſes of the Papiſt, as if the King had took no care to preſerve the one or ſuppreſs the other: Which Petition, being brought to the Houſe of Lords, was there ſo abbreviated, that the Preamble was quite left out, and the many branches of it reduced to two particulars: Firſt, That all Laws and Statutes, formerly made againſt Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and other Popiſh Recuſants, might from thenceforth be put into execution. Secondly, that he would engage himſelf by his Royal Word, that upon no occaſion of Marriage or Treaty, or other requeſt in that behalf, *&c.* he would ſlacken the execution of the Laws againſt them. Which Petition, being preſented to his Majeſty by a Committee of both Houſes on the tenth of *April*; after ſome deliberation he returned this Anſwer to it, *viz. That the Laws againſt Jeſuites and Popiſh Recuſants ſhould be put into due execution from thenceforth*, &c. And it appeared by the coming out of theſe ſaid two Books within few days after, that as his Majeſty had granted them their deſires, in cauſing the ſaid Laws againſt Prieſts and Jeſuites to be duly executed; ſo he had taken ſpecial care, not only to preſerve Religion in her Purity, by confuting the moſt material Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*: but to preſerve his people alſo from being ſeduced by the practices of the Prieſts and Jeſuites.

Which nothwithſtanding the Commons remaining ſtill unſatisfied, betook themſelves to the framing of another Petition, in which it was deſired that all ſuch perſons as were either Papiſts, or ſuſpected to be Papiſts, or had not received the Communion within the ſpace of one whole year, or whoſe Wives, or any of their Servants were Recuſants or ſuſpected to be ſo, might be removed from all Commiſſions of charge and truſt, from being Juſtices of the Peace, or bearing any

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Office in the Common-wealth. But this Petition was not made ready for the Lords till the twentieth of *May* next following, and being then reported to them by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, they did proceed no further in it. The Commons in the mean time had been wholly buſied in the Proſecution of the Lord Treaſurer *Cranfield*, whom at laſt they brought unto his Sentence. A Gentleman he was by birth, but had his breeding in the City, from whence by his own wit and induſtry he preferred himſelf into the Court, where he was firſt made Maſter of the Wardrobe, afterward Maſter of the Wards, and finally advanced by the power and favour of the Duke, (one of whoſe Kinſwomen he had married) to the Office of Lord Treaſurer, and the honour of being made the firſt Earl of *Middleſex*. In this Office he had diſobliged the Prince, when he was in *Spain*, by diſſwading and diverting thoſe large ſupplies which were required for the maintaining of his Port in a Foreign Kingdom. And he had diſobliged the Duke, by joyning in ſome ſecret practices to make him grow leſs and leſs in his Majeſties Favour. They had both ſerved the turn of the Commons, in drawing the King by their continual importunities to diſſolve the Treaty. And the Commons muſt now ſerve their turn in proſecuting this man to his final deſtruction: Which they purſued ſo effectually, that in the end he was ſentenced in the Houſe of Lords to be deprived of the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, to be fined fifty thouſand Pounds, and remain a Priſoner in the Tower during his Majeſties will and pleaſure. It was moved alſo to degrade him from all Titles of honour, but in that the Biſhops ſtood his Friends and daſht the motion.

So *Cranfield* fell, and *Williams* did not ſtand long after. *Laud* was now brought into an higher degree of credit with the Duke of *Buckingham* than he was before, by means whereof he came to be of great power and authority with him. Inſomuch that when the Duke fell ſick of an Ague in the beginning of *May*, he was extreme impatient in his Fits till *Laud* came to viſit him; by whom he was ſo charmed and ſweetned, that at firſt he endured his Fits with patience, and by that patience did ſo break their heats and violences, that at laſt they left him. From this time forwards he was not uſed only as a Confeſſor, but a Counſellor alſo imployed by him; in conſidering and adviſing whether the great endowments belonging to the Hoſpitals founded in the diſſolved houſe of *Carthuſian* Monks (commonly, but corruptly, called the *Charter-Houſe*) might not be inverted to the maintenance of an Army for the preſent Wars, as well for his Majeſties advantage, as the eaſe of the Subject. And to this Propoſition (as it ſeems) he returned a Negative, for I find not that the buſineſs advanced any further. He liked not any inverſions or alienations of that nature, leſt being drawn into example, the Lands of Colledges or Cathedral Churches might in like manner be employed unto ſecular uſes. Beſides, he could not chooſe but know, that a project had been ſet on foot about ten years before, for the Entituling of the King to all *Sutton's* Lands; which probably might have ſucceeded, if *Coke*, then being Lord Chief Juſtice, and one of the Truſtees for erecting the Hoſpital, had

had not ſtood ſtoutly to his truſt. By which though he got the Kings diſpleaſure, yet amongſt others he preſerved the reputation of an honeſt man. And *Laud* might very well conclude, that he who durſt oppoſe the King when he was in his favour, would be found more intractable at this time when he was in diſgrace; which rendred him the leſs ſollicitous to appear in a buſineſs not otherwiſe approved of by him: But in another point, which was more to his liking, and lay within the ſphere of his activity, he gave him as much ſatisfaction as he had deſired. This was the giving him the heads of *Doctrinal Puritaniſm*, that is to ſay, the Heads of ſuch Doctrines as were maintained by thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction, though not maintained by them as *Puritans*, but as *Calviniſts* only. The Duke had a deſire to know them, and he ſerved him in it. I muſt needs ſay, the name of *Doctrinal Puritaniſm* is not very ancient, but whether firſt taken up by the Archbiſhop of *Spalato* at his being here, I am not able to ſay; Nor am I of opinion, that *Puritan* and *Calvinian* are terms convertible. For though all *Puritans* are *Calvinians*, both in doctrine and practice, yet all *Calvinians* are not to be counted as *Puritans* alſo; whoſe practices many of them abhor, and whoſe inconformities they deteſt, though by the errour of their Education, or ill direction in the courſe of their Studies, they may, and do agree with them in ſome points of Doctrine. But I muſt take the word as it ſtands in the *Breviate*, and ſo let it go.

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Fuller. Ch. Hiſt. lib. 10.

Theſe *Doctrinal* heads, being ten in number, related to the indiſpenſible morality of the Lords-day-Sabbath, the indiſcrimination of Biſhops and Presbyters, the Power of Soveraign Princes in Eccleſiaſtical matters, the Doctrine of Confeſſion and Sacerdotal Abſolution, and the five Points ſo much diſputed, about Predeſtination and the Concomitants thereof. Which laſt Points having been hotly agitated, for twenty years laſt paſt, in the *Belgick* Churches, did now begin to exerciſe the Church of *England* upon this occaſion. The Prieſts and Jeſuites having been very buſie of late in gaining Proſelites, and ſowing their erroneous Doctrines, had got a haunt in a Village of the County of *Eſſex*, called *Stanford-Rivers*. The Rector of that Church was *Richard Montague*, Batchelor of Divinity, *Prebend* of *Windſor*, and one of the Fellows of *Eaton* Colledge; a man exceedingly well verſed in all the Learning of *Greeks* and *Romans*, and as well ſtudied in the Fathers, Councils, and all other ancient *Monuments* of the Chriſtian Church. Deſirous to free his Pariſh from this haunt, he left ſome Propoſitions at the houſe of one of his Neighbours, which had been frequently viſited with theſe *Night-Spirits*, with this Declaration thereunto, that if any of thoſe which ranged that walk could convince him in any of the ſame, he would immediately ſubſcribe and be a *Papiſt*. After long expectation, inſtead of anſwering to his *Queries*, one of them leaves a ſhort Pamphlet for him, entituled, *A new Gag for the Old Goſpel*, in which it was pretended, that the Doctrine of the *Proteſtants* ſhould be confuted out of the very words of their own Engliſh Bibles. This book he was required to anſwer, and found it no ſuch knotty piece, but that it might be cleft in ſunder, with-

Mount. Pref. to the *Gager.*

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out Beetle or Wedges. But in perusing of that Book, he found, that besides some few Doctrines which properly and truly did belong to the Church of *England*, there were crouded into it all Points of *Calvinism*, such *Heterodoxies*, and out-landish Fancies, as the Church of *England* never owned. And therefore in his Answer to that *Popish Gagger* he severed or discriminated the *opinions* of particular men, from the Authorized Doctrines of this Church; leaving the one to be maintained by their private *Fautors*, and only defending and maintaining the other. And certainly had he not been a man of a mighty Spirit, and one that easily could contemn the cry and clamours which were raised against him for so doing, he could not but have sunk remedilesly under the burden of disgrace, and the fears of Ruine which that performance drew upon him.

This Book came out about the latter end of *December*, and coming out made such a general amazement amongst those of the *Calvinian* Party, that they began to fear the sad consequents of it. The opening of this secret was of such importance, that if the Author and his Book were not speedily crushed, they must no longer shroud their private opinions under the name of the received Doctrine of the Church of *England*; excluded from that Sanctuary, they could find no place of strength and safety, in which they should not be exposed to assaults and dangers. And that the Author and the Book might be crusht together, it was thought fit that *Yates* and *Ward*, two of the Lecturers or Preachers in *Ipswich*, should gather out of his Book some especial Points tending to *Popery* and *Arminianism* (as they conceived) to be presented to the Censure of the following Parliament. Having got a Copy of the *Information* intended to be made against him, he flies for refuge to King *James*, now grown more moderate, and (since the death of *Montague* the late Bishop of *Winton*) into a better liking of those opinions, which he had laboured to condemn at the Synod of *Dort*. His Majesty knew the man, and his great abilities, and was well pleased with his performance against the *History of Tithes*; where he had beaten the (then thought) matchless *Selden* at his own weapon, and shewed himself the greater Philologer of the two: Upon which ground he looked upon him as the fittest man to encounter *Baronius*, against whom the right learned *Casaubon* had some preparatory velitations before his death, but made no further progress in it. *Mountague*, flying to King *James*, as before is said, had presently his discharge or *quietus est*, as to his Majesties good opinion both of him and (*e*) the book it self. And more than so, his Majesty took notice that the *Information* was divulged, and the Clamor violent, and therefore gave him leave to make an Appeal from the said *Defamers* unto his own most Sacred Cognizance in publick, and to represent his just defence against their slanders and false surmises unto the world. And that the queazines of the times might the better brook it, he gave express order unto Dr. *White*, then *Dean* of *Carlile*, (cryed up when Lecturer of St. *Paul's*, for the stoutest Champion of this Church against those of *Rome*) for the authorizing and publishing thereof, which was done accordingly. This Book he entituled by the name of

(*e*) Epist. dedicat. to *Appello Cæsar.*

of *APPELLO CÆSAREM*, or *a juſt APPEAL from two unjuſt INFORMERS*: But the King dying before it was finiſhed at the Preſs, it was preſented to King *Charles*, in the firſt entrance of his Reign, and there we ſhall be ſure to hear further of it. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

In the mean time it may not be unneceſſary to enquire what the ſaid *Informers* (*Tates* and *Ward*) might and did mean by *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, with which two crimes they charged the Anſwer to the *Gagger*. And firſt we find upon due ſearch, that by *Popery* they underſtood all ſuch Points of Doctrine, as being determined by this Church, hold ſome correſpondence and agreement with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*; or being not determined by this Church, are left at liberty for every man to pleaſe himſelf in his own opinion, how near ſoever he may come to ſuch compliance. Of the firſt ſort they reckoned for points of *Popery*; *The Doctrine of the Perpetual Viſibility of the Church of Chriſt*; *The* Local Deſcent *of Chriſt into Hell*, *The Lawfulneſs of Images*, *Signing with the Sign of the Croſs*, *Confeſſion and Sacerdotal Abſolution*, *The* Real Preſence, *The Reward of Good Works*, *The Sacrament of Orders*; quarrelling even with very words, *Sacrifice*, *Altar*, and the like: All which upon a perfect Examination, will be found to be the genuine Doctrines, and to ſpeak nothing but the Language of the Church of *England*, as we have punctually diſcovered in our *Introduction*. Amongſt the laſt I reckon the Diſputes concerning *Evangelical Counſels*, *Antichriſt*, and *Limbus Patrum*, of which the Church of *England* hath determined nothing; and therefore the *Appellant* was left at liberty to follow his own Judgment, and to chuſe what guides he pleaſed to direct his Judgment in thoſe particular Debates. Yet ſuch was the temper of thoſe Times, that whoſoever held any of the Points aforeſaid, or any other controverted with the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the ſenſe of *Calvin*, muſt preſently be accuſed of *Popery*. He that adhered unto the Tendries of the Antient Fathers, in ſuch particulars as the Church was pleaſed to leave undetermined; or bound himſelf in matters publickly reſolved on, to vindicate this Church to her *genuine* Tenents, was preſently made ſubject to all thoſe Clamours and Reproaches, which the Tongues and Pens of that Predominating Faction could either raiſe upon him, or aſperſe him with. *Laud* had found good experience of it when he lived in *Oxon.* and ſo had *Houſon* and *Corbet* too, as before was noted. But none of them were able to break through thoſe difficulties, till *Mountague* took the work in hand; who being well back'd, and having the Ice ſomewhat broke before him, waded with confidence and courage through the middeſt of thoſe waters, which otherwiſe might have overwhelmed the moſt tried Adventurer.

In the next place it will be no hard work to find what they meant by *Arminianiſm*; under which name they comprehend the *Melanchonian* Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, *The Univerſal Redemption of Mankind by the Death of Chriſt*, *The cooperation of the Will of Man with the Grace of God*; and, *The poſſibility of falling from Grace received*: All which appear by plain and evident proofs in our ſaid *Introduction*,

to

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to have been the true original and native Doctrines of this Church at her first *Reformation*. But *Calvinism* had so over-spread the face of this Church, by *Humphries* long sitting in the *Chair* at *Oxon.* and the discountenancing of *Peter Baro* at *Cambridge*, that the natural Doctrines and Determinations of it were either so forgotten, that they were not known, or else so over-powred, that none durst undertake to own them. And so it stood till the breaking out of the *Predestinarian* Quarrels in the *Belgick* Churches, between *Arminius* and his Followers on the one side, and the *Rigid Calvinians* on the other. The Books which had been written on both sides, being purposely dispersed abroad, to encourage and encrease their several Parties, cross'd over the Seas into *England* also; where being diligently studied, either out of curiosity, or desire of knowledge, they awaked many out of that dead sleep in which they were, to look with better eyes into the true and native Doctrines of this Church, than before they did. Amongst the first which publickly appeared that way at *Oxon.* after the coming out of the said Books, were *Laud* and *Houson*, whom *Abbot* then Dr. of the *Chair*, and *Vice-chancellor* also, exposed to as much disgrace as by his Place and Power he could lay upon them. Amongst the first at *Cambridge* were *Tompson*, a *Dutchman* by original (if I be not mistaken in the man) and *Richardson* the Master of *Trinity* Colledge. The first of these had writ a Book touching *Falling away from Grace*, entituled, *De interciſione Gratiæ, & Juſtificationis*; to which *Abbot* of *Oxon.* above-mentioned returned an answer. The other being a *corpulent* man, was publickly reproach'd in St. *Maries* Pulpit in his own University, by the name of a *Fat-bellied Arminian*. By that name they were called in *Holland*, which adhered not unto *Calvin*'s Doctrine, though many had formerly maintained these Opinions in those Churches, before *van Harmine* came to the Chair of *Leyden*. And by that name they must be called in *England* also, though the same Doctrines had been here publickly Authorized and Taught before he was born. So that the entitling of these Doctrines to the name of *Arminius*, seems to be like the nominating of the great *Western Continent* by the name of *America*; of which first *Christopher Columbus*, and afterward the two *Cabots*, Father and Son, had made many great and notable Discoveries, before *Americus Vesputius* ever saw those Shores. However these Doctrines must be called by the name of *Arminianism*, and by that name *Mountague* stands accused by the two *Informers*, though he protests in his *Appeal*, that he had never seen any of the Writings of *Arminius*; and that he did no otherwise maintain those Doctrines, than as they were commended to him by the Church of *England*, and justified by the unanimous consent of the Antient Fathers. But of this man, and the pursuance of these Quarrels, we shall hear more shortly.

These matters being thus laid together, let us look back on some former Passages which preceded *Mountagues* Disputes. The Commons had obtained their ends, in dissolving all Treaties with the King of *Spain*; but lost their hopes of marrying the Prince to a Lady of their own Religion. His Majesty would not look beneath a Crown,

to

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to find a Marriage for his Son; and no Crown could afford him a better Wife for his Son, than a Daughter of *France*. The Prince had ſeen the Lady at the Court in *Paris*, and the King as much deſired to ſee her in the Court of *England*. Upon this ground the Earl of *Holland* is diſpatch'd privately into *France*, to ſee how the Queen-Mother and her Miniſters, who then governed the Affairs of that King, would approve the Match; to which at firſt they ſeemed ſo chearfully inclined, that they did not ſeem to ſtand upon any Conditions: But no ſooner had they found, that the Breach between his Majeſty and the King of *Spain* was grown irreparable, and that both ſides prepared for War, but they knew how to make their beſt advantage of it. They thought themſelves to be every way as conſiderable as the *Spaniards* were; and would abate nothing of thoſe Terms which had been obtained by the *Spaniards*, in reference either to the Princeſs her ſelf, or in favour of the *Engliſh* Catholicks: And to theſe Terms, when they ſaw no better could be gotten, his Majeſty and the Prince conſented. But ſuch a Spirit of Infatuation was at that time upon the People, that they who on the 23d. of *February* before had celebrated the diſſolving the Treaties with *Spain* with Bells and Bonfires, on the 21ſt. of *November* following did celebrate with like Solemnities and Expreſſions the like Match with *France*. And in this Match (*a*) *Land* is accuſed to have a hand, or at the leaſt to have ſhewed his good affections to promote it. An heavy Crime, and proved by as infallible proofs; that is to ſay, his writing to and receiving Letters from the Duke, at ſuch time as the Duke was ſent to the Court of *France*, to attend the new Queen into *England*. And what elſe (*b*) could this Match and thoſe Letters aim at, but to carry on the ſame deſign to bring in *Popery*, and by that means to ſtand their ground, and retain all thoſe Priviledges and Immunities, which the Popiſh party had procured by the former Treaties? To ſuch abſurdities are men ſway'd, when Prejudice and Preposſeſſions over-rule the Balance.

(a) *Hidden Works, p. 73.*

(b) *Ib. 69.*

1625. We muſt begin the next year with the Death of King *James*, and therefore think it not amiſs to take a brief view of the Condition of the Church and State, at the time of his departing from us. He had ſpent all his life in Peace, but died in the beginning of a War: A War which had been drawn upon him by diſſolving the Treaties, to which he was as it were conſtrained, by the continual importunity of the Prince and the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Duke knew well, that he could not do a more popular act, than to gratifie the Commons in that buſineſs; and had eaſily poſſeſs'd the Prince with this opinion, That as his future Greatneſs muſt be built on the Love of his People, ſo nothing could oblige them more, than to be inſtrumental in diſſolving the preſent Treaties. But herein they conſulted rather their own private Paſſions, than the publick Intereſt of the Crown; and they ſhall both pay dear enough for it in a very ſhort ſpace: For there is nothing more unſafe for a King of *England*, than to caſt himſelf upon the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, and depending on the Purſe of the Subject; by means whereof he makes himſelf obnoxious to the humour of any prevailing Member in the Houſe of Commons, and becomes leſs in Reputa-

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625. Reputation both at home and abroad. The Church he left beleaguer'd by two great Enemies; aſſaulted openly by the *Papiſt* on the one ſide, undermined by the *Puritans* on the other. Of the audaciouſneſs of the *Papiſts* we have ſpoke already, abated ſomewhat by the Fall at *Black-friers*, more by the diſſolving the two Treaties about four Months after. For though they made ſome uſe of the *French* by this new Alliance, yet they reſolved to faſten no dependance upon that Crown; inſomuch that many of thoſe, who greedily embraced ſuch Favours as were obtained for them by the Treaties with the King of *Spain*, would not accept the ſame when they were procured by the Match with *France*; for which being aſked the Reaſon, they returned this Anſwer, That they would not change an old Friend for a new, of the continuance of whoſe Favours they could have no certainty; and who by ſuffering *Hereticks* in his own Dominions, declared himſelf no fit Protector for the *Catholick Cauſe*.

More ſecret were the *Puritans*; but nothing the leſs dangerous becauſe more ſecret. Finding they could effect nothing in Queen *Elizabeths* time, either by their publick clamours, or their open practices, they cunningly wrought themſelves into a *State-Faction*, and play'd their Game under the colour of Advancing the Civil Liberties of the Subject and the preſervation of Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed: To which end they continually allarm'd this King with fears and dangers from the *Papiſts* (as before was ſaid) that all mens eyes being turned that way, they might carry on their own deſigns without diſcovery. In which they imitated the old ſtratagem of ſome politick Captains, who having made great noiſe, and prepared all things ready for an Aſſault on the one ſide of a Town beſieged, and thereby drawn all the ſtrength of the Town to make good that ſide, ſuddenly cauſed it to be fallen upon in another place, which they found deſtitute and unprovided of all defence. But having ſerved their Apprenticeſhips in the Reign of this King, we ſhall find them ſtrong enough in the firſt Parliament of his Son and Succeſſor, to ſet up for themſelves. Hitherto they had worked under the ground like Moles or Wants, without being diſcovered; but then they began to caſt up the Earth before them: And having prepared a Bill for making way to their Lords-day-*Sabbath*, under colour of ſuppreſſing unlawful Paſtimes and Aſſemblies, they preſſed that King to it, and obtained it; ſome further addition to which Act they procured in his third Parliament alſo. Yet ſtill they kept on foot their pretended Zeal againſt the Papiſts, and ſeemed exceeding ſenſible of the Dangers which were threatned by them; not ſo much to advance their own Party, then grown ſtrong enough (as they had done formerly); but to make it ſerve them as a Property to put by the Buſineſs of the King in the Grant of *Subſidies*, whenſoever he required it of them.

In this condition of Affairs King *James* departs this Life at *Theobalds*, on *Sunday* the 27th. of *March*; his Diſeaſe no other than an *Ague*; which though it fell on him in the *Spring*, yet it croſſed the Proverb, and proved not Medicinal, but Mortal. His Character hath been given by many others, and therefore I may well ſpare mine, looking upon

upon him only in his zeal to the Church, and his affections unto Learning. His zeal to Unity and Uniformity in the Church, appeared in *England* by the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, *Anno* 1603. by his directions sent to the University of *Oxon.* 1616. by those to the Archbishops and their several *Suffragans*, 1622. In *Scotland*, by his Restitution of *Episcopacy*, *Anno* 1610. by the Articles of *Perth*, 1618. and by the Grounds laid for the Publick *Liturgy* and *Canons*, at the *Assembly* in *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. Had he been well followed by his Bishops, and other Publick Ministers in his several Kingdoms, he would have left the Church established on so sure a Foundation, that neither secret Practices could have undermined it, nor open Batteries have distressed it. His great affections unto Learning do appear as visibly, by the encouragement which he gave unto it both in his Person and Example. In the beginning of his Reign, *Anno* 1603. he graciously received the *Vice-chancellor* of *Oxon.* together with the Doctors, Proctors, and Heads of Houses, at his *Manner* of *Woodstock*: And within two years after, *Anno* 1605. he accepted a Solemn Entertainment from them, performed in all manner of *Scholastick Exercises*, Divinity, Law, Physick, and Philosophy; in all of which he shewed himself of such great Abilities, that he might have governed in those *Chairs*, as well as all or any of his three Professors. Being informed how small and insufficient their old Salary was, he added to his Professor for Divinity, and his Successors in that place, the next Prebend of *Christ-Church*, as soon as any should be void, and the Rectory of *Evelme* in the County of *Oxon.* to the Dr. of the Chair for Law, the Corps of a good Prebend in the Church of *Salisbury*; and to the Professors place for Physick, the Government of an Hospital in *Evelme* aforesaid, being within ten miles of the University. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

Incouraged by which Examples, two Mathematick Lectures were founded by Sir *Henry Savil* Provost of *Eaton*, and Warden of *Merton* Colledge; An *History Lecture* by *William Cambden*, one of the Kings at Arms, by the name of *Clarencieux*; A Lecture in *Natural Philosophy*, by Sir *William Sidley* Knight and Baronet; In *Moral Philosophy*, by Dr *Thomas White* one of the *Residentiaries* of St. *Paul's*, and Prebend of *Christ-Church*; All of them of a liberal and large Endowment. After all which an *Anatomy Lecture* was set up by *Richard Tomlins* of the City of *Westminster*, as necessary as any of the rest, though not so plentifully endowed. The poor man casting in his *Mite* (almost all he had) amongst those Rich *Offerings*. But the powerful Influences of his Learning and Government produce a further operation than the Instituting of a few particular *Lectures*; even to the Building and Endowing of some, and Beautifying of many other Colledges in that University; Witness that fair and Uniform Colledge, built by *Nicholas Wadham*, and *Dorothy* his Wife, *Anno* 1612. The turning of *Broadgates* Hall into *Pembroke* Colledge, built and endowed at the Charges of *Thomas Tisdale* of *Glymton* in the County of *Oxon.* appropriated in a manner to the Free-Grammar-School of *Abingdon*, *Anno* 1624. Witness the raising of the old Schools to a goodly and magnificent Structure, the adding of a new Quadrangle unto *Merton* Colledge by the

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prudent care of Sir *Henry Savil*; the reducing of *Exeter*, and the making up of *Jesus* Colledge into form Quadrangular, by adding of a neat Chappel and a fair Hall to each; of which the Chappel of *Jesus* Colledge (being built together with the Hall, at such time as Sir *Eubule Thelwall* was Principal of it) was Consecrated by the Right Reverend Dr. *Houson* then Bishop of *Oxon. May* 28. 1621. The other built at the sole Charges of Dr. *Hackwell* Arch-Deacon of *Surrey*, received Consecration from the same hands, *October* 5. 1624. And finally, Witness a large and capacious piece of Ground, inclosed with a beautiful Quadrangular Wall, for a *Physick-Garden*, the first Stone whereof was laid in a Solemn Assembly of the whole University on St. *James* his day, *July* 25. 1622. Not to say any thing of the great cost bestowed in beautifying the Quires of *Christ-Church* and *Magdalens*, the setting up of a fair new Organ in the Chappel of St. *John's* Colledge, by the procurement of our *Laud*, the then President of it, *Anno* 1618. The like fair Organ made and set up in *Christ-Church*, and the old one given to St. *Maries* for the publick use of the University, about six years after. Such and so many Benefactions in one University, and that too in so short a space, as none of the former Times can parallel, so let it be the wonder and amazement of all Ages following.

But the King dies, though his Munificence survive him. It was then *Midlent-Sunday*, and the Court-Sermon at *Whitehall* (according to the ancient custom) in the afternoon: At what time the sad News passing through *London*, began to be rumored in the Court, as *Laud* was going into the Pulpit to Preach before the Lords of the Council, the Officers of the Houshold, and the rest of that great Concourse of all sorts of People which usually repaired thither at those Solemn Sermons. Before he was come to the middle of it, the certainty of the Kings death (more generally known amongst them) the confusion which he saw in the faces of all the Company, his own griefs, and the dolorous complaints made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, occasioned him to leave the Pulpit, and to bestow his pains and comforts where there was more need. He did not think (as I believe few wise men do) that the carrying on of one particular Sermon was such a necessary part of *Gods business*, as is not to be intermitted upon any occasion, nor was this ever charged upon him amongst his crimes. The sense of this great loss being somewhat abated, he was requested by the Duke to draw up some Remembrances, of the Life, Reign, and Government of the King Deceased, which he accordingly performed and presented to him: But they are but Remembrances or Memorials only, like the first lines of a design or Picture, which being polished and perfected by a skilful Workman, might have presented us with the true and lively Pourtraiture of that gracious Prince. But who will undertake to finish what *Laud* began? I must therefore leave the deceased King to those Memorials, and those *Memorials* to be found in his *Breviate*, p. 5. But there was another Pourtraiture provided for that King before his Funeral. His body being brought from *Theobalds* unto *Somnerset-house*, where a Royal and Magnificent Hearse was erected for him, visited and resorted to by infinite multitudes of people, for some Weeks together,

together. From *Sommerſet-houſe* his body was carried in great State, on *Saturday* the ſeventh of *May*, to St. *Peter's* Church in *Weſtminſter*, where it was ſolemnly interred. The Funeral Sermon Preached by the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and Printed not long after by the name of *Great Britains Solomon*; which afterwards adminiſtred the occaſion of ſome diſcourſe, which otherwiſe might have been ſpared. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1625.

Thus is *James* dead and buried, but the King ſurvives, his only Son Prince *Charles* being immediately proclaimed King of Great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, firſt at the Court Gates, by Sir *Edward Zouch* Knight Marſhal, moſt ſolemnly the next day at *London*, and afterwards by degrees in all the Cities and Market Towns of the Kingdom. At his firſt entrance on the Crown he found himſelf ingaged in a war with the King of *Spain*, the mightieſt Monarch of the *Weſt*, for which he was to raiſe great Forces both by Sea and Land. He was alſo at the Point of Marriage with the Daughter of *France*, and ſome proportionable preparations muſt be made for that. Nor was King *James* to be interred without a ſolemn and magnificent Funeral, anſwerable in the full height to ſo great a Prince. All which muſt needs exact great Sums of money, and money was not to be had without the help of a Parliament, which he therefore gave order to be called in the uſual manner. But in the middeſt of theſe many and great preparations he forgets not the great buſineſs of the Church. He had obſerved the multitudinouſneſs of his Fathers Chaplains, and the diſorder of their waitings, which puts him on a Reſolution of reducing them to a leſſer number, and limiting them to a more certain time of attendance than before they were. He knew well alſo what an influence the Court had always on the Country; by conſequence how much it did concern him in his future Government that his Officers and Servants ſhould be rightly principled, according to the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. And therefore that he might be ſerved with *Orthodox* and Regular men, *Laud* is commanded to prepare a Catalogue of the moſt eminent Divines, and to diſtinguiſh them by the two Letters of *O* and *P.* according to their ſeveral perſwaſions and affections. And that being done, he is directed by the Duke and the Kings appointment to have recourſe to the moſt learned Biſhop *Andrews*, to know of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cauſe of Religion; Eſpecially in reference to the five Articles condemned not long ſince in the *Synod* at *Dort*, and to report his anſwer with convenient ſpeed. A Convocation was of courſe to accompany the enſuing Parliament. And it was fit not only that the Prelates ſhould reſolve before-hand what Points they meant to treat on when they were aſſembled, but that his Majeſty alſo might have time to conſider of them. *Previate*, p. 6.

Theſe ſeaſonable cares being thus paſſed over, he haſtens both his own marriage, and his Fathers Funeral: The firſt he ſolemnized by Proxie in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*, on Sunday the firſt of *May* according to the Style of *England*. The news whereof being brought to the Court, on the *Wedneſday* following was celebrated in the Streets of *London*, the Liberties and out-parts of it, with more than or-

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625. dinary Expreſſions of Joy and Gladneſs. The Proxie made to *Claud. de Lorain*, Duke of *Cheverenx*, one of the younger Sons of the Duke of *Guiſe*; from which houſe his Majeſty derived himſelf by his great Grand-Mother *Mary* of *Lorain*, Wife of *James* the Fifth. The Funeral he attended in his own Perſon, as the principal *Mourner*: which though it were contrary to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, yet he choſe rather to expreſs his piety in attending the dead Body of his Father to the Funeral Pile, than to ſtand upon any ſuch old niceties and points of State. This was the third Funeral which he had attended as the principal Mourner, which gave ſome occaſion to preſage that he would prove a man of ſorrows, and that his end would carry ſome proportion to thoſe mournful beginnings. The Interval before the coming of his Queen he ſpent in looking to his *Navy*, and drawing his Land Forces together for that Summers ſervice: But hearing that his Queen was advancing toward him, he went to *Canterbury*, and reſted there on *Trinity* Sunday the twelfth of *June*. That night he heard the news of her ſafe arrival at the Port of *Dover*, whom he welcomed the next morning into *England* with the moſt chearful ſigns of a true affection. From thence he brought her unto *Canterbury*, and from thence by eaſie Stages to *Graveſend*, where entring in their Royal Barge, attended by infinite companies of all ſorts of People, and entertained by a continual peal of Ordnance all the way they paſſed, he brought her ſafely and contentedly unto his Palace at *Weſtminſter*. The Lords and Ladies of the Court having preſented to her the acknowledgment of their humble duties, ſuch Biſhops as were about the Town (as moſt of them were, in regard of the Parliament and Convocation) were admitted to the kiſs of her hand, whom ſhe moſt graciouſly received.

For on the *Saturday* before, being *June* the eighteenth, the Parliament had took beginning. Which fell out not unſeaſonably, that the *French* Lords might ſee with what Royal Magnificence he was attended by the Prelates, Peers, and other Officers of State (beſides his own Domeſtick Servants) to the Parliament Houſe. At their firſt meeting he put them in mind of the War, in which they had engaged his Father, and of the promiſe they had made to ſtand to him in it with their lives and fortunes; That both his Land and Sea Forces were now in readineſs to ſet forwards; And, that there wanted nothing but a preſent ſupply of money to quicken and expedite the affair; That the eyes of all Chriſtendom were fixt upon him; And that if he ſhould miſcarry in his firſt attempt, it would blemiſh all the honour of his future actions; And therefore, That they ſhould endeavour to deliver him out of that War in which they had incumbred (he hoped it would never be ſaid that they had betrayed) him. In anſwer whereunto, the Commons paſt a Bill of two Subſidies only, ſo ſhort of that exceſſive charge which the maintenance of ſo great a Fleet and Army required at their hands, that being diſtributed amongſt the Officers, Souldiers, and Mariners, it would ſcarce have ſerved for *Advance-money* to ſend them going. Which notwithſtanding, he very graciouſly accepted of, taking it as an *earneſt* of their good affection, in reference

reference to the greater Sums which were to follow. In order whereunto he audited his account unto them, as well for ſuch moneys as had remained undiſburſed of the former aids, as for the defraying of ſuch further Charges as his preſent Fleet, conſiſting of 120 Sail, and a conſiderable Land Army, muſt needs lay upon him. The particulars of which account ſtood thus: *viz.* 32000 pounds for ſecuring of *Ireland*; 47000 pounds for ſtrengthning the Forts; 37000 pounds for the repair of the Navy; 99000 pounds upon the four Engliſh Regiments in the States Country; 62000 pounds laid out for Count *Manſfield*; Total 287000 pounds. Beſides which he ſent in a demand of 200000 pounds and upwards upon the Navy; 48000 pounds upon the Ordnance; 45000 pounds in Charges of the Land men; 20000 pounds a month to Count *Manſfield*; and 46000 pounds to bring down the King of *Denmark*; the total of which latter Sum amounts to 339000 pounds. Both Sums make no leſs than 626000 pounds, to which the Grant of two Subſidies holds but ſmall proportion.

But the Commons had other game to follow. Their *Grievances* muſt firſt be heard: A Liſt whereof they had preſented to King *JAMES* toward the end of the former Parliament; of which the greateſt part were ſtill unredreſſed. To theſe his Majeſty vouchſafed a very gracious, and for the moſt part a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer. Amongſt which *Grievances*, a ſober and diſcreet man would not think to find, that the building of all houſes in *London*, and the parts adjoining, in one uniform way, with a face of brick toward the ſtreets, ſhould be paſſed for one, then which there could not be a greater ornament to that City, or a greater honour to his Majeſties Government. And to that his Majeſty returned this Anſwer: That there had much good come by ſuch a reformation of Building in his Fathers time, and therefore that he was reſolved to go on with the work. Which Reſolution ſo much tending to the glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, and no objection being ready for his other Anſwers, the matter of *Grievances* could no longer be inſiſted on; eſpecially in ſuch a time when the concernments of the State, his Majeſties honour, and all the motives which induced them to engage him in this preſent War, ought in all reaſon to precede their *Grievances*, had they been greater then they were. But then they had ſome Religious *Grievances*, which required a more ſpeedy redreſs than any which concerned them in their Civil Intereſſes. The Lords day was pretended to be much profaned by unlawful paſtimes, and People frequently reſorted out of their own Pariſhes to feaſt in Revels. Of this a remedy is deſired by Act of Parliament. Had any ſuch Bill been offered in King *James* his time, it would have found a ſorry welcome; but this King being under a neceſſity of compliance with them, reſolved to grant them their deſires in that Particular, to the end that they might grant his alſo in the aid required, when that obſtruction was removed. The *Sabbatarians* took the benefit of this opportunity for the obtaining of this grant (the firſt that ever they obtained by all their ſtruglings) which of what conſequence it was we ſhall ſee hereafter.

But then the Doctrine of the Church was more in danger then ever.

In

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In former Parliaments they were afraid of the Papiſts only: But now there was as much danger to be feared from *Arminianiſm* as before from *Popery*. An Information had been made by *Yates* and *Ward*, as before is ſaid, againſt ſome paſſages in *Mountagues* Anſwer to the *Romiſh Gagger*; and he had aggravated his offence by juſtifying all his *Popiſh*, and *Arminian* Tenents in a book newly publiſhed, called *Appello Cæſarem*. It could not be denied, but that this book was Licenced by Dr. *White*, then Dean of *Carlile*, by whom it was affirmed to be agreeable to the Publick Faith, Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. But *White* they ſaid was now turned *black*, and what is the Eſtabliſhed Doctrine of the Church of *England* compared with *Calvins* Doctrine in his *Inſtitutions*? What Trifles are the Articles of Religion, agreed on by the Biſhops and Clergy, in two ſeveral *Synods* held in *London*, compared with the determinations of the *Synod* of *Dort*, which *Mountague* (that bold man) had deſpiſed and vilified? This was a matter which became the care of the Houſe of Commons, and *Mountague* is cited to appear before them on the ſeventh of *July*. Being brought unto the Bar, the Speaker declared to him the pleaſure of the Houſe, which was, that they would refer his Cenſure to the next meeting; and that in the interim he ſhould ſtand committed to the Sergeants Ward; and entred baile for his appearance to the value of two thouſand pounds. His Majeſty had preſent notice of this occurrence; And being very ſenſible of this new incroachment, he thereupon cauſed intimation to be made unto them, that he was not pleaſed with their proceedings againſt *Mountague*, being one of his Chaplains; adding withal that he conceived his Servants to be as capable of protection from all impriſonments and arreſts, as any of the Servants of the *Knights* and *Burgeſſes*. It was not long before *Laud* found an opportunity to give *Mountague* notice of his Majeſties great care of him, and affection to him. Which muſt needs be a Sovereign Cordial to the man, notwithſtanding that the Commons were ſo ſtiff in their Rigors toward him, that his bail-bond of 2000 pound did remain uncancelled.

Breviate p. 6.

Notice hereof being given to *Laud*, he conſidered of the ſad effects and conſequents which might follow on it, communicating thoſe his fears to ſome other Biſhops: by whom it was thought fit that *Mountagues* caſe, and not his only, but the caſe of the Church it ſelf, ſhould be commended to the care and power of the Duke of *Buckingham*. According unto which Advice and Reſolution, three of them framed and ſigned the enſuing Letter. But before this Letter was delivered, *Mountague* had taken ſo much care of himſelf, as to prepare his way by a Letter of his own, bearing date *July* 29. In which Letter he firſt laid open the ſtate of his caſe, deſiring that by his Majeſties Power he might be abſolutely freed from thoſe who had neither any Authority over his perſon, as being one of his Majeſties Servants; nor over his Book, as being commanded by his Father, and authorized by himſelf. Which being ſaid, he makes this reſolute declaration, *That if he could not really and throughly anſwer whatſoever was or could be imputed to him in any of his Books, he would no further deſire favour and pro-*

protection of his Majesty or his Grace, but willingly would be left unto the power of his Enemies. Which Letter being sent before to prepare the way, this of the said three Bishops followed within four daies after. LIB. II. Anno Dom. 1625.

May it please your Grace,

WE are bold to be Suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor Member of it, Mr. Mountague, at this time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is the Cause which we are bound to be tender of. The Cause we conceive (under correction of better Judgment) concerns the Church of England nearly; for that Church, when it was reformed from the superstitious opinions broached or maintained by the Church of Rome, refused the apparent and dangerous Errors, and would not be too busie with every particular School-Point. The cause why she held this moderation was, because she could not be able to preserve any unity among Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in Schools. Now may it please your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late Book of Mr. Mountague, are some of them such as are expresly the resolved Doctrine of the Church of England, and those he is bound to maintain. Some of them are such as are fit only for Schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. And therefore to make any Man subscribe to School-opinions, may justly seem hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the Council of Trent. And to affright them from those opinions in which they have (as they are bound) subscribed to the Church, as it is worse in it self, so may it be the Mother of greater danger. Cab. p. 156.

May it please your Grace farther to consider, That when the Clergie submitted themselves in the time of Henry the Eighth, the submission was so made, that if any difference Doctrinal or other fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be Judges of it in the National Synod or Convocation; the King first giving leave under his Broad Seal to handle the Points in difference: But the Church never submitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can she though she would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move his most Gracious Majesty (if you shall think fit) what dangerous consequences may follow upon it; For first if any other Judge be allowed in matter of Doctrine, we shall depart from the Ordinance of Christ, and the continual Course and Practice of the Church. Secondly, If the Church be once brought down beneath her self, we cannot but fear what may be the next stroke at it. Thirdly, It will some way touch the honour of his Majesties dear Father, and our most Dread Soveraign of glorious and ever blessed memory, King James, who saw and approved all the opinions of this Book: And he in his rare Wisdom and Judgment would never have allowed them if they had crossed with truth and the Church of England. Fourthly, We must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of Civil Government in the Commonwealth, or of Preaching or External Ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions, as some

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some which are oppoſite and contrary to theſe delivered by Mr. Mountague *are, ſhall be publickly taught and maintained. Fifthly, We are certain that all or moſt of the contrary opinions were treated of at* Lambeth, *and ready to be publiſhed, but then Queen* Elizabeth *of famous memory, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of Piety, and obedience to all Government, cauſed them to be ſuppreſſed; and ſo they have continued ever ſince, till of late ſome of them have received countenance at the* Synod *of* Dort. *Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be of no Authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by publick Authority. And our hope is, That the Church of* England *will be well adviſed, and more than once over, before ſhe admit a foreign* Synod, *eſpecially of ſuch a Church as condemneth her Diſcipline and manner of Government, to ſay no more.*

And further we are bold to commend to your Graces Wiſdom this one particular. His Majeſty (as we have been informed) hath already taken this buſineſs into his own care, and moſt worthily referred it in a right courſe to Church conſideration. And we well hoped that without further trouble to the State, or breach of unity in the Church, it might ſo have been well and orderly compoſed, as we ſtill pray it may. Theſe things conſidered, we have little to ſay for Mr. Mountagues *perſon: only thus much we know, He is a very good Scholar, and a right honeſt man: A man every way able to do God, his Majeſty, and the Church of* England *great ſervice. We fear he may receive diſcouragement, and (which is far worſe) we have ſome cauſe to doubt this may breed a great backwardneſs in able men to write in the defence of the Church of* England, *againſt either home or foreign Adverſaries, if they ſhall ſee him ſink in Fortunes Reputation, or health, upon occaſion of his Book. And this we moſt humbly ſubmit to your Graces Judgment, and care of the Churches peace and welfare; So commending your Grace to the Protection of Almighty God,*

Auguſt 2. 1625. We ſhall ever reſt at Your Graces Service,

Jo. Roffens. Jo. Oxon. Guil. Meneven.

After this no more news of *Montague* in the preſent Parliament, Adjourned by his Majeſty on the eleventh of *July* (by reaſon of the Plague) to *Oxon*, there to be re-aſſembled on the firſt of *Auguſt*. Which time being come, his Majeſty puts them again in mind of his preſſing occaſions, acquaints them with the neceſſity of ſetting out the Fleet, then ready for Service; That the eyes of his Confederates were fixt upon him; and that they would ſeparate and diſſolve if it did not ſpeedily ſet forwards. But then the dangers which they feared from the growth of Popery, ſtood as much in his way, as *Montague* and the *Grievances* had done before. For the ſecuring them from all ſuch fears, an humble Petition and Remonſtrance muſt be firſt prepared, which they framed much after the ſame manner with that which had been offered to King *James*, in the year 1621. In this they ſhewed the King

King the dangers which were threatned to the Church and State, by the more than ordinary increaſe of Popery; and offered him ſuch remedies, as they conceived moſt likely, to prevent the miſchiefs. And unto this Petition they procured the Peers alſo to join with them. But the King eaſily removed this obſtruction, by giving them ſuch a full and ſatisfactory anſwer, on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, that they could not chuſe, before their Riſing, which followed within five days after, but Vote their humble Thanks to be returned unto his Majeſty, for giving ſuch a Gracious Anſwer to their ſaid Petition. This they had reaſon to expect from his Majeſties Piety; but then they had another Game which muſt be followed, before the Kings Buſineſs could be heard. In the two former Parliaments they had fleſh'd themſelves, by removing *Bacon* from the *Seal*, and *Cranfield* from the *Treaſury*: And ſomewhat muſt be done this Parliament alſo, for fear of hazarding ſuch a *Priviledge* by a *diſcontinuance*. *Williams* came firſt into their eye, whom they looked on as a man not only improper for the Place, but alſo as not having carried himſelf in it with ſuch integrity as he ſhould have done; and him the Lawyers had moſt mind to, that they might get that Office once again into their poſſeſſion. This *Williams* fearing, ſo applied himſelf to ſome leading Members, that he diverted them from himſelf to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as a more noble Prey, and fitter for ſuch *mighty Hunters* than a *ſilly Prieſt*. Nor was this Overture propoſed to ſuch as were either deaf or tongue-tied; for this great Game was no ſooner ſtarted, but they followed it with ſuch an Out-cry, that the noiſe thereof came preſently to his Majeſties ears; who finding by theſe delays and artifices, that there was no hope of gaining the Supplies deſired, on the twelfth of the ſame *Auguſt* diſſolved the Parliament. He may now ſee the error he had run into by his breach with *Spain*, which put him into a neceſſity of making War, and that neceſſity compell'd him to caſt himſelf in a manner on the Alms of his People, and to ſtand wholly in like manner at their Devotion.

The Parliament being thus diſſolved, his Majeſty progreſſeth towards the *Weſt*, to ſet forward his Navy, and *Laud* betakes himſelf unto his Dioceſs, this being the year of his *Triennial Viſitation*. He took along with him in this Journey ſuch Plate and Furniture as he had provided for his new Chappel at *Abergavilly*, which he Conſecrated on *Sunday Auguſt* 28. Here he continued, by reaſon that the Sickneſs was hot in *London*, and not cooled in *Oxon*, till he was fain to make his way back again through Ice and Snow, as he writes in his Letters to the Duke from *Windſor*, *December* 13. At his return he found no ſmall alteration in the Court. The Lord Keeper *Williams* ſtood upon no good terms with the Duke in the life of King *James*; but he declined more and more in Favour after his deceaſe. The Duke had notice of his practiſing againſt him in the laſt Parliament, and was reſolved to do his errand ſo effectually to the King his Maſter, that he ſhould hold the Seal no longer; and he prevailed therein ſo far, that Sir *John Suckling*, Controller of his Majeſties Houſhold, was ſent to him (being then at a Houſe of the Lord *Sandy*'s in the Pariſh of *Bray*

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PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625. near *Windſor*) to require him to deliver up the Seal to his Majeſties uſe; which being very unwillingly done, the Cuſtody of the Great Seal, on *Sunday* the ſecond of *October*, was committed to Sir *Thomas Coventry* his Majeſties Atturney General, whom *Heath* ſucceeded in that place. But my Lord was not gone, though the Keeper was: He ſtill remained Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, holding ſtill both his other Dignities and Preferments before recited: So that he might have lived as plentifully as the greateſt, and as contentedly as the beſt, had he not thought that the fall was greater from the top of the Stairs unto the ſecond or third Step, than from the ſecond or third to the loweſt of all. But as he fell, ſo *Laud* aſcended: *Neil* his good Friend, then *Biſhop* of *Durham*, had fallen ſick in the beginning of the Spring, at whoſe requeſt he was appointed to wait upon his Majeſty as Clerk of the Cloſet; in which Service though he continued not long, yet he made ſuch uſe of it, that from that time forwards he grew as much into the Kings Favour, as before he had been in the Dukes; becoming as it were his Majeſties Secretary for all Church Concernments.

His Majeſty having ſet forward his Navy (which ſetting out ſo late, could not be like to make any good Return) was not unmindful of the Promiſe he had made in Parliament, in anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons, concerning the Great dangers threatned to the Church and State by the *Growth of Popery*; to which end he cauſed a Commiſſion to be iſſued under the great Seal, for executing the Laws againſt Recuſants, which he commanded to be publiſhed in all the Courts of Juſtice at *Reading* (to which Town the Term was then removed) that all his Judges and other Miniſters of Juſtice might take notice of it, *as alſo that all his Loving Subjects might be certified of his Princely Care and Charge for the Advancement of true Religion, and Suppreſſion of Popery and Superſtition*: Which done, he directed his (*a*) Letters of the 15th. of *December*, to his two Archbiſhops, ſignifying how far he had proceeded, and requiring them in purſuance of it, "That no good means be neglected on their part for diſcover-"ing, finding out, and apprehending of Jeſuites and Seminary Prieſts, "and other Seducers of his People to the *Romiſh* Religion; or for "repreſſing *Popiſh* Recuſants and Delinquents of that ſort, againſt "whom they were to proceed by Excommunication, and other Cen-"ſures of the Church, not omitting any other Lawful means to bring "them forth to publick Juſtice. But then withal his Majeſty takes notice of another Enemy, which threatned as much danger to the Church as the *Papiſts* did: And thereupon he further requireth the ſaid two Archbiſhops, "That a vigilant care be taken with the reſt "of the Clergy, for the repreſſing of thoſe who being ill affected to "the true Religion here eſtabliſhed, they keep more cloſe and ſe-"cret their ill and dangerous affections that way, and as well by their "example, as by ſecret and under-hand ſleights and means, do much "encourage and encreaſe the growth of *Popery* and *Superſtition* in "ſundry parts of this Kingdom. And therefore he did not only re-"quire that none of them might have any manner of Covert, Prote-

(a) *Bib. Regia. p.* 12.

ction,

"ction, Countenance, or connivence from them, or any of the reſt, as LIB. II.
"they tendred his Royal Commandment in that behalf: but that all *Anno Dom.*
"poſſible diligence be uſed, as well to unmask the falſe ſhadows and 1625.
"pretences of thoſe who may poſſibly be won to conformity; letting
"all men know, That he could not think well of any that having
"Place and Authority in the Church, do permit ſuch perſons to paſs
"with impunity; much leſs if they give them any countenance, to
the emboldning them or their adherents.

On the receiving of theſe Letters, *Abbot* tranſmits the Copies of them to his ſeveral *Suffragans*, and to our Biſhop of St. *Davids* amongſt *Ibid. p.* 15.
the reſt, requiring him to conform therein to his Majeſties Pleaſure, and to ſee the ſame executed in all parts of his Dioceſs. On the receipt whereof, the Biſhop commands his *Chancellor*, *Arch-Deacons*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers within his Dioceſs of St. *Davids*, "That all poſſible care be taken of ſuch as are any way backward in
"Points of Religion, and more eſpecially of known and profeſſed
"Recuſants, that they may be carefully preſented, and Proceedings
"had againſt them to Excommunication, according to form and or-
"der of Law; and that there be a true Liſt and Catalogue of all ſuch
"as have been preſented and proceeded againſt, ſent to him yearly
"after *Eaſter*, by him to be preſented to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,
"as had been required. No command given unto his Chancellor, and other Officers, to look into the Practices and Proceedings of the *Puritan* Faction; for which I am able to give no reaſon, but that he had received no ſuch Direction and Command from Archbiſhop *Abbot*, whoſe Letter pointed him no further (it is no hard matter to ſay why) than to the ſearching out, preſenting, and Excommunicating the *Popiſh* Recuſants. And in what he commanded, he was obeyed by his Chancellor, returning to him in *June* following the names of ſuch Recuſants as lived within the Counties of *Caermarthen* and *Pembroke*, the chief parts of his Dioceſs.

The Kings Coronation now draws on, for which Solemnity he had appointed the Feaſt of the *Purification* of the Bleſſed Virgin, better known by the name of *Candlemas day*. The Coronations of King *Edward* vi. and Queen *Elizabeth*, had been performed according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Roman Pontificals*; That at the Coronation of King *James* had been drawn in haſte, and wanted many things which might have been conſidered of in a time of Leaſure. His Majeſty therefore iſſueth a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and certain other Biſhops, whereof *Laud* was one, to conſider of the Form and Order of the Coronation, and to accommodate the ſame more punctually to the preſent Rules and Orders of the Church of *England*. On the fourth of *January* the Commiſſioners firſt met to conſult about it; and having compared the Form obſerved in the Coronation of King *James*, with the publick *Rituals*, it was agreed upon amongſt them to make ſome Alterations in it, and Additions to it. The Alteration in it was, that the Unction was to be performed *in forma Crucis*, after the manner of a Croſs, which was accordingly done by *Abbot* when he officiated as Archbiſhop of *Canter-*

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bury in the Coronation. The Additions in the Form consisted chiefly in one Prayer or Request to him in the behalf of the Clergy, and the clause of another Prayer for him to Almighty God; the last of which was thought to have ascribed too much Power to the King, the first to themselves, especially by the advancing of the Bishops and Clergy above the *Laity*. The Prayer or Request which was made to him, followed after the *Unction*, and was this, *viz.*

Cant. Doom, 69.

Stand, and hold fast from henceforth the Place to which you have been Heir by the Succession of your Forefathers, being now delivered to you by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the Bishops, and Servants of God: and as you see the Clergy *to come neerer to the Altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and Man may establish you in the Kingly Throne, to be the Mediator between the* Clergy *and the* Laity, *that you may Reign for ever with Jesus Christ the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever.* Amen.

The Clause of that Prayer which was made for him, had been intermitted since the time of King *Henry* vi. and was this that followeth; *viz.*

Hist. K. Ch. 20.

Let him obtain favour for the People, like Aaron *in the Tabernacle,* Elisha *in the Waters,* Zacharias *in the Temple; Give him* Peters *Key of Discipline, and* Pauls *Doctrine.*

Which Clause had been omitted in times of *Popery*, as intimating more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings, than the *Popes* allowed of; and for the same reason was now quarrell'd at by the *Puritan* Faction.

It was objected commonly in the time of his fall, That in digesting the form of the Coronation, he altered the Coronation-Oath, making it more advantageous to the King, and less beneficial to the People than it had been formerly; from which calumny his Majesty cleared both himself and the Bishop, when they were both involved by common Speech in the guilt thereof. For the clearer manifestation of which truth, I will first set down the Oath it self, as it was taken by the King; and then the Kings Defence for his taking of it; Now the Oath is this.

The Form of the *CORONATION-OATH.*

Husbands Collect. *p.* 190.

SIR (says the Archbishop) *Will you grant, keep, and by your Oath confirm to your People of* ENGLAND *the Laws and Customs to them granted by the Kings of* ENGLAND, *your Lawful and Religious Predecessors; and namely, the Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to the Clergy, by the Glorious King St.* Edward *your Predecessor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel established in this King-*

Kingdom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the Ancient Cuſtoms of this Land?

The King Anſwers. *I grant and promiſe to keep them.*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, Will you keep Peace and Godly Agreement entirely (according to your Power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergie, and the People?*

Rex. *I will keep it.*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, Will you (to your Power) cauſe Juſtice, Law, and Diſcretion in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?*

Rex. *I will.*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, Will you grant to hold and grant to keep the Laws and rightful Cuſtoms which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, ſo much as in you lieth?*

Rex. *I grant and promiſe ſo to do.*

Then one of the Biſhops reads this Admonition to the King before the People with a loud voice. *Our Lord and King, we beſeech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preſerve unto us, and the Churches committed to our charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Juſtice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Biſhops and the Churches under their Government.*

The King anſwereth, *With a willing and devout heart I promiſe and grant my pardon, and that I will preſerve and maintain to you and the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Juſtice; and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my power by the Aſſiſtance of God, as every good King ought in his Kingdom, in right to protect and defend the Biſhops and Churches under their Government.*

The King ariſeth, and is led to the Communion Table, where he makes a ſolemn Oath in ſight of all the People, to obſerve the *Premiſes*, and laying his Hand upon the Book, ſaith, *The things which I have before promiſed, I ſhall perform and keep, So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.*

Such was the Coronation-Oath accuſtomably taken by the Kings of *England*: Which notwithſtanding, it was objected by the Lords and Commons in the time of the Long Parliament, not to have been the ſame which ought to have been taken by him. And for proof thereof an antiquated Oath was found, and publiſhed in a Remonſtrance of theirs, bearing date the twentieth of *May* 1642. To which his Majeſty made this Anſwer, That the Oath which he took at his Coronation was warranted, and enjoyned by the Cuſtoms of his Predeceſſors; and that the Ceremony of their and his taking of it they might find in the Records of the Exchequer. And this it is, *&c.*

Exact. Collect of *Edw. Husb.* 290.

Now in performing the Solemnities of the Coronation, the *Abbot* anciently; and for more than one hundred years laſt paſt, the Deans of *Weſtminſter* had a ſpecial place. To them belonged the Cuſtody of the old *Regalia*, that is to ſay, the Crown, Sword, Scepter, Spurs;

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1625. Spurs, *&c.* of King *Edward* Sirnamed the *Confeſſor*, kept by them in a ſecret place of *Weſtminſter* Abbey, not eaſily acceſſible to any, but ſuch as know the myſtery of it: never brought forth but at the Coronation of a King, or his going to Parliament. *Williams* the late Lord Keeper was at this time Dean. But being under the Kings diſpleaſure, was commanded to forbear his attendance at the Coronation, and to depute one of the Prebends in his place. This put him into ſome diſpute with himſelf. He had no mind to nominate *Laud*, being then one of the Prebendaries of that Church, becauſe he lookt upon him as his Corrival and Supplanter in the Dukes good Grace; and to have named any other of a lower order, there being a Biſhop in the number, would have ſubjected him to ſome diſcourſe and miſconſtruction; He therefore very wiſely ſent unto his Majeſty the names, degrees, and dignities of all the Prebends, leaving it unto him alone to make the Election; who thereupon without any heſitancy or deliberation deputed *Laud* unto the Service. *Laud*, being thus nominated and deputed, prepared all things ready for that great Solemnity. And finding the *Old Crucifix* among the *Regalia*, he cauſed it to be placed on the Altar, as in former times. The Coronation being ended, his Majeſty going in his Robes to *Weſtminſter* Hall, did there deliver them to *Laud*, (repreſenting in that Pomp the Dean of *Weſtminſter*) together with the Crown, Scepter, and the Sword called *Cortena*, to be laid up with the reſt of the *Regalia* in their old repoſitory; which he receiving from the King, returned into the Abbey Church, offered ſolemnly on the Altar in his Majeſties name (as by his place he was to do) and ſo laid them up.

Two things there were remarkable in this Coronation, which ſeemed to have ſomething in them of Preſage. *Senhouſe*, who had been once his Chaplain, when Prince of *Wales*, and was now Biſhop of *Carlile*, had the honour to Preach upon the day of that great Solemnity. An eloquent man he was reputed, and one that could very well expreſs a paſſion: but he had choſen ſuch a Text, as was more proper for a Funeral than a Coronation; his Text being this, *viz. I will give thee a Crown of life*, *Apoc.* 2. 10. and was rather thought to put the new King in mind of his Death than his duty in Government; and to have been his Funeral Sermon when he was alive, as if he were to have none when he was to be buried. It was obſerved alſo, that his Majeſty on that day was cloathed in *White*, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, who were on that day clad in *Purple*. And this he did not out of any neceſſity, for want of Purple Velvet, enough to make a Suite, (for he had many yards of it in his outward Garment) but at his own choice only, to declare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be eſpouſed unto his Kingdom. *White* (as we know) is the colour of the Saints, who are repreſented to us in *White Robes* by Saint *John* in the *Revelation*; and *Purple* is the Imperial and Regal colour, ſo proper heretofore unto Kings and Emperours, that many of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperours were called *Porphyrogenites*, becauſe at their firſt coming into the world they were wrapt in *Purple*. And this ſome looked on alſo as an ill Preſage, that the King laying aſide his

Purple,

Purple, the Robe of Majesty, should cloath himself in *White*, the Robe L. I. B. II.
of *innocence*; as if thereby it were fore-signified, that he should devest *Anno Dom.*
himself of that Regal Majesty which might and would have kept him 1625.
safe from affront and scorn, to rely wholly on the innocence of a virtuous life, which did expose him finally to calamitous ruine.

No sooner were the Pomps of the Coronation ended, but the Second Parliament began; at the opening whereof, on *Munday* the sixth of *February*, our Bishop of St. *Davids* preacht before his Majesty, the Lords, *&c.* in the Abbey-Church. He was appointed to have Preached in the beginning of the former Parliament, on *Saturday* the 18th. of *June*; but that turn being otherwise supplyed, he Preached the same Sermon the next day before his Majesty at *Whitehall*, his Text then, *Psal.* 75. 2, 3. *When I shall receive the Congregation, I will judge according unto right*, &c. But now he chose for the Theme or Subject of his discourse the 3, 4, 5 verses of the 112. *Psalm*, viz. *Jerusalem is like a City that is at unity in it self*, &c. In which, considering *Jerusalem* as a Type of the Church and State, he first beholds it as a Type of the State, or Civil Government. Where he considered *That* Ordo Politicus, *the wise ordering of the people in* Concord *and* Unity *was simply the strongest Wall of a State: But break* Unity *once, and farewel all strength. And therefore disjointed Factions in a State when they work upon Division, are* Publica iræ divinæ incendia, *the publick kindlings of Gods Anger, and they burn down all before them. And God seldom suffers these to fire a State till himself be heated first with the sins of the State: But then* he will divide them in *Jacob* and scatter them in *Israel*, *Gen.* 49. *Nay scatter* Jacob *and* Israel *it self for them.* Which said in general, he descended to a more particular application, putting his Auditory in mind of those words of *Tacitus*, "That nothing Ser. 3. p. 102
"gave the *Romans* (powerful enemies though they were) more ad- Pag. 104.
"vantage against the ancient *Britains* than this, *Quod Factionibus & studiis trahebantur*; That they were broken into Factions, and "would not so much as take counsel and advice together; and they "smarted for it. But I pray what is the difference for men not to "meet in counsel, and to fall to pieces when they meet? If the first "were our Fore-fathers errour, God of his mercy grant this second "be not ours. And for the Church, that is as the City too, just so, "*Doctrine* and *Discipline* are the Walls and the Towers of it: But be Pag. 107.
"the one never so true, and the other never so perfect, they come both "short of Preservation, if that body be not at *Unity* in it self. The "Church, take it Catholick, cannot stand well, if it be not compacted "together into an holy *Unity* with Faith and Charity. And as the "whole Church is in regard of the affairs of Christendom, so is each "particular Church in the Nation and Kingdom in which it sojourns. "If it be not at *Unity* in it self, it doth but invite malice, which is ready "to do hurt without any invitation: and it ever lies with an open side "to the Devil and all his batteries. So both Church and State, then "happy, and never till then, when they are at unity within themselves, "and one with another. Well, both State and Church owe much "to *Unity*; and therefore very little to them that break the peace of

"either.

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"either. *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.* But if *unity* "be so necessary, how may it be preserved in both? How? I will tell "you. Would you keep the State in *Unity*? In any case take heed "of breaking the peace of the Church. The peace of the State de- "pends much upon it; For divide Christ in the minds of men, or di- "vide the minds of men about their hopes of Salvation in Christ, and "tell me what *unity* there will be. Let this suffice so far as the Church "is an ingredient into the unity of the State. But what other things "are concurring to the unity of it, the State it self knows better than "I can teach.

This was good *Doctrine* out of doubt. The Preacher had done his part in it, but the hearers did not; the Parliament not making such *use* of it as they should have done. At such time as the former Parliament was adjourned to *Oxon*, the Divinity School was prepared for the House of Commons, and a Chair made for the Speaker in or near the place, in which his Majesties Professor for Divinity did usually read his publick Lectures, and moderate in all publick Disputations. And this first put them into conceit, that the determining of all Points and Controversies in Religion did belong to them. As *Vibius Rufus* in the Story, having married *Tullies* Widow, and bought *Cæsars* Chair, conceived that he was then in a way to gain the Eloquence of the one, and the power of the other. For after that we find no Parliament without a Committee for Religion, and no Committee for Religion but what did think it self sufficiently instructed to manage the greatest Controversies of Divinity which were brought before them: And so it was particularly with the present Parliament. The Commons had scarce setled themselves in their own House, but *Mountague* must be called to a new account for the *Popery* and *Arminianism* affirmed to have been maintained by him in his books. In which Books if he had defended any thing contrary to the established Doctrine of the Church of *England*, the Convocation, of the two, was the fitter Judge. And certainly it might have hapned ill unto him, the King not being willing to engage too far in those Emergencies, (as the case then stood) if the Commons had not been diverted in pursuit of the Duke of *Buckingham*; which being a more noble game, they laid this aside, having done nothing in it but raised a great desire in several Members of both Houses to give themselves some satisfaction in those doubtful Points. To which end a Conference was procured by the Earl of *Warwick*, to be held at *York* House, between *Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *White* Dean of *Carlile*, on the one side: *Morton* then of *Lichfield*, and *Preston* then of *Lincolns-Inn* (of whom more hereafter) on the other; the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, many other Lords, and many other persons of inferiour quality being present at it. To this conference, which was holden on the eleventh of this *February*, another was added the next week on the seventeenth. In which *Mountague* acted his own part in the place of *Buckeridge*, the Concourse being as great, both for the quality and number of the persons, as had been at the former. And the success was equal also. The Friends and Fautors of each side giving the victory to those (as commonly

monly it happens in ſuch caſes) whoſe cauſe they favoured. LIB. II.

After this we hear no more of *Mountague*, but the paſſing of ſome Votes againſt him in the *April* following; which heats being over, he was kept cold till the following Parliament: And then he ſhall be called for. In the mean time the King perceiving that the Commons had took no notice of his own occaſions, gave order to Sir *Richard Weſton* (then *Chancellour* of his *Exchequer*) to mind them of it; by whom he repreſented to them the return of the laſt years Fleet, and the want of Mony to ſatisfie the Mariners and Souldiers for their Arrears; That he had prepared a new Fleet of forty Sail ready to ſet forth, which could not ſtir without a preſent ſupply of Mony; And that without the like ſupply, not only his Armies, which were quartered upon the Coaſts, would diſband or mutiny, but that the Forces ſent for *Ireland* would be apt to rebel; and therefore he deſired to know, without more ado, what preſent ſupply he muſt depend upon from them, that accordingly he might ſhape his courſe. Theſe Propoſitions being made, *Clem. Coke* a younger Son of Sir *Edward Coke* (who had ſucceſſively been Chief Juſtice of either Bench) obſtructs the Anſwer by this raſh and unhandſome expreſſion, *That it was better to dye by a Foreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home.* Which general words were by one *Turner* a Doctor of Phyſick, and then a Member of that Houſe, reſtrained and applied more particularly to the Duke of *Buckingham.* The Commons well remembred at what Point they were cut off in the former Parliament, and carefully watcht all advantages to reſume it in this. They had begun a great clamour againſt him on the firſt of *March*, for ſtaying a *French Ship*, called the St. *Peter of Newhaven*; and *Turner* now incites them to a higher diſtemper, by ſix Queries raiſed about him, that is to ſay, "Firſt, Whether the King had not "loſt the Regality of the Narrow Seas ſince the Duke became Admi- "ral? Secondly, Whether his not going as Admiral in this laſt Fleet, "was not the cauſe of the ill ſucceſs? Thirdly, Whether the Kings Re- "venue hath not been impaired through his immenſe liberality? "Fourthly, Whether he hath not ingroſſed all Offices, and preferred "his Kindred to unfit places? Fifthly, Whether he hath not made ſale "of places of Judicature? Sixthly, Whether the *Recuſants* have not "dependence on his Mother and Father in Law?

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For this days work *Coke* was ſeverely reprehended by his Father, who could not be perſwaded to look upon him for a long while after: But *Turner*, having none whom he ſtood in fear of, eſcaped not only without a private reprehenſion, but without any publick Cenſure. His Majeſty thereupon complained by *Weſton* to the Houſe of Commons, who were ſo far from cenſuring the offence, that they ſeemed rather willing to protect the Offenders. And yet this was not all the affront they had done him neither. For ſeeming well ſatisfied with his Majeſties gracious Anſwer to their Petition againſt Recuſants, which they received from him at *Oxon* in the former Parliament, they now reſolved to ſee what execution had been done upon it. And to that end they appoint a Committee for Religion, and that Committee ſubſtitutes a Sub-Committee; which Sub-Committee were impowered to

1626.

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ſearch the Signet Office concerning ſuch indulgencies as had been granted to the Papiſts ſince the end of that Parliament, and to examine the Letters of the Secretaries of State, leaving his Majeſty nothing free from their diſcovery as to that particular: A point which never was preſumed on in preceding times. And which ſeemed worſt of all in the preſent conjuncture, they had voted him three Subſidies, and three fifteens, but voted them with ſuch a clog that they ſhould not paſs into a Bill till their *Grievances* were both heard and anſwered. Which *Grievances* what they were both in weight and number, as it was not known unto themſelves; ſo did his Majeſty look upon it, not only as a thing dilatory in it ſelf, but as a baffle put on him and his proceedings.

Theſe indignities coming thus upon the neck of one another, he cauſed the Lords and Commons to come before him at *White-Hall*, *March* 29. 1626. where firſt he ſignified unto them, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, how ſenſible he was of thoſe affronts which were put upon him, touching upon every one of them in particular, and aggravating each of them in their ſeveral kinds, letting them alſo know, *That as he loved his people, ſo he regarded his honour; and that if he were ſenſible of his Subjects Grievances, of his own he was ſenſible much more.* The Keeper alſo had command to tell them in his Majeſties Name, *That the Duke had acted nothing of Publick Employment, without his Majeſties Special Warrant; That he had diſcharged his Truſt with abundant both Care and Fidelity; That ſince his return from* Spain *he had been ſedulous in promoting the Service and Contentment of the Commons Houſe; And therefore, That it was his expreſs Command, That they deſiſt from ſuch Unparliamentary Proceedings, and reſign the Reformation of what was amiſs to his Majeſties Care, Wiſdom, and Juſtice.* Which Speech being ended, his Majeſty ſaith as followeth: *I muſt withal put you in mind of Times paſt; you may remember my Father, moved by your Counſel, and won by your Perſwaſions, brake the Treaties: In theſe Perſwaſions I was your Inſtrument towards him; and I was glad to be Inſtrumental in any thing which might pleaſe the whole Body of this Realm: Nor was there any in greater favour with you, than this man whom you ſo traduce. And now when you find me ſo ſure intangled in War, as I have no honourable and ſafe Retreat, you make my Neceſſity your Priviledge, and ſet what rate you pleaſe upon your Supplies: A Practice not very obliging unto Kings. Mr.* Coke *told you,* It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home. *Indeed I think it more honourable for a King to be invaded and almoſt deſtroyed by a Foreign Enemy, than to be deſpiſed at home.*

But all this did not edifie with the Houſe of Commons. So little were they moved with the Eloquence of the one, and the ſmart Expreſſions of the other, that both their own Members remained uncenſured, and the Proſecution of the Duke was followed with more violence then before it was. But for all this his Majeſty and the Duke might thank themſelves. His Majeſty had power in his own hands to have righted himſelf, according to the practice of Queen *Elizabeth*, and others of his Majeſties Royal Predeceſſors in the times foregoing.

But

But by complaining in this manner to the Houſe of Commons, he choſe rather to follow the Example of King *James*, who in like manner had complained of one *Piggot*, for ſome ſeditious words by him ſpoken in the Houſe of Commons, *Anno* 1607. and with like ſucceſs. He that diveſts himſelf of a natural and original Power to right the injuries which are done him, in hope to find redreſs from others (eſpecially from ſuch as are parcel guilty of the wrong) may put up all his gettings in a Seamſtreſs Thimble, and yet never fill it. All that which both Kings effected by it, was but the weakning of their own Power, and the increaſing of the others, who had now put themſelves upon this Reſolution, not to ſuffer any one of their Members to be queſtioned, till themſelves had conſidered of his Crimes. By which means they kept themſelves cloſe together, and emboldened one another to ſtand it out againſt the King to the very laſt. And of this *Maxim*, as they made uſe in this preſent Parliament, in the Caſe of *Coke*, *Turner*, *Diggs*, and *Eliot* (which two laſt had been impriſoned by the Kings Command) ſo was it more violently and pertinaciouſly inſiſted on in the caſe of the Five Members, impeach'd of High Treaſon by the Kings Atturney, *January* 14. 1641. the miſerable effects whereof we find too ſenſibly. And as for their proſecuting of the Duke, the Commons might very well pretend, that they had and ſhould do nothing in it, for which as well his Majeſty as the Duke himſelf, had not given encouragement. They had both joined together againſt *Cranfield* the late Lord Treaſurer, and to revenge themſelves on him, had turned him over to the power and malice of his Enemies in the Houſe of Commons. The Commons had ſerved their turns on *Cranfield*, and will now ſerve their own turns on the Duke himſelf, let the King do the beſt he could to preſerve him from them. So unſafe a thing it is for Princes " to deliver any of their Servants into the hands of their People, and " putting a Power out of themſelves, which they cannot call back again " when it moſt concerns them.

At the ſame time the Earl of *Briſtol*, being charged with Treaſon by the Duke, exhibited againſt him certain Articles in the Houſe of Peers, in which he accuſed him of the like Crime, in reference to his Actings in the *Spaniſh* buſineſs. This made good ſport amongſt the Commons for a time; but at laſt fearing either the Weakneſs of *Briſtol*'s Charge, or the inſufficiency of his Proofs, they reſolved to follow their own way; and to that end a large Impeachment was drawn up againſt him, and preſented to the Lords on the eighth of *May*, managed by ſix of the ableſt Lawyers in the Houſe, that is to ſay, *Glanvill*, *Herbert*, *Shelden*, *Pym*, *Wansford*, and *Sherland*; the Prologue made by Sir *Dudly Diggs*, and the Epilogue by Sir *John Eliot*. The principal Branches of this Impeachment related to his engroſſing of Offices, his buying the Places of Lord *Admiral*, and Lord *Warden* of the *Cinque Ports*; His not guarding the Seas; His ſtay of a Ship called the St. *Peter* of *Newhaven*, and of the *Eaſt-India* Fleet; Lending his Majeſties Ship called the *Vantgard* to the *French* King, which the *French* King employed againſt *Rochel*; his ſelling of Honours and Offices; procuring Honours for his Kindred; his diminiſhing the Revenues of the Crown;

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626. and his applying Phyſick to King *James* in the time of his Sickneſs. To every one of theſe there was returned in Writing a particular Anſwer by the Duke himſelf: "And then addreſſing his Diſcourſe "unto the Peers, he humbly referred it to their Judgment, how full "of danger and prejudice it was, to give too ready an ear, and too "eaſie a belief unto a Report or Teſtimony without Oath, which are "not of weight enough to condemn any. With like humility he ac-"knowledged, how eaſie a thing it was for him in his younger years, "and unexperienced, to fall into thouſands of Errors, in theſe ten "years wherein he had the honour to ſerve ſo great and ſo open-"hearted a Sovereign Maſter. But ſtill he hoped the fear of God, "his ſincerity in the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *Eng-*"*land* (though accompanied with many weakneſſes and imperfecti-"ons, which he is not aſhamed humbly and heartily to confeſs) his "carefulneſs not willingly to offend ſo good and gracious a Maſter, "and his love and duty to his Country, had reſtrained and preſerved "him from running into any hainous miſdemeanours and crimes. Which ſaid, and having craved the benefit of two ſeveral Pardons, the one granted in the laſt Parliament of King *James*, the other at the Coronation of King *Charles*, he added, "That he could not chuſe but "hope ſo much in their Lordſhips Juſtice and Honour, that they would "acquit him of and from thoſe Miſdemeanors, Offences, Miſpriſions, "and Crimes wherewith he had been charged; and for his own part, "he both hoped and would daily pray, that for the future he might ſo "watch over all his Actions, both publick and private, as not to give "cauſe of juſt offence to any perſon.

Of theſe Proceedings his Majeſty was exceeding ſenſible: He ſaw himſelf wounded through the Dukes ſides; that his Fathers Favours and his own were the greateſt Crimes of which the Duke had been impeached; and, That their Regal Authority, in beſtowing Offices and Honours on whom they pleaſed, was not only queſtioned, but controlled. With which diſturbances being very much perplex'd and troubled, he receives a Letter written to him from an unknown Perſon, in which he firſt met with a Recital of the ſeveral Intereſts and Affections which were united in this Proſecution againſt the Duke: and after that this Application to himſelf, and his own Concernments, *viz.* "Theſe men (ſaith the Writer of the Letter) either cannot or "will not remember, that never any Nobleman in favour with his So-"vereign, was queſtioned in Parliament, except by the King himſelf "in caſe of Treaſon, or unleſs it were in the nonage and tumultuary "times of *Richard* the Second, *Henry* vi. or *Edward* vi. which happed "to the deſtruction both of King and Kingdom. And that not to ex-"ceed our own and Fathers Memory, in King *Henry* viii. his time, "*Wolſeys* exorbitant Power and Pride, and *Cromwels* contempt of the "Nobility and the Laws, were not yet permitted to be diſcuſſed "in Parliament, though they were moſt odious and grievous to all "the Kingdom: And that *Leiceſters* undeſerved favour and Faults, "*Hattons* inſufficiency, and *Raleighs* Inſolencies, far exceeded what "yet hath been objected againſt the Duke; yet no Lawyer durſt abet, "nor

Cabal.

"nor any man elſe begin any Invectives againſt them in Parliament. LIB. II.
And then he adds (ſome other Paſſages intervening) "That it be- *Anno Dom.*
"hoves his Majeſty to uphold the Duke againſt them, who if he be but 1626.
"diſcourted, it will be the Corner-ſtone on which the demoliſhing of
"his Monarchy will be builded: For if they prevail with this, they
"have hatched a thouſand other Demands to pull the Feathers of the
"Royalty; they will appoint him Counſellors, Servants, Alliances,
"Limits of his Expences, Accounts of his Revenue; chiefly, if they
"can (as they mainly deſire) they will now dazle him in the begin-
"ing of his Reign. How true a Prophet this man proved, the event hath ſhewed, and the King ſaw it well enough; and therefore ſince he could not divert them from that purſuit, on the 15th of *June* he diſſolved the Parliament.

I have been the more punctual and particular in relating theſe Proceedings of the Commons againſt the Duke, by reaſon of that Influence which *Laud* either had, or is reported to have had, in managing his Cauſe againſt them. For firſt it is affirmed by the Publiſher of this Biſhops *Breviate*, That the Copy of the Kings Speech made in behalf of the Duke, *March* 29. was of *Lauds* enditing; and, That the Original Copy thereof under his own hand was given in evidence againſt him at the time of Trial. *Breviate*, p. 7. Secondly, That he likewiſe penned the Kings Speech to the Houſe of Peers, touching the Duke and the Commitment of the Earl of *Arundel*, *May* 11th. In which he ſpake concerning the preſervation of the Honour of Noblemen, againſt the vile and deteſtable Calumnies of thoſe of the Lower Houſe, by whom the Duke had been accuſed, as before was ſaid. Moſt grievous Crimes indeed, if they had been true; for a Subject to aſſiſt his Prince, and a Servant to be aiding to his Maſter, in penning a ſhort ſpeech or two, when either the preſſure of Affairs, or perplexities of mind might require it of him. But for the truth of this there is no proof offered, but that the Copies of both Speeches (the *Original Copies*; as he calls them) Pa. 8. were found in the Archbiſhops Study, as probably they might have been in the Studies of many other men, if they had been ſearched; For who can rationally ſuppoſe, That his Majeſty, who was the Maſter of ſuch a pure and elegant Style, as he declared himſelf to be in his Diſcourſe with *Henderſon* at *Newcaſtle*, and his Divine *Eſſays* made in Priſon, when he could have no other helps but what he found in himſelf, ſhould ſtand in need of the Expreſſions of another man in matters of ſo great concernment? Or if it be to be ſuppoſed, it makes exceedingly to the honour and commendation of this our Biſhop, as well in point of Secrecy as unfeigned Fidelity, that his Majeſty ſhould pick out him from all other men, to be his Pen-man or Chief Secretary in ſuch weighty buſineſſes. Then again, it is affirmed, That he not only corrected and amended the Dukes Anſwer to the Impeachment which was made againſt him by the Commons, but that he alſo penned that Speech which the Duke ſubjoyned unto his Anſwer: A Crime of the ſame nature, and proved by the ſame *Mediums* as the others were; and ſuch as rather might have ſerved for a ſtrong aſſurance both of his honeſt Fidelity to his Friend & Patron, and

the

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Hist. King *Charls*, p. 50.

Thus have we brought two Parliaments unto an end; but we hear nothing of the *Convocations* which were summoned with them. Nothing indeed of the first Convocation, but the passing of a Grant for three Subsidies, toward the Advancement of his Majesties Service. In the second we find something more, though no Subsidies are granted in it. On the fifth *Sunday* in *Lent*, *Goodman* then Bishop of *Glocester* Preach'd before his Majesty, and press'd so hard upon the Point of the *Real Presence*, that he was supposed to trench too near the borders of Popery, which raised a great clamour both in Court and Country: The matter of which Sermon was agitated *pro* and *con* in the *Convocation*, *March* 29. without determining any thing on either side. But his Majesty out of a desire to satisfie both himself and his Houses of Parliament, touching that particular, referred the consideration of it to *Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Laud* Bishop of Saint *Davids*; who meeting and considering of it, on the twelfth of *April*, returned this Answer to the King; *That some things in that Sermon had been spoke less warily, but nothing falsly; That nothing had been innovated by him in the Doctrine of the Church of* England: *But howsoever, That they thought very fit that* Goodman *should be appointed to Preach again before his Majesty, for the better explaining of his meaning, and shewing how and in what Particulars he had been mistaken by his Auditors:* Which he accordingly performed. But nothing was of such concernment to a Convocation, as the cause of *Mountague*, vexed and molested by the Commons in both the Parliaments, for supposed *Popery* and *Arminianism*, matters meerly Doctrinal: And possibly it may be admired, that they should do nothing in a matter of their own *peculiar*, having his Majesty to Friend; for it appears in the Letter of the three Bishops before-mentioned, to the Duke of *Buckingham*, *That his Majesty had taken that business into his own care, and had most worthily referred it in a right course to Church-consideration.* And it appears also by the *Breviate*, *pag.* 8. That on *Sunday*, *April* 22. of this present year, his Majesty had commanded all the Bishops to come before him, and reprehended such as came (being fourteen in number) for being silent in Causes which concerned the Church, and had not made known unto him what might be profitable or unprofitable for it, the Cause whereof he was so ready to promote. But then we are to call to mind, that *Laud* not long since had been sent by the Duke of *Buckingham* to consult with *Andrews*, and learn of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cause of the Church, and more especially in the Five Articles, so hotly agitated between the *Remonstrants* and *Contra-Remonstrants* in the *Belgick* Provinces. And it appears by the event, that *Andrews* did not hold it

Ch. Hist. lib. 2.

Breviate.

fit

fit for any thing to be done in that particular, as the caſe then ſtood; the truth in thoſe Opinions not being ſo generally entertained amongſt the Clergy, nor the Archbiſhop and the greater part of the Prelates ſo inclinable to them, as to venture the determining of thoſe Points to a *Convocation*. LIB. II. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

But that which was not thought fit in that preſent Conjuncture for a *Convocation*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to take order in by his *Royal Edict*. Many Books had been written againſt *Mountague* by *Carleton* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Sutcliffe* Dean of *Exeter*, *Tates* and *Rouſe*; by which the differences were rather increaſed than diminiſhed. Which coming to his Majeſties notice, it pleaſed him by the advice of his Biſhops, to ſignifie by his Proclamation of *June* 14. "Not only to his own Peo-
"ple, but to all the World, his utter diſlike of all thoſe, who to ſhew
"the ſubtilty of their Wits, or to pleaſe their own Humours, or vent
"their own Paſſions, do or ſhall adventure to ſtir or move any new
"Opinions, not only contrary but differing from the ſound and *Or-*
"*thodoxal* Grounds of the true Religion, ſincerely Profeſſed and
"happily Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; and alſo to declare
"his full and conſtant Reſolution, that neither in matter of Doctrine
"nor Diſcipline of the Church, nor in the Government of the State,
"he will admit of the leaſt *Innovation*; but by Gods aſſiſtance will ſo
"guide the Scepter of theſe his Kingdoms and Dominions (by the
"Divine Providence put into his hand) as ſhall be for the comfort
"and aſſurance of his ſober, Religious, and well-affected Subjects, and
"for the repreſſing and ſevere puniſhing of ſuch as out of any ſiniſter
"reſpects, or diſ-affection to his Perſon or Government, ſhall dare
"either in Church or State to diſtract or diſquiet the Peace thereof.
"His Majeſty thereupon commands all his Subjects (the Clergy moſt
"eſpecially) both in *England* and *Ireland*, That from thenceforth
"they ſhould carry themſelves ſo wiſely, warily, and conſcionably,
"that neither by Writing, Preaching, Printing, Conferences, or o-
"therwiſe, they raiſe any doubts, or publiſh or maintain any new In-
"ventions or Opinions concerning Religion, than ſuch as are clearly
"grounded and warranted by the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the
"Church of *England* heretofore publiſhed, and happily eſtabliſhed by
"Authority: Straightly charging all Archbiſhops and Biſhops in
"their ſeveral Dioceſſes, as alſo Counſellors of State, Judges, and
"Miniſters of Juſtice, ſpeedily to reclaim and repreſs all ſuch Spirits
"as ſhall adventure hereafter to break this Rule of Sobriety, and
"due Obedience to his Majeſty, his Laws, and this Religious Duty
"to the Church of God, or in the leaſt degree attempt to violate
"this bond of Peace; adding withal this intimation of his Royal
"Pleaſure, That whoſoever from thenceforth ſhould take the bold-
"neſs wilfully to neglect this his Majeſties gracious Admonition, and
"either for the ſatisfying of their unquiet and reſtleſs Spirits, or for ex-
"preſſing of their raſh and undutiful Inſolencies, ſhould wilfully break
"that Circle of Order, which without apparent danger both to
"Church and State may not be broken, his Majeſty will proceed a-
"gainſt them with that ſeverity as upon due conſideration had of
"their

Bib. Regia, ſect. 3. p. 1.

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" their Offences and Contempts, they and every one of them ſhould " deſerve, *&c.*

Such was the tenor of his Majeſties Proclamation of *June* 14. And the effect thereof was this. The Houſe of Commons in purſuance of their Quarrel againſt *Mountague*'s Books, had referred the conſideration of it to their Committee for Religion, from whom *Pym* brought a Report on the eighteenth of *April*, concerning ſome *Arminian* and *Popiſh* Tenents compriſed in them. It was thereupon Voted in that Houſe, 1. *That he had diſturbed the Peace of the Church, by publiſhing Doctrines contrary to the Articles of the Church of* England, *and the Book of* Homilies. 2. *That there are divers Paſſages in his Book (eſpecially againſt thoſe he calleth* Puritans) *apt to move Sedition betwixt the King and his Subjects, and between Subject and Subject.* 3. *That the whole frame and ſcope of his Books is to diſcourage the well-affected in Religion, from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church, and to encline them, and as much as in him lay, to reconcile them to* POPERY. This gave great animation to the oppoſite Party, who thought it a high point of Wiſdom to aſſault the man whom they perceived to have been ſmitten with this terrible Thunder-bolt, and not to loſe the opportunity of a Parliament-time (when the Preſs is open to all comers) for publiſhing their Books againſt him. Some of them we have named already; beſides which there appeared ſo many in the Liſt againſt him, *viz. Goad, Featly, Ward, Wotton, Prynne*, and *Burton*, that the Encounter ſeemed to be betwixt a whole Army and a ſingle Perſon. (a) *Laud* and ſome of thoſe Biſhops on the other ſide, incouraged by his Majeſties Proclamation, endeavoured to ſuppreſs thoſe Books, which ſeemed to have been publiſhed in defiance of it; ſome of them being called in, ſome ſtopped at the Preſs; ſome Printers queſtioned for Printing, as the Authors were for writing ſuch prohibited Pamphlets. *Burton* and *Prynne* amongſt the reſt were called into the *High-Commiſſion*, and at the point to have been cenſured, when a *Prohibition* comes from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to ſtay the Proceedings in that Court, contrary to his Majeſties Will and Pleaſure, expreſſed ſo clearly and diſtinctly in the ſaid Proclamation: Which *Prohibition* they tendred to the Court in ſo rude a manner, that *Laud* was like to have laid them by the heels for their labour. From henceforth we muſt look for nothing from both theſe *hot-ſpurs* but deſire of revenge, a violent oppoſition againſt all Perſons whatſoever, who did not look the ſame way with them, and whatſoever elſe an ill-governed *Zeal* could excite them to.

(a) *Parque novum fortuna videt concurrere bellum, atque virum.* Lucan.

And now being fallen upon theſe men, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of them in this place, conſidering how much they exerciſed the patience of the Church and State in the Times ſucceeding. *Burton* had been a Servant in the Cloſet to his Sacred Majeſty when he was Prince of *Wales*; and being once in the *Aſcendant*, preſumed that he ſhould *culminate* before his time. He took it very ill that he was not ſent as one of the Chaplains into *Spain* when the Prince was there; but worſe, that *Laud* then Biſhop of Saint *Davids*, ſhould execute the Office of *Clerk of the Cloſet* at ſuch time as Biſhop *Neil* was ſick, and he be

be looked on no otherwiſe than as an underling ſtill. Vexed with that Indignity, as he then conceived it, he puts a ſcandalous Paper into the hands of the King, for which, and for ſome other Inſolencies and factious carriage, he was commanded by him to depart the Court; into which being never able to ſet foot again, he breathed nothing but rage and malice againſt his Majeſty, the Biſhops, and all that were in place above him, and ſo continued till the laſt; it being the cuſtom of all thoſe whom the Court *caſts out*, to labour by all means they can to *out-caſt* the Court. *Prynne* lived ſometimes a Commoner of *Oriall* Colledge, and afterwards entred himſelf a Student in *Lincolns-Inn*, where he became a great follower of *Preſton*, then the Lecturer there: Some parts of Learning he brought with him, which afterwards he improved by continual Study; and being found to be of an enterpriſing nature, hot-ſpirited, and eager in purſuit of any thing which was put into him, he was looked upon by *Preſton* as the fitteſt perſon to venture upon ſuch Exploits, which a more ſober and conſiderate man durſt not have appeared in. Being once put into the road, it was not poſſible to get him out of it again by threats or puniſhments; till growing weary of himſelf, when he had no Enemy in a manner to encounter with, he began to look up at the laſt, and ſetled on more moderate and quiet courſes, becoming in the end a happy Inſtrument of Peace both to Church and State. And now I am fallen on *Preſton* alſo, I ſhall add ſomething of him too, as being a man which made much noiſe in the World about this time. A man he was (beyond all queſtion) of a ſhrewd Wit and deep Comprehenſions; an excellent Maſter in the Art of Inſinuation, and one who for a long time ſate at the Helm, and ſteared the Courſe of his Party, as one well obſerveth. Toward the latter end of the Reign of King *James* he was brought into the Court by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in hope to gain a Party by him: There he was gazed on for a time, like a new *Court-Meteor*; and having flaſhed and blazed a little, went out again, and was forgotten, in caſe he did not leave, as moſt *Meteors* do, an ill ſmell behind him. Much was he cried up by his Followers in the Univerſity, City, and all places elſe, as if he might have choſen his own *Mitre*, and had been as likely a man as any to have been truſted with the Great Seal in the place of *Williams*: But he was not principled for the Court, nor the Court for him; For long he had not been in that School of Policy, but he found other men as wiſe and cunning as himſelf, and that he could not govern there with ſuch an abſolute *Omni-regency*, as he had done in the Families of private Gentlemen in moſt parts of the Kingdom. Nor was it long before the Duke began to have ſome ſuſpicion of him, as one not to be truſted in his Majeſties Service, when it ſeemed any way to croſs with the *Puritan* Intereſt, which he drove on with ſo much openneſs in the Court, as was not proper for a man of ſo famed a cunning. But that which loſt him at the laſt, was a Letter by him written to a great Peer of the Realm, in which he ſpake diſadvantageouſly enough, if not reproachfully of the Court; and ſignified withal how little hope there was of doing any good in that place, for the advancement of the Cauſe. Which Letter, or a Copy of it, being unluckily

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Ch. Hiſt. lib. 10.

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THE

THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. III.

Extending from his being made Biſhop of Bath *and* Wells *till his coming to the See of* Canterbury.

IT hapned during the Sitting of the late Parliament, that Doctor *Arthur Lake* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, a man of great Learning and exemplary Piety, departed this Life; into whoſe Place his Majeſty on the twentieth of *June* nominates our Biſhop of St. *Davids*: In purſuance of which Nomination, his Majeſty on the 26th. of *July* Signed the Writ of *Conge d'eſlire* to the *Dean* and *Chapter*, warranting them thereby to proceed to a new Election; and therewith ſent his Letters Miſſive (according to the uſual Cuſtom) in behalf of *Laud*. On *Wedneſday*, *Auguſt* the 16th. they Elect him Biſhop of that See; and on *September* 18. their Election is confirmed in due form of Law; His Majeſty on the morrow after, reſtoring the Temporalties of that Biſhroprick from the time of his Predeceſſors death. And now he is actually poſſeſſed not only of the Juriſdiction, but of the Rents, Profits, and Emergencies belonging to a Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; a double Title, but relating to a ſingle Dioceſs, and that Dioceſs confined to the County of *Somerſet*. The Biſhops ſeat originally at *Wells*, where it ſtill continues, and in reſpect whereof *Anno Dom.* 1626.

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this Church is called in ſome Writers, *Fontanenſis Eccleſia.* The ſtile of *Bath* came in but upon the by. The Church of *Wells* firſt built by *Ina* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, *Anno* 704. and by him dedicated to St. *Andrew*, after endowed by *Kenulfe* another King of the ſame people, *Anno* 766. and finally made a Biſhops See in the time of *Edward* the elder, *Anno* 905. The firſt that bore that title being *Adelmus*, before Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*. The preſent Church in place where that of *Ina* had ſtood before, was built moſt part of it by Biſhop *Robert*, the eighteenth Biſhop of this See, but finiſhed and perfected by Biſhop *Joceline* Sirnamed *d' Wellis*. *Johannes d' Villula*, the ſixteenth Biſhop, having bought the Town of *Bath* of King *Henry* the Firſt for five hundred Marks, transferred his Seat unto that City 1088. Hence grew a jar betwixt the Monks of *Bath* and the Canons of *Wells* about the Election of the Biſhop. At laſt the difference was thus compoſed by that Biſhop *Robert*, whom before I ſpake of, that from thenceforward the Biſhop ſhould be denominated from both places, and the precedency in the Style ſhould be given to *Bath*; that on the vacancy of the See, a certain number of Delegates from both Churches ſhould elect their *Prelate*, who being elected ſhould be inſtalled in them both; both of them to be reckoned as the Biſhops Chapter, and all his Grants and Patents confirmed in both. And ſo it ſtood until the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. at what time the Monaſtery of *Bath* being diſſolved, there paſſed an Act of Parliament for the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *Wells* to make one ſole *Chapter* to the Biſhop, 35 *Hen.* 8. *C.* 15.

To welcome him to this new honour his *Majeſty* commanded him to draw up certain *Inſtructions* to be communicated to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of this Realm upon this occaſion. The late Parliament being diſſolved without acting any thing in order to his Majeſties Service, he was neceſſitated by the urgency of his affairs to try his Fortune on the Subject in the way of *Loan*, which ſeemed to have ſome Regality in it; For whereas the Parliament had paſſed a Bill of three Subſidies and three fifteens, and that the ſaid Parliament was diſſolved before the Bill paſſed into an Act, his Majeſty was adviſed that he had good grounds to require thoſe Subſidies of the Subjects which the Houſe of Commons in their names had aſſented to, and yet not to require them by the name of Subſidies, but only in the way of *Loan*, till the next Parliament ſhould enable him to make payment of it, or confirm his levying of thoſe monies by a ſubſequent Act. The Sum required to be raiſed was 173411 pound, which was conceived to equal the three Subſidies, which had been voted for him in the Houſe of Commons, though it never paſſed into an Act: or otherwiſe to make up that Sum which the preſent neceſſity of ſetting out his Fleet required. He had before pawned the Plate and Jewels of the Crown, and ſold as much Land to the City of *London*, (which would neither lend *gratis*, nor take thoſe Lands in way of *Mortgage*) as brought in 120000 pound upon eaſie purchaſes. All which he was ready to expend, or had before expended on the publick ſafety. But that not being able to make ſuch neceſſary proviſions as were required, both to ſecure himſelf at home, and ſuc-

cour

cour his Confederates and Allies abroad, he was forced to fall upon this courſe. To which end he iſſues out his Letters of *Commiſſion*, bearing date the thirteenth of *October*, directed to certain Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen in their ſeveral Counties. In which they were required to acquaint the People, that his dear Uncle the King of *Denmark* was brought into great diſtreſs; That without preſent ſuccour the *Sound* would be loſt, his Garriſon in *Stoade* broken by the Emperours Forces, (which then ſtraightly beſieged it;) the *Eaſtland* Trade (which maintains our Shipping) and the Staple of *Hamborough* (which vents our Cloth) would both be gotten from him; As alſo that the two great Kings of *Spain* and *France*, together with the Pope, were joyned to rout out our Religion; That their Admirals, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and *Don Frederick de Toledo*, were at that preſent before *Rochel*, endeavouring to block it up; And that they have ſtore of Land-men ready on the Coaſt of *Britain*, with them and other Forces to invade us. Upon which grounds they were required by all plauſible and powerful means to perſwade the People to pay the Taxes ſeverally impoſed upon them; with many other directions tending to advance the Service.

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It was obſerved of Queen *Elizabeth*, that when ſhe had any buſineſs to bring about amongſt the people, ſhe uſed to *tune the Pulpits*, as her ſaying was; that is to ſay, to have ſome Preachers in and about *London*, and other great Auditories in the Kingdom, ready at command to cry up her deſign, as well in their publick Sermons as their private Conferences: Which courſe was now thought fit to be followed in preparing the people toward a dutiful compliance to theſe his Majeſties deſires. And to that end *Laud* received a Command from his Majeſty by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to reduce certain inſtructions into Form, partly *Political*, partly *Eccleſiaſtical*, in the Cauſe of the King of *Denmark*, not long before beaten, and now much diſtreſſed by Count *Tilly*, to be publiſhed in all Pariſhes within the Realm. To this he chearfully conformed, and brought the ſaid Inſtructions to the Duke within two days after, being the ſixteenth of *September*. And having read them over firſt to the Duke, and after to the King himſelf, he received from both a very favourable acceptation. On the next day they were communicated to the Lords of the Council, who approved them alſo. By whoſe advice he ſent them to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, requiring him by his Letters, bearing date *September* 29. to ſee them publiſhed and diſperſed in the ſeveral Dioceſſes of his Province. The like Letters he alſo writ to the Archbiſhop of *York*; And they accordingly gave order to their ſeveral and reſpective *Suffragans*, "To ſee them made known to the worthy Preachers and "Miniſters in their Dioceſs, and ſo far as their Lordſhips might in their "own perſons, to put theſe things in execution, and to call upon the "Clergy which was under them, in their Preachings and private Con"ferences to ſtir up all ſorts of people to expreſs their Zeal to God, "their Duty to the King, and their Love unto their Country, and one "to another; that all good and Chriſtian-like courſe might be "taken for the preſervation of true Religion both in this Land, and through

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through all Christendom. Now the tenour of the said *Instructions* was as followeth:

Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved Counsellour, We greet you well.

WE have observed that the Church and the State are so nearly united and knit together, that though they may seem two bodies, yet indeed in some relation they may be accounted but as one, inasmuch as they both are made up of the same men, which are differenced only in relation to Spiritual or Civil ends. This nearness makes the Church call in the help of the State, to succour and support her, whensoever she is pressed beyond her strength: And the same nearness makes the State call in for the service of the Church, both to teach that duty which her members know not, and to exhort them to, and encourage them in that duty which they know. It is not long since we ordered the State to serve the Church, and by a timely Proclamation setled the peace of it: And now the State looks for the like assistance from the Church, that she and all her Ministers may serve God and us, by preaching peace and unity at home, that it may be the better able to resist Foreign Force uniting and multiplying against it. And to the end that they to whom we have committed the Government of the Church under us, may be the better able to dispose of the present occasions, we have, with the Advice of our Council, thought fit to send unto you these Instructions following, to be sent by you to the Bishops of your Province, and such others whom it may concern, and by them and all their Officers directed to all the Ministers throughout the several Dioceses, that according to these punctually they may instruct and exhort the People to serve God and us, and labour by their Prayers to divert the dangers which hang over us. The danger in which we are at this time is great. It is encreased by the late blow given our good Uncle the King of Denmark, *who is the chief Person in those parts that opposed the spreading Forces of* Spain. *If he cannot subsist, there is little or nothing left to hinder the house of* Austria *from being Lord and Master of* Germany: *And that is a large and mighty Territory, and such as should it be gotten, would make an open way for* Spain *to do what they pleased in all the West part of Christendom. For besides the great strength which* Germany *once possessed would bring to them, which are too strong already, you are to consider first how it enables them by Land, in that it will joyn all or the most part of the* Spaniards *now distracted Territories, and be a means for him safely and speedily to draw down Forces against any other Kingdom that shall stand in his way. Nor can it be thought the Low Countries can hold out longer against him if he once become Lord of the upper parts. And secondly, You are to weigh how it will advantage him by Sea, and make him strong against us in our particular, which is of easie apprehension to all men. And besides, if he once get* Germany *he will be able, though he had no Gold from* India, *to supply the necessity of those Wars, and to hinder all Trade and Traffick of the greatest staple Commodities of this Kingdom, Cloth and Wool, and so make them of little or no value.*

You are to know therefore that to prevent this, is the present care of the King

King and State, and there is no probable way left but by sending Forces and other Supplies to the said King of Denmark *our dear Uncle, to enable him to keep the Field, that our Enemies be not Masters of all on the sudden. You are further to take notice how both we and the whole State stand bound in Honour and Conscience to supply the present necessity of the King of* Denmark. *For this quarrel is more nearly ours, the recovery of the Ancient Inheritance of our dear Sister and her Children. The King of* Denmark *stands not so near in blood unto her as we do: Yet for her and our sakes that brave and valiant King hath adventured into the field, and in that ingagement hath not only hazarded his Person, but, as things go now, it may turn to some danger to his own Kingdom, and Posterity, should he not receive aid and succour from us without delay: Which should it happen (as God forbid) will be one of the greatest dishonours that ever this Kingdom was stained withall. Nor is danger and dishonour all the mischief that is like to follow this disaster; For if it be not presently relieved, the Cause of Religion is not only likely to suffer by it in some one part (as it hath already in a fearful manner in the* Palatinate) *but in all places where it hath gotten any footing. So that if we supply not presently our Allies and Confederates in this case, it is like to prove the extirpation of true Religion, and the re-planting of* Romish *Superstition in all the neighbouring parts of Christendom. And the coldness of this State shall suffer in all places as the betrayer of that Religion elsewhere, which it professeth and honoureth at home, which will be an imputation never to be washed off. And God forbid this State should suffer under it.*

Neither may you forget rightly to inform the People committed to your charge, that this War which now grows full of danger, was not entred upon rashly and without advice, but you are to acquaint them, that all former Treaties by a peaceable way were in the latter end of our dear Father of ever blessed memory dissolved as fruitless, and unfit to be longer held on foot; And this by the Counsel of both Houses of Parliament then sitting: so those two great and honourable Bodies of Peers and People represented in Parliament led on this Counsel and course to a War with Spain. *To effect this, they desired our aid and assistance, and used us to work our said dear Father to entertain this course. This upon their perswasions, and Promises of all Assistance and Supply, we readily undertook and effected, and cannot now be left in that business, but with the sin and shame of all men. Sin, because aid and supply for the defence of the Kingdom, and the like Affairs of State, especially such as are advised and assumed by Parliamentary Council, are due to the King from his People, by all Law both of God and Men: And shame, if they forsake the King, while he pursues their own Counsel, just and honourable, and which could not under God but have been as successful, if it had been followed and supplyed in time, as we desired and laboured for. One thing there is which proves a great hinderance of this State, and not continued among the People, without great offence against God, detriment both to Church and State, and our great disservice in this and all other Business. It is breach of* Unity, *which is grown too great and common amongst all sorts of men. The danger of this goes far; for in all States it hath made way for Enemies to enter. We have by all means endeavoured Union, and require of you to Preach it, and Charity the*

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the Mother of it, frequently in the ears of the People. We know their Loyal hearts, and therefore wonder the more what ſhould cauſe diſtracted Affections. If you call upon them (which is your duty) we doubt not but that God will bleſs them with that Love to himſelf, to his Church, and their own Preſervation, which alone will be able to bind up the ſcatterings of divided Affections into Strength. To this end you are to lay before them what Miſeries Home-diviſions have brought upon this and many other Kingdoms, and to exhort all men to embrace it in time. The Danger it ſelf, beſides all other Chriſtian and Prudent Motives, is of force enough (where it is duly conſidered) to make men joyn in all amity againſt a common Enemy, a great and growing Enemy: And to do it in time, before any ſecret and cunning working of his may uſe one part in a diviſion to weaken the other.

And in the laſt place (but firſt and laſt and all times to be inſiſted on) you are to call upon God your ſelves, and to incite the People to join with you in humble and hearty Prayers unto God, That he would be pleaſed now, after long affliction of his dear People and Children, to look in mercy both upon them and us, and in particular for the Safety of the King of Denmark, *and that Army which is left him, That God would bleſs and proſper him againſt his and our Enemies. Thus you are to ſtrengthen the hearts and hopes of our Loyal Subjects and People, in and upon God. And whereas the greateſt confidence men have in God, ariſeth not only from his Promiſes, but from their experience likewiſe of his Goodneſs, you muſt not fail often to recall to the memory of the People, with thankfulneſs, the late great Experience we have had of his Goodneſs towards us: For the three great and uſual Judgments, which he darts down upon diſobedient and unthankful People, are* Peſtilence, Famine, *and the* Sword. *The* Peſtilence *did never rage more in this Kingdom than of late; and God was graciouſly pleaſed in mercy to hear the Prayers which were made unto him, and the ceaſing of the Judgment was little leſs then a Miracle. The* Famine *threatned us this preſent year; and it muſt have followed, had God rained down his Anger a little longer upon the Fruits of the Earth: But upon our Prayers he ſtayed that Judgment, and ſent us a bleſſed Seaſon, and a moſt plentiful Harveſt. The* Sword *is the thing which we are now to look to; and you muſt call the People to their Prayers again, againſt that Enemy, That God will be pleaſed to ſend the like deliverance from this Judgment alſo; That in the ſame Mercy he will vouchſafe to ſtrengthen the hands of his People; That he will ſharpen their Sword, but dull and turn the edge of that which is in our Enemies hands; that ſo while ſome Fight, others may Pray for the Bleſſing. And you are to be careful that you fail not to direct and hearten our Loving People in this and all other neceſſary Services, both of God, his Church, and Us: That we may have the comfort of our Peoples Service; the State, Safety; the Church, Religion; and the People, the enjoying of all ſuch Bleſſings as follow theſe. And we end with doubling this Care upon you, and all under you in their ſeveral Places.*

Given at our Palace at *Weſtminſter* in the Second year of our Reign, *September* 21. 1626.

Such

Such were the *Inſtructions* iſſued by his Majeſties Command, in the preſent exigent. The dexterous performance of which Service, as it raiſed *Laud* higher in his Majeſties good Opinion of him, than before he was: ſo was it recompenſed with a Place of greater neerneſs to him, than before he had. For on that very day which gives date to the ſaid *Inſtructions*, the moſt Learned and Reverend Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Winton*, and Dean of his Majeſties Chappel-Royal, departed this Life at his *Epiſcopal* Houſe in *Southwark*; whoſe Funerals were ſolemnized in St. *Saviours* Church on the eleventh day of *November* following, *Buckeridge* then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, beſtowing his laſt duty on him in a Funeral Sermon. A man he was of ſuch extraordinary Abilities, that I ſhall rather chuſe to expreſs his Character by the Pen of others, than my own. Thus then ſays own of our late Hiſtorians: "This year we loſt the ſtupendiouſly profound Prelate Doctor *An-* "*drews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, an excellent Diſputant, in the Oriental "Tongues ſurpaſſing knowing; ſo ſtudiouſly devoted to the Do- "ctrine of the Ancient Fathers, as his extant Works breathe nothing "but their Faith; nor can we now read the Fathers, more than we "ſhould have done in his very Aſpect, Geſture, and Actions; ſo ve- "nerable in his Preſence, ſo grave in his Motions, ſo pious in his "Converſation, ſo primitive in all. Another goes a little further, and tells us of him, "That the World wanted Learning to know how "Learned he was; ſo ſkill'd in all (eſpecially Oriental Languages) "that ſome conceive he might (if then living) almoſt have ſerved as "an *Interpreter-General* at the *Confuſion of Tongues*. In his life time he only publiſhed two Books in *Latin*, *viz.* His *Apologie* againſt Cardinal *Bellarmine*, and that which he called *Tortura Torti*, in behalf of King *James*; and a ſmall Tract entituled, *Determinatio Theologica, de jure-jurando exigendo*, *quarto*, Printed at *London*, 1593. And in *Engliſh* nothing but a ſmall Volume of Sermons, which he acknowledged for his own. The Book of *Catechetical Doctrine*, publiſhed in his life by others, but without his privity and conſent, he always profeſſedly diſavowed, as containing only ſome imperfect Collections, which had been taken from his mouth by ſome ignorant hand, when he was Reader of the *Catechiſm Lecture* in *Pembroke Hall*. But after his deceaſe, ninety ſix of his Sermons were collected with great care and induſtry, publiſhed in Print, and dedicated to his Sacred Majeſty by *Laud* then Biſhop of *London*, and *Buckeridge* at that time Biſhop of *Ely*, 1628. For *Felton* of *Ely* dying the year before, *Buckeridge* had been tranſlated thither by the Power & Favour of that his dear Friend and *quondam* Pupil, *Curle* Dean of *Litchfield*, and one of the *Reſidentiaries* of *Salisbury*, ſucceeding after his Tranſlation in the See of *Rocheſter*. By the ſame hands ſome other Pieces of his, both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, were very carefully drawn together, and publiſhed with the like dedication to his Sacred Majeſty, *Anno* 1629. He that deſires to hear more of him, let him firſt conſult the Funeral Sermon before mentioned, extant at the end of the great Volume of his Sermons; and afterwards peruſe his Epitaph in the Church of St. *Maries Over-rhe*, tranſcribed in *Stows* Survey of *London* of the laſt Edition. After his

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1626.

Hiſt. of K. Ch. by H. L. p. 62.

Ch. Hiſt. B. 11. p. 126.

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1626. death the See of *Winton* was kept vacant till the latter end of the year next following; the profits of it being in the mean time taken up for his Majesties use, and answered into the Exchequer, according to an ancient Custom (but more old than commendable) used frequently by the Kings of *England*, since the time of *William* sirnamed *Rufus*, from whom it is said to have took beginning.

But the *Deanry* of the Chappel had not been void above nine days, when *Laud* was nominated to it, and was actually admitted into that Office on the sixth day of *October* following, by *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery* Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Houshold, before whom he took the usual and appointed Oath. He had before observed a Custom (as ill though not so old as the other) used in the Court since the first entrance of King *James*. The Custom was, that at what part soever of the Publick Prayers the King came into his Closet (which looked into the Chappel) to hear the Sermon, the Divine Service was cut off, and the Anthem sung, that the Preacher might go into the Pulpit. This the new Dean disliked, as he had good reason, and thereupon humbly moved his Majesty, that he would be present at the *Liturgy*, as well as the Sermon every Lords day; and that at whatsoever part of Prayers he came, the Priest who Ministred should proceed to the end of the Service: To which his Majesty most readily and religiously condescended, and gave him thanks for that his seasonable and pious motion. As for the *Deanry* of the Chappel, it was of long standing in the Court, but had been discontinued from the death of Dr. *George Carew* Dean of *Windsor*, (the Father of *George* Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*, and Earl of *Totnes*) *Anno* 1572. till King *James* his coming to this Crown, at what time *Bancroft*, then Bishop of *London*, conceiving into what dangers the Church was like to run, by the multitude of *Scots* about him, thought it expedient that some Clergy-men of Note and Eminence should be attendant always in and about the Court. And thereupon it was advised, that to the Bishop *Almoner* and the Clerk of the Closet a Dean of the Chappel should be added, to look unto the diligent and due performance of Gods Publick Service, and order matters of the Quire. According to which resolution, Dr. *James Mountague* was recommended to the King for the first Dean of the Chappel in his time: succeeded in that place by *Andrews*, and he now by *Laud*.

1627. But to proceed, Whilest matters went on thus smoothly about the Court, they met with many Rubs in the Country, some of the Preachers did their parts according as they were required by the said *Instructions*, amongst whom *Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackly* in *Northamptonshire*, advanced the Service, in a Sermon Preached by him at the Assizes for that County. *The scope of which Sermon was to justifie the Lawfulness of the general Loan, and of the Kings imposing Taxes by his own Regal Power, without consent in Parliament, and to prove, that the people in point of Conscience and Religion ought chearfully to submit to such Loans and Taxes without any opposition.* The Licensing of which Sermon (when it was offered to the Press) being refused by Archbishop *Abbot*, and some exceptions made against it, the rusing of it was preferred to

Laud,

Land, April 24. 1627, by whom, after ſome qualifications and corrections, it was approved, and after publiſhed by the Author, under the name of *Apoſtolical Obedience*. About the ſame time *Manwaring*, Doctor in Divinity, one of his Majeſties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Vicar of the Pariſh Church of St. *Giles* in the Fields, publiſhed two Sermons of his preaching on the ſame occaſion, the one before the King, the other in the hearing of his own Pariſhioners. Theſe Sermons he entituled by the name of *Religion and Allegiance*, both of them tending to the *juſtification of the lawfulneſs of the Kings impoſing Loans and Taxes on his People without conſent in Parliament; and that the impoſition of ſuch Loans and Taxes did ſo far bind the Conſciences of the Subjects of this Kingdom, that they could not refuſe the payment of them without peril of eternal damnation.* But neither the Doctrine of theſe Preachers, or of any other to that purpoſe, nor the diſtreſs of the King of *Denmark*, nor the miſerable eſtate of *Rochel*, did ſo far prevail amongſt the People; but that the Commiſſioners for the Loan found greater oppoſition in it than they did expect. Many who had been Members in the two former Parliaments oppoſed it with their utmoſt power, and drew a great part of the Subjects, in all Countries ſome, to the like refuſal. For which refuſal ſome Lords, and many of the choice Gentry of the Kingdom, and others of inferiour ſort were committed unto ſeveral Priſons, where they remained till the approach of the following Parliament. Inſomuch that the Court was put upon the neceſſity of ſome further Project. The *Papiſts* would have raiſed a Proviſion for the ſetting forth both of Ships and Men, for the defence of the Narrow Seas, and working on the Kings wants, flattered themſelves with the hope of a Toleration for it. But old Sir *John Savil* of *York-ſhire*, who had been lately taken into his Majeſties Council, had found out a plot worth two of that; conceiving, that a Commiſſion to proceed againſt Recuſants for their thirds, due to his Majeſty by Law, would bring in double the Sum which they had offered. To this the King readily condeſcended, granting him and ſome others a Commiſſion for that purpoſe for the Parts beyond *Trent*; as unto certain Lords and Gentlemen for all other Counties in the Kingdom. By which means, and ſome moneys raiſed upon the *Loan*, there was ſuch a preſent ſtock advanced, that with ſome other helps which his Majeſty had, he was enabled to ſet forth a powerful Fleet, and a conſiderable Land Army for the relief of the *Rochellers*, whoſe quarrel he had undertaken upon this occaſion.

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Cant. Doom. p. 245.

Pag. 83.

Hiſt. King. *Charl.* p. 63.

The Queen at her firſt coming into *England* had brought with her a compleat Family of *French* to attend her here, according to the Capitulations, between the Commiſſioners of both Kings, before the Marriage. But the *French* Prieſts, and ſome of the reſt of her Domeſticks were grown ſo inſolent, and had put ſo many affronts upon his Majeſty, that he was forced to ſend them home within few daies after he had diſſolved the foregoing Parliament. In which he had done no more than what the *French* King had done before him, in ſending back all the *Spaniſh* Courtiers which his Queen brought with her. But the *French* King not looking on his own Example, and knowing

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on what ill terms the King ſtood both at home and abroad, firſt ſeized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the River of *Burdeaux*, and then brake out into open war. So that the King was neceſſitated to make uſe of thoſe Forces againſt the *French* which were deſigned to have been uſed againſt the *Spaniard*, and to comply with the deſires of the *Rochellers*, who humbly ſued for his protection and defence. But the Fleet not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater oppoſition at Sea then they feared from the Land; being encountred with ſtrong Tempeſts, and thereby neceſſitated to return without doing any thing, but only ſhewing the Kings good will and readineſs toward their aſſiſtance. But the next Fleet and the Land-Army before mentioned, being in a readineſs, the Duke of *Buckingham* appeared Commander general for that Service, who hoped thereby to make himſelf of ſome conſideration in the eyes of the People. On the twenty ſeventh of *June* he hoiſed Sails for the Iſle of *Rhe*, which lay before the Port of *Rochel*, and embarred their trade; the taking whereof was the matter aimed at: And he had ſtrength enough both for Sea and Land to have done the work, if he had not followed it more like a Courtier than a Souldier: For having neglected thoſe advantages which the victory at his Landing gave him, he firſt ſuffered himſelf to be complemented out of the taking of their chief Fort, when it was almoſt at his Mercy; and after ſtood unſeaſonably upon point of Honour, in facing thoſe Forces which were ſent from the *French* King to raiſe the Siege, when he might have made a ſafe retreat unto his Ships without loſs or danger. So that well beaten by the *French*, and with great loſs of Reputation among the Engliſh, he came back with the remainder of his broken Forces in *November* following, as dearly welcom to the King as if he had returned with ſucceſs and triumphs.

During the preparations for this unfortunate attempt, on *Sunday* the twenty ninth of *April* it pleaſed his Majeſty to admit the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* for one of the Lords of his moſt honourable Privy Council; An honour which he would not have accepted with ſo great chearfulneſs if his dear Friend, the Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, had not been ſworn at or about the ſame time alſo. So mutually did theſe two Prelates contribute their aſſiſtances to one another, that as *Neile* gave *Laud* his helping hand to bring him firſt into the Court, and plant him in King *James* his favour: So *Laud* made uſe of all advantages in behalf of *Neile* to keep him in favour with King *Charles*, and advance him higher. The Fleet and Forces before mentioned being in a readineſs, and the Duke provided for the Voyage, it was not thought either ſafe or fit that the Duke himſelf ſhould be ſo long abſent, without leaving ſome aſſured Friend about his Majeſty, by whom all practices againſt him might be either prevented or ſuppreſſed, and by whoſe means the Kings affections might be alwaies inflamed towards him; To which end *Laud* is firſt deſired to attend his Majeſty to *Portſmouth*, before which the Navy lay at Anchor, and afterwards to wait the whole Progreſs alſo; the Inconveniences of which journeys he was as willing to undergo as the Duke was willing to deſire it. The Church beſides was at that time in an heavy condition, and opportu-

portunities muſt be watched for keeping her from falling from bad to worſe. No better her condition now in the Realm of *England* than anciently in the Eaſtern Churches, when *Nectarius* ſate as Supream Paſtor in the Chair of *Conſtantinople*; of which thus *Nazianzen* writes unto him; The *Arians* (ſaith he) were grown ſo inſolent, that they made open profeſſion of their Hereſie, as if they had been authorized and licenſed to it; The *Macedonians* ſo preſumptuous, that they were formed into a Sect, and had a Titular Biſhop of their own; The *Apollinarians* held their *Conventicles* with as much ſafety and eſteem as the Orthodox Chriſtians. And for *Eunomius*, the boſom-miſchief of thoſe times, he thought ſo poorly of a general connivence, that at laſt nothing would content him but a toleration. The cauſe of which diſorders he aſcribeth to *Nectarius* only. A man, as the Hiſtorian ſaith of him, of an exceeding fair and plauſible demeanour, and very gracious with the people: one that choſe rather (as it ſeems) to give free way to all mens fancies, and ſuffer every mans proceedings, than draw upon himſelf the envy of a ſtubborn Clergy, and a factious Multitude. Never was Church more like to Church, Biſhop to Biſhop, time to time, (the names of the Sects and Hereſies being only changed) than thoſe of *Conſtantinople* then, and of *England* now. A pregnant evidence, that poſſibly there could not be a greater miſchief in the Church of God than a Popular Prelate.

L. I B. III. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

Greg. Naz. Orat. 46.

Socrat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. c. 8.

This, though his Majeſty might not know, yet the Biſhops which were about him did, who therefore had but ill diſcharged their duty both to God and man, if they had not made his Majeſty acquainted with it; he could not chuſe but ſee by the practices and proceedings of the former Parliaments to what a prevalency the Puritans were grown in all parts of the Kingdom; and how incompatible that humour was with the Regal intereſt. There was no need to tell him from what fountain the miſchief came, how much the Popularity and remiſs Government of *Abbot* did contribute towards it. Him therefore he ſequeſtreth from his *Metropolitical* Juriſdiction, confines him to his houſe at *Ford* in *Kent*, and by his Commiſſion, bearing date the ninth day of *October*, 1627. transfers the exerciſe of that Juriſdiction to *Mountain* Biſhop of *London*, *Neile* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Houſon* Biſhop of *Oxon*, and *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; To whom, or any two or more of them, he gives authority to execute and perform all and every thoſe Acts, matters, and things, any way touching or concerning the Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in cauſes or matters Eccleſiaſtical, as amply, fully, and effectually, to all intents and purpoſes, as the ſaid Archbiſhop himſelf might have done. And this his Majeſty did to this end and purpoſe, that the *Archiepiſcopal* Juriſdiction, being committed to ſuch hands as were no favourers of that Faction, there might ſome ſtop be given to that violent current which then began to bear all before it. Nor did his Majeſty fail of the end deſired; For though *Abbot* (on good reaſons of State) was reſtored unto his Juriſdiction toward the latter end of the year next following: Yet by this breathing time, as ſhort as it was, the Church recovered

ſtrength

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ſtrength again. And the diſgrace put upon the man did ſo diſanimate and deject the oppoſite Party, that the Ballance began viſibly to turn on the Churches ſide.

During the time that this Commiſſion was in force, ſome Benefieed perſons in the Country, who in themſelves were well-affected to ancient orders, and now in more aſſurance of Protections than before they were, adventured on removing the Communion-Table from the middle of the Church or Chancel, and ſetting it (according to the pattern of the Mother Churches) where the Altar formerly had ſtood. Amongſt the reſt one *Titly*, Vicar of *Grantham* (a noted Town upon the Road) in the County of *Lincoln*, having obſerved the ſituation of the holy Table, as well in his *Dioceſans* Chappel, as in the Cathedral Mother Church, tranſpoſed the Table from the middeſt of the Chancel in his Pariſh Church, and placed it *Altar-wiſe* at the Eaſt end of it. Complaint hereof being made by ſome of that Town to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, he preſently takes hold of the opportunity to diſcourage the work; not becauſe he diſliked it in point of judgment (for then his judgment and his practice muſt have croſt each other) but becauſe *Titly* had relation to the Biſhop of *Durham*. And for the Biſhop of *Durham* he had no good thoughts, partly becauſe he kept his ſtand in the Court, out of which himſelf had been ejected, and partly by reaſon of the intimacy betwixt him and *Laud*, whom he looked on as his open and profeſſed enemy. And then how was it poſſible that he ſhould approve of *Titly*, or his action either, conceiving that it might be done by their or one of their appointments, or at the leaſt in hope of better preferment from them? Hereupon he betakes himſelf unto his Books, and frames a Popular Diſcourſe againſt placing the Communion-Table Altar-wiſe, digeſts it in the Form of a Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*: but ſends it unto ſome Divines of the Lecture there, by them to be diſperſed and ſcattered over all the Country. But of this Letter more hereafter, when we ſhall find it taken up for a Buckler againſt Authority, and laid in Bar againſt the proceedings of the Church and the Rules of it, when ſuch tranſpoſing of the Table became more general, not alone practiſed, but preſcribed. But the noiſe of this Letter not flying very far, at the firſt hindred not the removing of the Table in the Pariſh Church of St. *Nicholas* in the Borough of *Abingdon*; the occaſion this: One *Blucknall*, dwelling in that Pariſh, beſtowed upon it, amongſt other Legacies, an annual Penſion to be paid unto the Curate thereof, for reading duly prayer in the ſaid Church according to the Form preſcribed in the *Engliſh Liturgie*. For the eſtabliſhing of which Gifts and Legacies to the proper uſe and uſes intended by him, a Commiſſion was iſſued out of the High Court of *Chancery*, according to the Statute 43 *Eliz.* Directed amongſt others to Sir *Ed. Clark* Knight, *Sam. Fell* Doctor in Divinity, *George Purefez*, and *Richard Organ* Eſquires; who by their joynt conſent made this Order following: *viz.* "And that the Table "given by Mr. *Blucknall* ſhould not by the multitude of People com- "ing to Service, or otherwiſe by ſitting or writing upon it, or by any "other uureverent uſage, be prophaned, ſpoiled, or hurt; We do "order

"order and decree, that the ſaid Table ſhall continually ſtand at the "upper end of the Chancel, upon which a Carpet (by him given) "ſhould be laid, where it ſhall continually ſtand cloſe to the upper "Skreen (there being of old within that Skreen a kind of Veſtry for "keeping the Plate, Books, and Veſtments which belong to the "Church) and there to be covered with the Carpet aforeſaid, and in "no place elſe. Which Order, together with many others, for ſetling and diſpoſing the ſaid Gifts and Legacies, were made at *Abingdon* on the twenty fifth of *April*, 1628. and afterwards confirmed under the Great Seal of *England*. This being the only Table, as I conceive, whoſe poſture in that place is ratified by Decree in *Chancery*.

Now as ſome private Beneficed perſons, during the Suſpenſion of the ſaid Archbiſhop, did thus adventure on the one ſide; ſo divers *Commiſſaries*, *Officials*, *Surrogates*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers, began to carry a more hard hand on the *Puritan* Party (their great Friend and Patron being thus diſcountenanced) than they had done formerly. Amongſt theſe none more active then *Lamb*, *Sibthorp*, *Allen*, and *Burden*, according to their Power and Places; the three laſt having ſome relation to *Lamb*, as *Lamb* had to the Epiſcopal Court at *Peterborough*, and thereby a neer neighbourhood to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then keeping his Houſe at *Buegden* in the County of *Huntingdon*; at whoſe Table being entertained (as they had been many times before) they found there *Moriſon* Chancellor to that Biſhop, and *Prigeion* one of the Officers of the Court at *Lincoln*. Their Diſcourſe growing hot againſt the *Puritans*, the Biſhop adviſed them to take off their heavy hand from them; informing them, That his Majeſty hereafter intended to uſe them with more mildneſs, as a conſiderable Party, having great influence on the *Parliament*, without whoſe concurrence the King could not comfortably ſupply his neceſſities: To which he added, That his Majeſty had communicated this unto him by his own mouth, with his Reſolutions hereafter of more Gentleneſs to men of that Opinion. Which words, though unadviſedly ſpoken, yet were not thought, when firſt ſpoken by him, to be of ſuch a dangerous and malignant nature, as to create to him all that charge and trouble, which afterwards befel him upon that occaſion; For ſome years after, a breach being made betwixt him and *Lamb*, about the *Officials* place of *Leiceſter*, which the Biſhop had deſigned to another perſon, *Lamb* complains of him to ſome great men about the Court, for revealing the Kings Secrets committed to his truſt and privacy, contrary to the Oath taken by him as a Privy Councellor. The Biſhop was conceived to live at too great a height, to be too popular withal, and thereby to promote the *Puritan* Intereſt, againſt the Counſels of the Court. This Information was laid hold on, as a means to humble him, to make him ſenſible of his own duty, and the Kings diſpleaſure; and a Command is given to *Noy* (then newly made his Majeſties Atturney-General) to file a Bill, and proſecute againſt him in the *Star-Chamber*, upon this delinquency. Though the Biſhop about two or three years ſince had loſt the Seal, yet he was thought to have taken the Purſe along with him; reputed rich, and one that had good

Ch. Hiſt. lib. 11. p. 155.

Friends

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1627. Friends in the Court about the King, which made him take the leſs regard of this proſecution. By the Advice of his Council he firſt demurred unto the Bill, and afterwards put in a ſtrong Plea againſt it; both which were over-ruled by Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*, to whom by Order of the Court they had been referred: Which artifices and delays though they gained much time, yet could he not thereby take off the edge of the Attorney, grown ſo much ſharper toward him by thoſe tricks in Law. And in this ſtate we ſhall find the buſineſs about ten years hence, when it came to a Sentence; having laid ſo much of it here together, becauſe the occaſion of the Suit was given much about this time.

About the ſame time alſo came out a Book entituled, *A Collection of Private Devotions, or, the Hours of Prayer*, compoſed by *Cozens* one of the *Prebends* of *Durham*, at the Requeſt, and for the Satisfaction, as it was then generally believed, of the Counteſs of *Denbigh*, the only Siſter of the Duke, and then ſuppoſed to be unſetled in the Religion here eſtabliſhed, if not warping from it: A Book which had in it much good matter, but not well pleaſing in the form; ſaid in the Title page to be framed agreeably to a Book of Private Prayers Authorized by Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1560. *After the Kalendar it began with a Specification of the Apoſtles Creed in Twelve Articles, the Lords Prayer in Seven Petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the Duties enjoyned, and the Sins prohibited by them; The Precepts of Charity, The Precepts of the Church, The Seven Sacraments, The Three Theological Virtues, The Three kinds of Good Works, The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, The Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy, The Eight Beatitudes, Seven deadly Sins, and their contrary Vertues, and the* Quatuor noviſſima: *After which* (ſome Prefaces and Introductions intervening) *followed the Forms of Prayer for the firſt, third, ſixth, and ninth Hours, as alſo for the* Veſpers *and* Compline, *known here in former Times by the vulgar name of* Canonical Hours: *Then came the Litany, The Seven Penitential Pſalms, Preparatory Prayers for Receiving the Holy Communion, Prayers to be uſed in time of Sickneſs, and of the near approach of Death, beſides many others.* The Book approved by *Mountain* then Biſhop of *London*, and by him Licenced for the Preſs (with the Subſcription of his own hand to it): Which notwithſtanding it ſtartled many at the firſt, though otherwiſe very moderate and ſober men, who looked upon it as a Preparatory to uſher in the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*. The Title gave offence to ſome, by reaſon of the correſpondence which it held with the *Popiſh Horaries*; but the Frontiſpiece a great deal more, on the top whereof was found the Name of *JESUS*, figured in three Capital Letters (IHS) with a Croſs upon them, incircled with the Sun, ſupported by two Angels, with two devout Women praying towards it.

It was not long before it was encountred by *Prynne* and *Burton*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter. *Prynn*'s Book (for of the other there was but little notice taken) was Printed by the name of *A Brief Survey and Cenſure of* Cozens *his Cozening Devotions*, *Anno* 1628. In which he chargeth it for being framed in general accord-

according to the *Horaries* and *Primers* of the Church of *Rome*? but more particularly, to be directly moulded, framed, and contrived according to *Our Ladies Primer* or *Office* Printed in *Latin* at *Antwerp*, 1593. and afterwards in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1604. Next the objects, That the Book of *Latin* Prayers publiſhed by Queen *Elizabeth*, 1560. was called *Orarium* (not *Horarium*) *ſive Libellus Precationum* (that is to ſay, *A Book of Prayers*:) That in that Book there was mention of no other hours of Prayer than firſt, third, and ninth; and that in the ſecond and third Editions of the ſame Book, publiſhed in the years 1564. and 1573. there occurred no ſuch diſtribution into hours at all; which (ſaid he) reproacheth all the Specifications before remembred by the name of *Popiſh* traſh and trumpery, ſtollen out of *Popiſh* Primers and Catechiſms, not mentioned in any *Proteſtant* Writers; and then proceeds to the canvaſing of every Office, and the Prefaces belonging to them, which with the like infallible Spirit he condemns of *Popery*. But for all this violent oppoſition, and the great clamors made againſt it, the Book grew up into eſteem, and juſtified it ſelf, without any Advocate; inſomuch that many of thoſe who firſt ſtartled at it in regard of the Title, found in the body of it ſo much Piety, ſuch regular Forms of Divine Worſhip, ſuch neceſſary Conſolations in ſpecial Exigencies, that they reſerved it by them as a Jewel of great price and value. But of this Author and his Book, the following Parliament, to whom *Prynne* dedicates his Anſwer, will take further notice.

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But before that Parliament begins, we muſt take notice of ſome Changes then in agitation amongſt the Governours of the Church. His Majeſty in the *June* foregoing had acquainted *Laud* with his intent of nominating him to the See of *London* in the place of *Mountain*, whom he looked on as a man unactive, and addicted to voluptuouſneſs, and one that loved his eaſe too well to diſturb himſelf in the concernments of the Church. He alſo looked upon that City as the Retreat and Receptacle of the Grandees of the *Puritan* Faction; the influence which it had, by reaſon of its Wealth and Trading, on all parts of the Kingdom; and that upon the Correſpondence and Conformity thereof, the welfare of the whole depended: No better way to make them an example of Obedience to the reſt of the Subjects, then by placing over them a Biſhop of ſuch Parts and Power as they ſhould either be unable to withſtand, or afraid to offend. In order unto this deſign, it was thought expedient to tranſlate *Neile* (whoſe accommodations *Laud* much ſtudied) to the See of *Wincheſter*, then vacant by the death of *Andrews*, and to remove *Mountain* unto *Durham* in the place of *Neile*: But the putting of this deſign into execution did require ſome time. Such Officers of State as had the management of the Kings Revenue, thought it not fit in that low ebb of the Exchequer, that the Church of *Winton* ſhould be filled with another Biſhop, before the *Michaelmas* Rents at leaſt (if not ſome following Pay-days alſo) had flowed into his Majeſties Coffers. Which though it were no very long time, compared with the Vacancies of ſome former Reign; yet gave it an occaſion to ſome calumniating Spirits to report abroad,

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That this Bishoprick was designed to be a Subsistence for one of the Queen of *Bohemia*'s younger Sons, who was to hold it by the Name of an Administrator, according to an ill Custom of some Princes amongst the *Lutherans*. But this Obstruction being passed by, *Neile* with great chearfulness in himself, and thankfulness unto the King, proceeded in his Translation to the See of *Winton*; his Election being ratified by his Majesty, and confirmed in due form of Law, before the end of the next year, 1627. In *Mountains* hands the business did receive a stop: He had spent a great part of his Life in the air of the Court, as Chaplain to *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, Dean of *Westminster*, and Bishop *Almoner*; and had lived for many years last past in the warm City of *London*. To remove him so far from the Court, and send him into those cold Regions of the *North*, he looked on as the worst kind of Banishment, next neighbour to a Civil death: But having a long while strived in vain, and understanding that his Majesty was not well pleased with his delays, he began to set forward on that Journey, with this *Proviso* notwithstanding, That the utmost term of his Removal should be but from *London*-House in the City, to *Durham*-House in the *Strand*. And yet to beget more delays toward *Land*'s Advancement, before he actually was confirmed in the See of *Durham*, the *Metropolitan* See of *York* fell void by the death of the most Reverend Prelate Dr. *Toby Matthews*: This Dignity he affected with as much ambition, as he had earnestly endeavoured to decline the other; and he obtained what he desired: But so much time was taken up in passing the Election, facilitating the Royal Assent, and the Formalities of his Confirmation, that the next Session of Parliament was ended, and the middle of *July* well near passed, before *Land* could be actually translated to the See of *London*.

These matters being in agitation, and the Parliament drawing on apace, on *Tuesday* the fifth of *February* he strained the back-sinew of his right Leg, as he went with his Majesty to *Hampton-Court*, which kept him to his Chamber till the fourteenth of the same; during which time of his keeping in, I had both the happiness of being taken into his special knowledge of me, and the opportunity of a longer Conference with him than I could otherwise have expected. I went to have presented my service to him as he was preparing for this Journey, and was appointed to attend him on the same day seven-night, when I might presume on his return. Coming precisely at the time, I heard of his mischance, and that he kept himself to his Chamber; but order had been left amongst the Servants, that if I came he should be made acquainted with it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his Chamber, where I found him sitting in a Chair, with his lame leg resting on a Pillow. Commanding that no body should come to interrupt him till he called for them, he caused me to sit down by him, inquired first into the course of my Studies, which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold my self in that moderate course in which he found me. He fell afterwards to discourse of some passages in *Oxon*, in which I was specially concerned, and told me thereupon the story of such oppositions as had been made against him in

that

that Univerſity by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and ſome others; encouraged me not to ſhrink, if I had already, or ſhould hereafter find the like. I was with him thus, *remotis Arbitris*, almoſt two hours: It grew towards twelve of the clock, and then he knocked for his Servants to come unto him. He dined that day in his ordinary Dining-room, which was the firſt time he had ſo done ſince his miſhap. He cauſed me to tarry Dinner with him, and uſed me with no ſmall reſpect, which was much noted by ſome Gentlemen (*Ephilſton*, one of his Majeſties Cup-bearers, being one of the Company) who dined that day with him. A paſſage I confeſs, not pertinent to my preſent Story, but ſuch as I have a good precedent for from *Philip de Comenes*, who telleth us as impertinently of the time (though he acquaint us not with the occaſion) of his leaving the Duke of *Burgundies* Service, to betake himſelf to the Imployments of King *Lewis* xi. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1627.

It is now time to look into the following Parliament, in the preparation whereunto (to make himſelf more gracious in the eyes of the People) his Majeſty releaſeth ſuch Gentlemen as had been formerly impriſoned about the *Loan*; which in effect was but the letting looſe of ſo many hungry Lions to purſue and worry him; For being looked upon as Confeſſors, if not Martyrs for the Common-wealth, upon the merit of thoſe ſufferings they were generally preferred afore all others to ſerve in Parliament; and being ſo preferred, they carried as generally with them a vindicative Spirit, to revenge themſelves for that Reſtraint, by a reſtraining of the Prerogative within narrower bounds. At the opening of this Parliament, *March* 17. the Preaching of the Sermon was committed to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who ſhewed much honeſt Art in perſwading them to *endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace*, *Epheſ.* 4. 3. which he had taken for his Text: In which, firſt laying before them the excellency and effects of UNITY, he told them, amongſt other things, "That it was a very "charitable tie, but better *known* than *loved*; a thing ſo good, that "it was never broken but by the worſt men; nay, ſo good it was, that "the very worſt men pretended beſt when they broke it; and that it "was ſo in the Church, never yet Heretick renting her Bowels, but "he pretended that he raked them for Truth: That it was ſo alſo in "the State, ſeldom any *unquiet Spirit* dividing her *Union*, but he pre- "tends ſome *great abuſes*, which his *integrity* would remedy: *O that "I were made a Judge in the Land, that every man which hath any Con- "troverſie might come to me, that I might do him Juſtice*: and yet no "worſe a man than *David* was King when this cunning was uſed, "1 *Sam.* 15. That *Unity* both in Church and Common-wealth was ſo "good, that none but the worſt willingly broke it; That even they "were ſo far aſhamed of the breach, that they muſt ſeem holier than "the reſt, that they may be thought to have had a juſt cauſe to break "it. And afterwards coming by degrees to an Application, Good God "(ſaith he) what a prepoſterous Thrift is this in men, to ſew up every "ſmall rent in their own Coat, and not care what rents they not only "ſuffer, but make in the Coat of Chriſt? What is it? Is Chriſt on- "ly thought fit to wear a torn Garment? Or can we think that the *Serm.* 6. p. 247.

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"*Spirit of Unity*, which is one with Chriſt, will not depart to ſeek "warmer cloathing? Or if he be not gone already, why is there not "*Unity*, which is where ere he is? Or if he be but yet gone from o- "ther parts of *Chriſtendom*, in any caſe (for the paſſion, and in the "bowels of Jeſus Chriſt I beg it) let us make ſtay of him here in our "parts, *&c.* Which Sermon (being all of the ſame piece) ſo well pleaſed the Hearers, that his Majeſty gave command to have it Print- ed. How well it edified with the Commons, when they came to read it; and what thanks he received from them for it, we ſhall clearly ſee before we come to the end of this preſent Seſſion.

The Sermon being ended, his Majeſty ſet forwards to the Houſe of Peers, where ſitting in his Royal Throne, and cauſing the Commons then aſſembled to come before him, he ſignified in few words, "That "no man (as he conceived) could be ſo ignorant of the Common ne- "ceſſity, as to expoſtulate the cauſe of this Meeting, and not to think "Supply to be the end of it, that as this neceſſity was the product and "conſequent of their Advice (he means in reference to his firſt in- "gaging in the War with *Spain*) ſo the true Religion, the Laws and "Liberties of this State, and juſt defence of his Friends and Allies, "being ſo conſiderably concerned, would be, he hoped, Arguments "enough to perſwade Supply; That he had taken the moſt ancient, "ſpeedy, and beſt way for Supply, by calling them together; in which "if they ſhould not do their duties, in anſwering the quality of his "occaſions, he muſt then take ſome other courſe for the ſaving of "that, which the folly of ſome particular men might hazard to loſe; "that notwithſtanding the diſtractions of the laſt Meeting, he came "thither with no ſmall confidence of good ſucceſs; aſſuring them that "he would forget and forgive whatſoever was paſt, and hoping that "they would follow that ſacred Advice lately inculcated, *To main- "tain the UNITY of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.* Which being ſaid, the Lord Keeper took his turn to ſpeak, as the Cuſtom is, in which Speech he chiefly laboured to lay before them the formidable Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the mighty Preparations made by the King of *Spain*, the Diſtractions at the preſent in the *Netherlands*, the Dan- gers threatned by the *French* King to thoſe of the Reformed Religi- on in his Dominions, and the neceſſity which lay upon the King to provide for the ſupport thereof, as well as for the Peace and Preſer- vation of his own Eſtate; concluding with ſeveral reaſons to invite them to aſſiſt his Majeſty with a bountiful and quick ſupply according to the exigency of his affairs.

But all this, little edified with the Houſe of Commons, or rather with the prevailing Party in it, which comes all to one. For ſo it hap- pens commonly in all great Councils, that ſome few leading Mem- bers, either by their diligence or cunning, out-wit the reſt, and form a party ſtrong enough, by caſting a miſt before their eyes, or other ſubtle Artifices to effect their purpoſe. And ſo it fared in this laſt Parliament with the Houſe of Commons, which though it contained amongſt the reſt as *dutiful Subjects as any were in the World*, (in his Majeſties own acknowledgment of them) yet being governed by ſome men

men which had their interesses apart from the Crown, they are put upon a resolution of doing their own business first, and the Kings at leisure. And their own business it must be to secure the plots and practices of the *Puritan* Faction by turning all mens eyes upon such dangers as were to be feared from the Papists; and in the next place, to make such provision for themselves, that it should not be within the power of the Royal Prerogative to lay any restraint upon their persons. No sooner had they obtained their Fast (without which nothing could be done) but they moved the Lords to joyn with them in a Petition for the suppressing of Popery, which they conceived to make the wall of Separation betwixt God and them; to which they found their Lordships willing to consent, and his Majesty no less willing to satisfie them in all parts thereof than they could desire. For *Cant. Doom.* calling both Houses before him on the fourth of *April*, *He told them he liked well of their beginning with Religion, and hoped their Consultations would succeed the happier; That he was as careful of Religion, and should be as forward in it, as they could desire; That he liked well of the Petition, and would make use of those and all other means for the maintenance and propagation of that true Religion wherein he had lived, and by the grace of God was resolved to dye; And finally, That for the particulars, they should receive a more full answer hereafter (as they shortly did.) Which said, he put them in remembrance, That if Provisions were not speedily made, he should not be able to put a Ship to Sea this year.* But though his Majesty gave so full and satisfactory an answer to every particular branch of the said Petition, that Sir *Benjamin Ruddiard* moved the House to tender their humble thanks to his Majesty for it; yet to the close of his Majesties Speech, touching the speedy making of provisions for that Summers Service, they returned no answer. They must first know whether they had any thing to give or not, whether they are to be accounted as Slaves or Freemen, to which two doubts the late imprisonment of their Members, for not paying the Loan required of them, gave them ground enough.

These weighty Questions being started, their own property and Liberty must first be setled, before they could be perswaded to move a foot toward his Majesties supplies; Five Subsidies they had voted for him, but it passed no further than the Vote; For seeing that there was to be a trust on the one side or the other, it was resolved, that the honour of it should be theirs. The agitating of which Points, with those which depended thereupon, took up so much time, that before the Lords could be brought to joyn with the Commons, and both together could obtain their desires of the King, there was spent as far as to the seventh of *June*; and it was ten daies after before they had prepared the Bill of Subsidies for the Kings assent. Nothing in all this business did so trouble his Majesty as their insisting on this point: That in no case whatsoever, though it never so nearly concerned matters of State and Government, he or his Privy Council should have power to commit any man to prison without shewing the cause, and that cause to be allowed or disallowed as his Majesties Judges should think fit on the *Habeas Corpus*, of which his Majesty well observed in

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His Majesties Letter for the Lords, *Bibl. Reg.* Sect. 6. N. 19.

a Letter by him written to the Peers on the twelfth of *May*, "That "by shewing the cause of the Commitment, the whole Service many "times might happen to be destroyed; and that the cause also might "be such and of a nature so transcending the Rules of Law, that the "Judges had no capacity in a Court of Judicature to determine in it. "The intermitting of which power, being one of the constant Rules "of Government, practised for so many Ages within this Kingdom, "would (as he said) soon dissolve the very frame and foundation "of his Monarchy, and therefore that without the overthrow of "his Soveraignty he could not suffer these powers to be impeached. But what reason soever he had to alledge for himself, he was so bent on his desires to relieve the *Rochellers*, and keep that honour up abroad which he lost at home; that at the last he condescended unto their desires, and confirmed the prayer of their Petition by Act of Parliament.

Nor would they rest upon that point. They thought they had not done themselves *right* enough in disputing their *Property* with the King in Parliament if they suffered it to be preached down in the Court and Country. *Manwaring* therefore (of whose Sermons we have spoke before) must be brought in for an example unto others. Whose charge, being drawn up by the Commons, was reported to the Peers by *Pym*, *June* 13. The Book of his two Sermons produced before them, the passages which gave offence openly read, aggravated to the very height. And though the poor man, on his knees, with tears in his eyes, and sorrows in his heart, had most humbly craved pardon of the Lords and Commons for the errors and indiscretions he had committed in the said two Sermons, yet could he find no other mercy than, "1. To be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House. "2. To be fined one thousand pounds to the King. 3. To make such "an acknowledgment of his offence at the Commons Bar as it should "please them to prescribe. 4. To be suspended from his Ministry for "three years to come. 5. To be disabled from ever preaching at the "Court. 6. To be uncapable of any further Ecclesiastical preferment, "or secular Office. And finally, That his Majesty should be moved "to call in the said Book by Proclamation, and cause it to be publick-"ly burnt. An heavy Sentence I confess, but such as did rather af-fright than hurt him. For his Majesty looking on him in that con-juncture as one that suffered in his cause, preferred him first to the Par-sonage of *Stamford-Rivers* in *Essex*, (void not long after by the pro-motion of *Mountague* to the See of *Chichester*) afterwards to the Dean-ry of *Worcester*; and finally to the Bishoprick of St. *Davids*. This was indeed the way to have his Majesty well served, but such as cre-ated him some ill thoughts amongst the Commons for his Majesties In-dulgence to him.

But they had a greater game to fly at, than to content themselves with so poor a Sacrifice. The day before, complaint was made unto the Commons, that *Laud*, Bishop of *Bath* & *Wells*, had warranted those Ser-mons to the Press, and him they had as good a mind to as to any other. There had been some liftings at him in the Court by Sir *John Cook*, who

who had informed againſt him to the Lord Treaſurer then being: And by the Lord Treaſurer to the Duke, where the buſineſs ſtopt. And there had been ſome liftings at him in the Country alſo, there being ſome mutterings ſpred abroad, that ſome Sacrifices muſt be made for expiating the ill ſucceſs in the Iſle of *Rhe*, and that he was as like as any to be made the Sacrifice. Which coming to his ears from two ſeveral perſons, he thought fit to acquaint his Majeſty with it; who thereupon returned this moſt gracious anſwer, *That he ſhould not trouble himſelf with ſuch reports, till he ſaw him forſake his other friends.* Had he ſtood ſtill upon that principle he had never fallen. Such Princes as forſake their Servants, will be forſaken by their Servants in their greateſt need, and neither be well ſerved at home, nor obſerved abroad. But it appeared by the event, that thoſe mutterings were not made without ſome ground, and that ſomewhat was then plotting toward his deſtruction. For *Manwaring* was no ſooner cenſured, but *Laud*'s cauſe was called to the report; ſome days before (viz. *June* 11.) they had voted the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the cauſe of all the grievances; and now they were hammering a Remonſtrance, both againſt him, and all that depended on him. In which Remonſtrance, having firſt beſprinkled the King with ſome Court *holy-water*, for granting their Petition of Right, they make bold to repreſent unto him, "That there was a general fear con-"ceived in his people of ſome ſecret working and combination to "introduce into this Kingdom *innovation* and change of holy Reli-"gion. Which fear proceeded (as they ſaid) from the encreaſe of "*Popery* in this Kingdom, and the extraordinary favours and reſpects "which they of that Religion found in the Court from perſons of "great quality and power there, unto whom they continually re-"ſort, more eſpecially by name from the Counteſs of *Buckingham* "the Dukes Mother. Secondly, From ſome Letters written by his "Majeſty to ſtop all legal proceedings againſt *Recuſants*, and the "Compoſitions which had been made with ſome of them for ſuch "fines and penalties as were laid upon them by the Laws, which "ſeemed in their opinion little leſs than a Toleration. Thirdly, From "the daily growth and ſpreading of the Faction of the *Arminians*, "that being (as they thought his Majeſty knew) but a cunning way "to bring in *Popery*; the profeſſors of thoſe opinions being common "diſturbers of the Proteſtant Churches, and Incendiaries of thoſe "States wherein they have gotten any head, being *Proteſtants* in ſhew, "but *Jeſuites* in opinion and practice. Of which growing Faction "*Neile* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, "are named particularly for the principal Patrons. Fourthly, From "ſome endeavours to ſuppreſs the diligent teaching and inſtructing "the people in the true knowledge of Almighty God by diſparaging "pious, painful, and Orthodox Preachers. Fifthly, From the mi-"ſerable condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in which without "controul the Popiſh Religion is affirmed to be openly profeſſed, "Popiſh Superſtition being generally exerciſed and avowed, Mona-"ſteries, and Nunneries newly erected, &c. In the laſt place they lay

"before

L. I B. III. *Anno Dom.* 1628. *Breviate.* p. 13.

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"before him their former grievances, now redreſſed; the deſign of "raiſing moneys by the way of Exciſe, and of bringing in ſome "Regiments of *German* horſe, though never put into execution; "a Commiſſion of Lieutenancy granted to the Duke of *Buckingham*; "the ſuppoſed decay of Trade in all parts of the Kingdom; the im- "provident conſumption of the ſtock of Gunpowder; the loſs of "the Regality of the Narrow Seas; the taking of many Merchants "Ships by the Pyrates of *Dunkirk*, &c. The cauſe of all which miſchiefs is imputed to the exceſſive power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his abuſing of that power.

Bibl. Reg. Sect. 157. Num. 3.

This *Remonſtrance* being thus digeſted, it was preſented to his Majeſty, together with the Bill of Subſidies, on the ſeventeenth of *June*. At the receiving thereof his Majeſty was pleaſed to uſe theſe words: "That on his Anſwer to their *Petition* of *Right* he expected no ſuch "Declaration from them, which containeth divers points of ſtate "touching the Church and Common-wealth, that he conceived they "did believe he underſtood them better than themſelves: But that "ſince the reading thereof, he perceived they underſtood thoſe "things leſs than he imagined; and that notwithſtanding he would "take them into ſuch conſideration as they deſerved. Nor was it long after his Majeſties receiving of this *Remonſtrance*, but that they were drawing up another to take away his right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Which coming to his Majeſties knowledge, he reſolved to be beforehand with them, and diſſolve the Parliament, which was done accordingly *June* 26. At the diſſolving whereof his Majeſty gave this further cenſure on the ſaid *Remonſtrance*, *viz.* "That the "acceptableneſs thereof unto him every man might judge, and that "he would not call in queſtion the merit of it, becauſe he was ſure "no wiſe man could juſtifie it. And poſſibly it had eſcaped without any further cenſure, if the Commons for the oſtentation of their Zeal and Piety had not cauſed it to be Printed, and diſperſed abroad, with which his Majeſty being acquainted, he commanded it to be called in by Proclamation, as tending to the defamation of his Perſon and Government.

But no ſooner was the Parliament ended, but he gave order unto *Laud* (whom he found to be much concerned in it) to return an anſwer thereunto; which he, who knew no better *Sacrifice* than obedience, did very chearfully perform; which Anſwer for ſo much as concerns Religion, the Preamble and Concluſion being laid aſide, we ſhall here ſubjoyn.

And firſt (ſaith he) *that* Remonſtrance *begins at Religion, and fears of innovation in it*; Innovation *by Popery*; *but we would have our Subjects of all ſorts to call to mind what difficulties and dangers we endured not many years ſince for Religions ſake*; *That we are the ſame ſtill, and our* holy Religion *is as pretious to us as it is or can be to any of them, and we will no more admit* innovation *therein than they that think they have done well in fearing it ſo much. It is true, that all*

effects

effects expected have not followed upon the Petitions delivered at Oxon, *but we are in least fault for that; for supply being not afforded us, disenabled us to execute all that was desired, and caused the stay of those legal proceedings which have helped to swell up this* Remonstrance: *Yet let all the Counties of* England *be examined, and* London, *with the Suburbs thereof, neither is there such a noted increase of* Papists, *nor such cause of fear as is made; nor hath any amounted to such an odious tolerating, as is charged upon it, nor near any such. For that* Commission *so much complained of, both the matter and intent of it are utterly mistaken; for it doth not dispense with any penalty, or any course to be taken with any* Papists *for the exercise of their Religion, no nor with the* Pecuniary Mulcts *or* Non-conformity to ours; *it was advised for the encrease of our profits, and the returning of that into our Purse, which abuse or connivency of inferiour Ministers might perhaps divert another way; if that or any other shall be abused in the execution, we will be ready to punish upon any just complaint. The next fear is the daily growth and spreading of the* Arminian Faction, *called a cunning way to bring in Popery: but we hold this Charge as great a wrong, to our Self and Government, as the former; For our People must not be taught by a Parliament* Remonstrance, *or any other way, that we are so ignorant of Truth, or so careless of the Profession of it; that any opinion, or faction, or whatever it be called, should thrust it self so far, and so fast into our Kingdom without our knowledge of it: this is a meer dream of them that wake, and would make our loyal and loving People think we sleep the while. In this Charge there is great wrong done to two eminent Prelates that attend our Person; for they are accused, without producing any the least shew or shadow of Proof against them; and should they, or any other, attempt Innovation of Religion, either by that open or any cunning way, we should quickly take other Order with them, and not stay for your Remonstrance.*

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To keep on this, our people are made believe, That there is a restraint of Books Orthodoxal: *but we are sure since the late Parliament began, some whom the* Remonstrance *calls* Orthodox, *have assumed unto themselves an unsufferable Liberty in Printing. Our Proclamation commanded a Restraint on both sides, till the Passions of men might subside and calm; and had this been obeyed as it ought, we had not now been tossed in this Tempest: And for the distressing and discountenancing of Good Preachers, we know there is none, if they be (as they are called)* Good. *But our People shall never want that Spiritual Comfort which is due unto them; and for the Preferments which we bestow, we have so made it our great Care to give them, as Rewards of Desert and Pains; but as the Preferments are ours, so will we be Judge of the Desert Our self, and not be taught by a* Remonstrance. *For* Ireland, *we think in case of* Religion, *it is not worse then Queen* Elizabeth *left it; and for other Affairs, it is as good as we found it, nay, perhaps better; and we take it as a great disparagement to our Government, that it should be voiced, That new Monasteries, Nunneries, and other Superstitious Houses, are Erected and Replenished in* Dublin, *and other great Towns of that our Kingdom: For we assure our self, our Deputy and Council there will not suffer God and our Government so to be dishonoured, but we should have some account of it*

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from them; and we may not endure to have our good People thus misled with Shews. There is likewise somewhat considerable, in the time when these Practices to undermine true Religion in our Kingdoms, are set on foot. The Remonstrance *tells us it is now, when Religion is opposed by open force in all Parts: But we must tell our People, There is no undermining Practice at home against it, if they practise not against it that seem most to labour for it; for while* Religion *seems to be contended for in such a Factious way, which cannot be Gods way, the heat of that doth often melt away the Purity which it labours earnestly (but perhaps not wisely) to preserve. And for Gods Judgments, which we and our People have felt, and have cause to fear, we shall prevent them best by a true Religious* Remonstrance *of the amendment of our Lives*, &c.

This, and the rest of the Answer to the said *Remonstrance*, is all what I find acted by *Laud* in reference to the present Parliament. For, that he should be a chief means for the dissolving of this, or a principal Instrument in the untimely breaking off of the former, I find no proof offered, though he stands charged with the one in the further Articles of his Impeachment, and of the other on the bare suspicion of a private Person. As little proof I find of another Article, in which he stands accused for saying, *That this Parliament was a Factious Parliament, and had cast many Scandals upon his Majesty, and had used him like a Child in his Minority; Styling them PURITANS, and commending the* Papists *for harmless and peaceable Subjects:* For which, if any Evidence had been brought against him, he might have been condemned by some for his indiscretion, but by none for Treason. Nor did the Parliament act more against Church or Church-men, than what is formerly related; but only in receiving certain Articles against one *Burgess* Vicar of *Witney*, in the County of *Oxon*. By which it did appear, That the man was sharp set against the *Puritans*, whom he accused of breaking every one of the Ten Commandments, reproach'd them with many bitter *Exasperations*, and finally impeached *Calvin*, *Beza*, and all the Ministers of the Reformed Churches, both in *France* and *Scotland*, for committing many Treasons against those Princes under whom they lived. But these Matters not being Actionable at the Common Law, nor punishable (as the times then were) in way of Parliamentary Proceedings; the poor man, after a long and chargeable Attendance, was at last dismissed. Little or nothing done in the *Convocation* which accompanied this Parliament, but the granting of five *Subsidies*, toward the Support of his Majesties Royal Estate, and the Defence of his Kingdoms: So much the more acceptable to his Majesty, because the Grant seemed in a manner to exceed their Abilities, and came not clogged with any self-ends, or particular Interesses. Kings are Gods Deputies on Earth, and like him, love a *chearful Giver*, above all those who either do it *grudgingly*, or upon *constraint*.

No sooner was the Parliament ended, but *Laud* prepares for his Translation to the See of *London*, the *Conge d'eslire* being issued out on the first of *July*, the Election within few days returned, and publickly

lickly confirmed with the accuſtomed Formalities on Saint *Swithin's* day, being the fifteenth of that Month. *London*, the Kings Chamber, and the chief City of the Realm; equal in bigneſs unto any, but in Trade Superiour unto all in theſe Parts of *Chriſtendom*; one of the Metropolitan Sees of the Ancient *Britains*, and next in Dignity and Antiquity to the See of *Canterbury* amongſt the *Saxons*. The firſt Biſhop of it, called *Melitus*, received his Epiſcopal Conſecration, *Anno* 606. from whom *Laud* was in number the 88th. as he had been the 89th. Biſhop of St. *Davids*, another of the Metropolitan Sees of the *Britains*. The Cathedral Church, beſt known by the name of Saint *Pauls* in *London*, was founded firſt by *Ethelbert*, the firſt Chriſtian King of *Kent*, and the ſix Monarchs of the *Saxons*; afterwards much beautified and enlarged by *Erkenwald* the fourth Biſhop: Which Church of theirs being 500 years after deſtroyed by fire, that which now ſtands was built in the place thereof by *Maritius Richardus* his Succeſſor, and certain other of the Biſhops, a great part of it at their own Charge, and the Reſidue by a general Contribution over all the Kingdom. The Biſhops next in Place and Dignity to the Metropolitans, and alſo Deans of the Epiſcopal Colledge for the Province of *Canterbury*; by which Office he is not only to preſide over the reſt of the Biſhops at *Synodical Meetings*, in caſe the *Metropolitan* be dead or abſent; but to receive his *Mandates* for aſſembling *Synods*, and other buſineſſes of the Church; and having ſo received them, to intimate the power and effect thereof to the Suffragan Prelates. As for the Dioceſs of *London*, it contains in it the whole Counties of *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*, ſo much of *Hertford-ſhire* as was anciently poſſeſſed by the *Eaſt-Saxons*, together with the peculiar Juriſdiction of the Church of St. *Albans*; divided into 623 Pariſhes (of which 189 are Impropriations) and thoſe diſtributed amongſt five Archdeacons, that is to ſay, of *London*, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Colcheſter*, and the Archdeacon of Saint *Albans* for that Circuit only.

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His own Tranſlation being paſt, his next Employment of that nature was his aſſiſting at the Conſecration of *Mountague*, nominated by his Majeſty to the See of *Chicheſter* in the place of *Carleton*, who died about the latter end of the Parliament; which Action in the King ſeemed more magnanimous then ſafe: For though there was much magnanimity in preferring the man, whom he beheld as well in his perſonal Sufferings, as his great Abilities; yet was it not held ſafe for him (as his caſe then ſtood) to give ſuch matter of Exaſperation to the Houſe of Commons, of whom he did expect a Supplement to the former Subſidies within few Months after. Nor did the buſineſs paſs ſo clearly on *Mountagues* ſide, but that he found a rub in his way, which was like to have hindred his Preferment for the preſent time, but poſſibly enough for the times to come. It is an ancient Cuſtom, that the Elections of all Biſhops in the Province of *Canterbury* be ſolemnly confirmed by the Archbiſhop, or his Vicar-general, in the Court of the *Arches*, held in Saint *Maries* Church in *Cheapſide*, commonly called by the name of *Bow* Church; at and before which Confirmation, there is publick notice given to all manner of Perſons, that

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if they have any thing to object either againſt the Party Elected, or the legality of his Election, he ſhould come and tender his Exceptions at the time appointed, or elſe for ever after to hold his peace: Which ſignification being made, as *Mountague* ſtood ready to be Confirmed, one *Jones* a Bookſeller accompanied with a Rabble of the poorer ſort, excepted againſt him as a man unfit to be made a Biſhop, charging him with *Popery*, *Arminianiſm*, and ſome other *Heterodoxies*, for which his Books had been condemned in the former Parliament. It hapned well that *Brent* the Vicar-general, either for diſaffection to the man, or on ſome neceſſary avocation, had devolved his Office for that time on Doctor *Thomas Reives* his Majeſties Advocate, a man of better Principles in himſelf, and of more Learning in the Laws than the other was: For no ſooner had *Jones* offered his Exceptions againſt the Party Elected, but *Reives* had found a way to evade the danger, and fruſtrate the bold man of his deſign, for putting a preſent ſtop to the Confirmation; For neither were the Exceptions tendred in writing, ſigned by the hand of any Advocate, nor preſented by any of the Proctors authorized to attend that Court; all which Formalities were to have been obſerved by *Jones* in the preſent Act, but that the man was hurried on with more Zeal than Knowledg. Which Rub thus happily removed *Auguſt* 22. *Mountague* haſtens all he could to his Conſecration, which was performed on *Sunday* the 24th. at the Archbiſhops houſe in *Croyden*, *Land* amongſt other Biſhops aſſiſting at it.

And it is poſſible enough, That if he had not made ſuch haſte as he did, he might have had a worſe rub in it then he had before. Scarce was the Conſecration finiſhed, when news came to *Croyden* of the unfortunate death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, murthered the day before at *Portſmouth* by one *John Felton* a Lieutenant, who thought himſelf neglected in the courſe of his Service. The Duke had wholly ſet his heart on the Relief of *Rochel*, then blockt up by the *French* both by Sea and Land, in hope thereby to redeem the Honour he had loſt at the Iſle of *Rhe*, and to ingratiate himſelf with the People of *England*. On the twelfth of *Auguſt* he ſet forwards from *Portſmouth*, neer which the Navy lay at Anchor, and where he had appointed the Rendezvous for his Land-Forces to aſſemble and meet together. The interval of time betwixt that and his death he ſpent in putting all things into Readineſs, that he was almoſt at the point of going on Board, when *Felton* cut him off in the midſt of his Glories. The wretch in ſuch a general confuſion might have ſaved himſelf, if either curioſity in attending the iſſue, or ſome conſternation in his countenance upon the horror of the Fact, had not betrayed him to a preſent diſcovery. Taken upon ſuſpicion, and queſtioned about the Murder, he made no ſcruple to avow it as a meritorious Act, of which he had more cauſe to glory than to be aſhamed: And being afterwards more cunningly handled by one of his Majeſties Chaplains (ſent to him from the Court of purpoſe to work him to it) he confeſſed plainly and reſolvedly, That he had no other motive to commit that Murder, but the late *Remonſtrance*, in which the Duke had been accuſed for being the Cauſe of all the Grievances

Grievances and Miſchiefs in the Common-wealth. This news was brought unto the King as he was at the Publick Morning-Prayers in his Preſence-Chamber, the Court being then at *Southwick*, not far from *Portſmouth*; which he received with ſuch a ſtedfaſt Countenance, ſo unmoved a Patience, that he withdrew not from the place till the Prayers were ended.

It is not to be doubted but that his Majeſty was much afflicted in the loſs of ſo dear a Servant, in whoſe boſom he had lodged ſo much of his Counſels, and to whoſe Conduct he had ſo fully recommended the Great Concernments of the Kingdom. But ſuch was the conſtancy of his Temper, and the known evenneſs of his Spirit, that in the middeſt of all thoſe ſorrows he neither neglected his affairs abroad, nor his Friends at home: For notwithſtanding this ſad accident, the Fleet ſet forwards under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, whoſe coming within ſight of *Rochel* was welcomed by thoſe in the Town with all the outward expreſſions of Hope and Joy: But his deſires to do them Service were without Succeſs: For when he came, he found the Haven ſo ſtrongly barred, that though he gallantly attempted to force his way, and give Relief to the Beſieged; yet finding nothing but impoſſibility in the Undertaking, he diſcharged his Ordnance againſt the Enemy, and went off with ſafety: Which being perceived by thoſe of the Town, who had placed their laſt hopes in this Attempt, they preſently ſet open their Gates, caſting themſelves upon the Mercy of their Natural Prince, whoſe Government and Authority they had for ſo many years before both oppoſed and ſlighted. And on the other ſide, being well aſſured of that infinite anguiſh and diſconſolation which *Laud* (his now moſt truſty Servant) muſt needs ſuffer under, by the moſt barbarous Aſſaſſination of ſo dear a Friend, he diſpatched *Elphiſton* his Cup-bearer with a *gracious* Meſſage to comfort him in thoſe diſquiets of his Soul; and on the neck of that, a Letter of his own hand-writing to the ſame effect. He looks upon him now as his Principal Miniſter well practiſed in the Courſe of his Buſineſs, of whoſe fidelity to his Perſon, and perſpicacity of Judgment in Affairs of State, he had found ſuch good proof: And therefore at the firſt time that *Laud* could find himſelf in a condition to attend upon him, he uſed many gracious Speeches to him, not only to wipe off the Remembrance of that ſad Misfortune, but to put him into ſuch a Power by which he might be able to protect himſelf againſt all his Enemies. He was before but an inferiour Miniſter in the Ship of State, and had the trimming of the Sails, the ſuperinſpection of the *Bulgings* and Leakings of it. Now he is called unto the Helm, and ſteers the Courſe thereof by his ſage Directions.

Having obtained this height of Power, he caſts his eye back on his Majeſties Proclamation of the fourteenth of *June*, *Anno* 1626. Of which though he had made good uſe in ſuppreſſing ſome of thoſe Books which ſeemed to foment the preſent Controverſies; yet he ſoon found, as well by his own Obſervation, as by Intelligence from others, That no ſuch general notice had been taken of it as was firſt expected: For being only publiſhed in Market-Towns (and perhaps very few of them)

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1628. them) the *Puritan* Miniſters in the Country did not conceive themſelves obliged to take notice of it. And much leſs could it come to the ears of Students in Univerſities, for whoſe reſtraint from medling, either by Preaching or Writing, in the Points prohibited, it might ſeem moſt neceſſary. He knew, that by the Laws of the Land all Miniſters were to read the Book of Articles audibly and diſtinctly, in the hearing of their Pariſhioners, when they firſt entred on their Cures; and that by the Canons of the Church, all that took Orders or Degrees were publickly to ſubſcribe unto them. A Declaration to the ſame effect before thoſe Articles muſt needs give ſuch a general ſignification of his Majeſties pleaſure, that no body could from thenceforth pretend ignorance of it, which muſt needs render his tranſgreſſion the more inexcuſable. Upon which prudent conſiderations he moved his Majeſty that the Book of Articles might be reprinted; and ſuch a Declaration placed before them as might preſerve them from ſuch miſconſtructions as had of late been put upon them, and keep them to their native literal and *Grammatical* ſenſe. His Majeſty approved the Counſel as both pious and profitable, and preſently gave order, that all things ſhould be done according as he had adviſed. A Declaration of great influence in the courſe of our Story, and therefore here to be ſubjoyned in its proper place.

By the KING.

Bibl. Reg. Sect. 4. Num. 3. *BEing by Gods Ordinance, according to Our juſt Title,* Defender of the Faith, *and Supreme Governour of the Church within theſe Our Dominions, We hold it moſt agreeable to Our Kingly Office, and Our own Religious Zeal, to conſerve and maintain the Church committed to Our charge in the* Unity *of true Religion, and in the* bond of peace: *and not to ſuffer unneceſſary Diſputations, Alterations, and Queſtions to be raiſed which may nouriſh Faction both in the Church and Commonwealth; We have therefore upon mature deliberation, and with the Advice of ſo many of Our Biſhops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this Declaration following: That the Articles of the Church of* England *(which had been allowed, and authorized heretofore, and which Our Clergy generally have ſubſcribed unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of* England *agreeable to Gods Word: which We do therefore ratifie and confirm, requiring all Our loving Subjects to continue in the Uniform Profeſſion thereof, and prohibiting the leaſt difference from the ſaid Articles; which to that end We command to be reprinted, and this Our Declaration to be publiſhed therewith.*

That We are Supreme Governour of the Church of England, *and that if any difference ariſe about the External Policy, concerning* Injunctions, Canons, *or other Conſtitutions whatſoever, thereunto belonging; the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and ſetle them, having firſt obtained leave under Our Broad Seal ſo to do: And We approving their ſaid Ordinances and Conſtitutions, provided that none be made contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land. That out of our Princely care that the Church-men may do the work which is proper unto them; the Biſhops and Clergy,*

Clergie, from time to time, in Convocation, upon their humble deſire, ſhall have licence under Our Broad Seal, to deliberate of, and to do all ſuch things, as being made plain by them, and aſſented to by Us, ſhall concern the ſetled continuance of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England *eſtabliſhed; from which We ſhall not endure any variation or departing in the leaſt degree. That for the preſent, though ſome differences have been ill raiſed, We take comfort in this, that all Clergie-men within Our Realm have always moſt willingly ſubſcribed to the Articles eſtabliſhed, which is an Argument to Us, that they all agree in the true uſual literal meaning of the ſaid Articles, and that even in thoſe curious Points, in which the preſent differences lye, men of all ſorts take the Articles of the Church of* England *to be for them; which is an Argument again, that none of them intend any deſertion of the Articles eſtabliſhed. That therefore in theſe both curious and unhappy differences which have for many hundred years, in different times and places, exerciſed the Church of Chriſt, We will that all further curious ſearch be laid aſide, and theſe diſputes be ſhut up in Gods Promiſes, as they be generally ſet forth unto Us in holy Scriptures; and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of* England *according to them. And that no man hereafter ſhall either Print or Preach to draw the Article aſide any way, but ſhall ſubmit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: And ſhall not put his own ſenſe or Comment to be the meaning of the Article, but ſhall take it in the literal & Grammatical ſenſe. That if any Publick Reader in either Our Univerſities, or any Head or Maſter of a Colledge, or any other Perſon reſpectively in either of them, ſhall affix any new ſenſe to any Article, or ſhall publickly read, determine, or hold any publick Diſputation, or ſuffer any ſuch to be held either way, in either the Univerſities or Colledges reſpectively; or if any Divine in the Univerſities ſhall Preach or Print any thing either way, other than is eſtabliſhed in Convocation with Our Royal Aſſent: He, or they, the Offenders, ſhall be liable to Our diſpleaſure, and the Churches Cenſure in Our Commiſſion* Eccleſiaſtical, *as well as any other: and We will ſee there ſhall be due execution upon them.*

No ſooner were the Articles publiſhed with this Declaration, but infinite were the Clamours which were raiſed againſt it by thoſe of the *Calvinian* party. Many exclaimed againſt it for the *depths of Satan*, ſome for a *Jeſuitical* Plot to ſubvert the Goſpel: For what elſe could it aim at (as they gave it out) but under colour of ſilencing the diſputes on either ſide, to give incouragement and opportunity to *Arminians* here to ſow their tares, and propagate their erroneous Doctrines. And what effects could it produce, but the ſuppreſſing of all Orthodox Books, the diſcouraging of all godly and painful Miniſters, thereby deterred from preaching the moſt comfortable Doctrines of mans election unto life; The *Arminians* in the mean time gathering ſtrength, and going on ſecurely to the end they aimed at. And to give the better colour to theſe ſuſpicions, a Letter is diſperſed abroad, pretended to be written to the Rector of the Jeſuites in *Bruxells* the chief City of *Brabant*. In which the Writers let him know, with what care and cunning they had planted here that *Soveraign* drug *Armini-*

aniſm,

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aniſm, which they hoped would purge the Proteſtants from their *Hereſies*, and that it did begin to flouriſh and bear fruit already; That for the better preventing of the Puritans, the *Arminians* had lockt up the Dukes ears, *&c.* with much of the like impudent ſtuff, which no ſober man did otherwiſe look on than a piece of *Gullery*. Upon which grounds, a Petition was deſigned for his ſacred Majeſty, by ſome of the *Calvinian* Party in and about the City of *London*, "For the revoking of the ſaid Declaration, by which they were de-"terred (as the matter was handled) from preaching the *ſaving* Do-
Cant. Doom. "ctrines of Gods *Free Grace* in *Election* and *Predeſtination*: And this "(ſay they) had brought them into a very great ſtraight; either "of incurring Gods heavy diſpleaſure, if they did not faithfully diſ-"charge their Embaſſage in declaring the *whole Counſel* of God; "or the danger of being cenſured as violaters of his Majeſties ſaid "Act, if they preacht thoſe conſtant Doctrines of our Church, "and confuted the oppoſite *Pelagian* and *Arminian Hereſies*, both "Preached and Printed boldly without fear of cenſure. And there-"upon they pray on their bended knees, that his gracious Majeſty "would take into his Princely conſideration the forenamed Evils "and Grievances under which they groaned, and, as a wiſe Phy-"ſician, preſcribe and apply ſuch ſpeedy Remedies as may both "cure the preſent Maladies, and ſecure the peace of Church and "Common-wealth, from all thoſe Plagues which their Neighbours had "not a little felt, and more may fear if the Council of his Majeſties "Father to the States of the United Provinces were not better fol-"lowed.

But this Petition being ſtopt before it came to the King, they found more countenance from the Commons, in the next Parliamentary meeting, than they were like to have found at the hands of his Majeſty. For the Commons conceiving they had power to declare Religion as well as Law, (and they had much alike in both) they voted this Anti-Declaration to be publiſhed in the name of that Houſe: *viz.*
Manuſcript Narrat. of Parl. 1628. "We the Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, do claim, profeſs, "and avow for truth the ſenſe of the Articles of Religion which were "eſtabliſhed in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, "which by the publick Acts of the Church of *England* and the gene-"ral and current expoſition of the Writers of our Church have been "delivered to us, and we reject the ſenſe of the *Jeſuites*, *Arminians*, "and all others wherein they differ from us. Which Declaration of the Commons, as it gave great animation to thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party, who entertained it with the like ardency of affection, as thoſe of *Epheſus* did the Image of *DIANA* which fell down from Heaven; ſo gave it great matter of diſcourſe to moſt knowing men. The Points were intricate and weighty, ſuch as in all Ages of the Church had exerciſed the wits of the greateſt Scholars. Thoſe which had taken on them to declare for truth that which they took to be the ſenſe and meaning of the Articles in thoſe intricate Points, were at the beſt no other than a company of Lay Perſons met together on another occaſion; who, though they might probably be ſuppoſed for the

the wiſeſt men, could not in reaſon be relied on as the greateſt Clerks. And therefore it muſt needs be looked on as a kind of *Prodigie*, that men unqualified, and no way authorized for any ſuch purpoſe, ſhould take upon them to determine in ſuch weighty matters, as were more proper for a National or Provincial Council: But being it proceeded from the Houſe of Commons, whoſe power began to grow more formidable every day than other, no body durſt adventure a Reply unto it; till *Laud* himſelf, by whoſe procurement his Majeſties Declaration had been publiſhed, laying aſide the Dignity of his Place and Perſon, thought fit to make ſome *Scholia's*, or ſhort notes upon it. Which not being publiſhed at that time in Print (for ought I have either heard or ſeen) but found in the rifling of his Study amongſt the reſt of his Papers, I ſhall preſent unto the Reader in theſe following words: L. I B. III. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

And firſt (ſaith he) *the Publick Acts of the Church in matters of Doctrine are Canons and Acts of Councils, as well for expounding as determining; The Acts of the High Commiſſion are not in this ſenſe Publick Acts of the Church, nor the meeting of a few or more Biſhops* Extra Concilium *unleſs they be by lawful Authority called to that work, and their deciſion approved by the Church. Secondly, The current Expoſition of Writers is a ſtrong probable argument,* De ſenſu Canonis Eccleſiæ vel Articuli; *yet but probable: The current Expoſition of the Fathers themſelves have ſometimes miſſed* Senſum Eccleſiæ. *Thirdly, Will you reject* all *ſenſe of* Jeſuite *or* Arminian? *May not ſome be true? May not ſome be agreeable to our Writers, and yet in a way that is ſtronger than ours to confirm the Article? Fourthly, Is there by this Act any Interpretation made or declared of the Articles or not? If none, to what end the Act? If a ſenſe or interpretation be declared, what Authority have Lay-men to make it? For interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have power to make it. Fifthly, It is manifeſt there is a ſenſe declared by the Houſe of Commons, the Act ſays it,* (We avow the Article, and in that ſenſe, and all other that agree not with us in the aforeſaid ſenſe, we reject (*theſe, and theſe go about miſinterpretation of a ſenſe*) Ergo, *there is a Declaration of a ſenſe; yea, but it is not a new ſenſe declared by them, but they* avow *the old ſenſe declared by the Church*) the publick Authentick Acts of the Church *&c.*) *yea; but if there be no ſuch publick Authentick Acts of the Church, then here is a* ſenſe *of their own declared under the pretexts of it. Sixthly, It ſeems againſt the Kings Declaration,* 1. *That ſays, We ſhall take the general meaning of the Articles: This Act reſtrains them to conſent of Writers.* 2. *That ſays, The Articles ſhall not be drawn aſide any way, but that we ſhall take it in the literal and Grammatical ſenſe: This Act ties us to conſent of writers, which may, and perhaps do, go againſt the literal ſenſe; for here is no exception, ſo we ſhall be perplexed, and our conſent required to things contrary. Seventhly, All conſent in all Ages, as far as I have obſerved, to an Article or Canon, is to it ſelf as it is laid down in the body of it, and if it bear more ſenſes than one, it is lawful for any man to chuſe what ſenſe his judgment directs him to, ſo that it be a ſenſe* ſecundum Analogiam fidei, *and that he hold it peaceably without diſtracting the Church, and this till the Church that made the Article* Cant. Doom. p. 163.

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determine a ſenſe: And the wiſdom of the Church hath been in all Ages, or in moſt, to require conſent to Articles in general, as much as may be, becauſe that is the way of Unity; and the Church in high points requiring aſſent to particulars, hath been rent; as De Tranſubſtantiatione, *&c.*

It is reported of *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, Sirnamed the *Wiſe*, that he uſed many times to ſay (never the wiſer for ſo ſaying) That if he had ſtood at God Almighties Elbow when he made the world, he would have put him in mind of ſome things which had been forgotten, or otherwiſe might have been better ordered than they were. And give me leave to ſay, with as little wiſdom, (though with no ſuch blaſphemy) that if I had ſtood at his Lordſhips Elbow when he made theſe *Scholia's*, I would have put him in mind of returning an anſwer to that Clauſe of the ſaid Declaration, in which it is affirmed, *That the Articles of Religion were eſtabliſhed in Parliament in the thirteenth of Queen* Elizabeth. But I would fain know of them whether the Parliament they ſpeak of, or any other ſince or before that time, did take upon them to confirm *Articles* of Religion, agreed on by the Clergy in their Convocations, or that they appointed any *Committee for Religion* to examine the Orthodoxie of thoſe Articles, and make report unto the Houſe. All which was done in that Parliament was this, and on this occaſion. Some Miniſters of the Church ſo ſtiffly wedded to their old *Mumſimus* of the Maſs; and ſome as furiouſly proſecuting their new *Sumpſimus* of *inconformity*, it was thought fit that between thoſe contending parties, the Doctrine of the Church ſhould be kept inviolate. And thereupon it was Enacted, That every perſon under the degree of a Biſhop, which did or ſhould pretend to be a Prieſt or Miniſter of Gods holy Word and Sacraments in the Church of *England*, ſhould before *Chriſtmaſs* next following, in the preſence of his Dioceſan Biſhop, teſtifie his aſſent and ſubſcribe to the ſaid Articles of the year 1562. Secondly, That after ſuch ſubſcribing before the Biſhop, he ſhould on ſome Sunday in the Forenoon in the Church or Chappel where he ſerved, in time of Divine Service read openly the ſaid Articles, on pain of being deprived of all his Eccleſiaſtical Promotions as if he were then naturally dead. Thirdly, That if any Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould maintain any Doctrine contrary to any of the ſaid Articles, and being Convented before his Biſhop, *&c.* and ſhould perſiſt therein, it ſhould be juſt cauſe to deprive ſuch perſon of his Eccleſiaſtical Promotions. Fourthly, That all perſons to be admitted to any Benefice with cure, ſhould likewiſe ſubſcribe to the ſaid Articles, and publickly read the ſame in the open Church, within two months after their Induction, with declaration of their unfeigned aſſent to the ſame, on the pain aforeſaid. In all which there was nothing done to confirm theſe Articles, but only a pious care expreſſed for reformation of ſuch diſorders as were like to riſe amongſt the Miniſters of the Church by requiring their ſubſcription and aſſent unto them under ſuch temporal puniſhments, which at that time the Canons of the Church had not laid upon them.

But

But it is time to leave theſe follies of my own, and return to our Biſhop, who had thus ſeaſonably manifeſted both his Zeal and Judgment in reference to the peace of the Church in general; nor ſhewed he leſs in reference to the peace of that Univerſity, which had the happineſs and honour of his Education. The Proctorſhip had before been carried by a combination of ſome houſes againſt the reſt; the weaker ſide calling in ſtrangers and non-reſidents to give voices for them. For remedy whereof a Letter in another year was procured from the Earl of *Pembroke*, then Chancellour of that Univerſity, by which it was declared, that only ſuch as were actually Reſidents ſhould be admitted to their Suffrages in the ſaid Elections; which Letter was proteſted againſt by the *Proctors* for the year 1627. as knowing how deſtructive it was of their plot and party: And on the other ſide, ſuch Colledges as had many Chappelries, and other places, which were removable at pleaſure, inveſted many which came out of the Country in the ſaid Offices and Places one after another, thereby admitting them for the time into actual reſidence. In which eſtate things ſtood when the great competition was, *April* 23. 1628. betwixt *Williamſon* of *Magdalens*, and *More* of *New-Colledge* on the one ſide, and *Bruch* of *Brazen-noſe*, with *Lloyd* of *Jeſus Colledge* on the other ſide. Theſe laſt pretending foul play to be offered to them (as indeed it was not very fair) made their appeal unto the King; before whom the proceedings being heard and examined, *Williamſon* and *Lloyd* were returned *Proctors* for that year, the laſt pretending Kindred to the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*. And to prevent the like diſorders for the time to come, it was reſolved by the King, with the Advice of his Council, but of *Laud* eſpecially, that the *Proctors* ſhould from thenceforth be choſen by their ſeveral Colledges, each Colledge having more or fewer turns, according to the number and greatneſs of their Foundations. To which end a *Cycle* was deviſed, containing a perpetual Revolution of three and twenty years, within which Latitude of time, *Chriſt-Church* was to enjoy ſix Proctors, *Magdalen* five, *New-Colledge* four, *Merton*, *All-Souls*, *Exeter*, *Brazen-Noſe*, St. *Johns*, and *Wadham* Colledges to have three apiece; *Trinity*, *Queens*, *Orial*, and *Corpus Chriſti* to have only two; the reſt, that is to ſay, *Univerſity*, *Baliol*, *Lincoln*, *Jeſus*, and *Pembroke*, but one alone; which *Cycle* was ſo contrived, that every Colledge knew their turn before it came, and did accordingly reſolve on the fitteſt man to ſupply the place. And for the more peaceable ordering of ſuch other matters in the Univerſity, as had relation thereunto, ſome Statutes were digeſted by *Laud*, and recommended by the King to the ſaid Univerſity, where they were chearfully received, without contradiction, and Entred on Record in the Publick Regiſters in *December* following. Yet was not this the only good turn which that Univerſity received from him in this Year: For in the two Months next enſuing, he procured no fewer than 260 *Greek Manuſcripts* to be given unto the Publick Library; that is to ſay, 240 of them by the Munificence of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and 20 by the Bounty of Sir *Thomas Row*, then newly returned from his Negotiations in the Eaſtern parts.

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And now the time of the next Parliamentary Meeting, which by divers Adjournments had been put off till the twentieth of *January*, was neer at hand. And that the Meeting might be more agreeable to his Intendments, his Majesty was advised to smooth and prepare his way unto it, first by removing of some Rubs, and after by some popular Acts of Grace and Favour. *Savil* of *Yorkshire*, a busie man in the House of Commons, but otherwise a politick and prudent Person, he had taken off at the end of the former Parliament, by making him one of his Privy Council, and preferring him to be Comptroller of his Houshold, in the place of *Suckling* then deceased; and at the end of the last Session had raised him to the honour of Lord *Savil* of *Pontfract*. Competitor with *Savil* in all his Elections for that County, had been Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouse*, a man of most prodigious Parts, which he had made use of at first in favour of the Popular Faction, and for refusing of the *Loan* had been long imprisoned. He looked on the Preferments of *Savil* (his old Adversary) with no small disdain, taking himself to be, as indeed he was, as much above him in Revenue, as in Parts and Power. To sweeten and demulce this man, Sir *Richard Weston* then Lord Treasurer, created afterwards Earl of *Portland*, used his best endeavours; and having gained him to the King, not only procured him to be one of his Majesties Privy Council, but to be made Lord *President* of the *North*, and advanc'd unto the Title of *Viscount Wentworth*; by which he overtopped the *Savills* both in Court and Country. Being so gained unto the King, he became the most devout Friend of the Church, the greatest Zealot for advancing the *Monarchical* Interest, and the ablest Minister of State both for Peace and War, that any of our former Histories have afforded to us. He had not long frequented the Council-Table, when *Laud* and he, coming to a right understanding of one another, entred into a League of such inviolable Friendship, that nothing but the inevitable stroke of Death could part them; and joining hearts and hands together, co-operated from thenceforth for advancing the Honour of the Church, and his Majesties Service.

These Matters being carried thus, to assure himself of two such Persons, in which he very much pleased himself, his Majesty must do something also to please the People; and nothing was conceived could have pleased them more, than to grant them their desires in matters which concerned Religion, and bestow Favours upon such men as were dear unto them. In pursuance of his gracious Answer to the Lords and Commons, touching Priests and Jesuits, the growth of *Popery*, and obstinacy of Recusants, he had caused his Proclamation to be issued on the third of *August*, for putting the Laws and Statutes made against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, in due Execution: And now he adds another to it, dated on the eleventh day of *December*, for the Apprehension of *Richard Smith* a *Popish Priest*, styling and calling himself the Bishop of *Chalcedon*, a dangerous man, and one who under colour of a Foreign Title, exercised all manner of Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Church of *England*. And on the other side, Archbishop *Abbot*, a great Confident of the Popular Party in the House

Hist of K. Charles.

Houſe of Commons, is ſent for to the Court about *Chriſtmas*, and from out of his Barge received by the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Earl of *Dorſet*, by them accompanied to the King, who giving him his Hand to kiſs, enjoyned him not to fail the *Council-Table* twice a week. And ſo far all was well, beyond all exception; but whether it were ſo in the two next alſo, hath been much diſputed. *Barnaby Potter*, *Proveſt* of *Queens Colledge* in *Oxon.* a thorow-pac'd *Calvinian* (but otherwiſe his ancient Servant) is preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle*, then vacant by the Tranſlation of *White* to the See of *Norwich*. *Mountague*'s Book, named *Appello Cæſarem*, muſt be called in alſo; not in regard of any falſe Doctrine contained in it: but, *for being the firſt cauſe of thoſe Diſputes and Differences which have ſince much troubled the quiet of the Church*; His Majeſty hoping, *That the occaſion being taken away, men would no longer trouble themſelves with ſuch unneceſſary Diſputations*. Whether his Majeſty did well in doing no more, if the Book contained any falſe Doctrine in it; or in doing ſo much, if it were done only to pleaſe the Parliament. I take not upon me to determine: But certainly, it never falleth out well with Chriſtian Princes, when they make Religion bend to Policy, or think to gain their ends on men by doing ſuch things as they are not plainly guided to by the Light of Conſcience, And ſo it hapned to his Majeſty at this preſent time; thoſe two laſt Actions being looked on only as Tricks of King-craft, done only out of a deſign for getting him more love in the hearts of his People than before he had. Againſt the calling in of *Mountague*'s Book, it was objected commonly to his diſadvantage, That it was not done till three years after it came out, till it had been queſtioned in three ſeveral Parliaments, till all the Copies of it were diſperſed and ſold; and then too, That it was called in without any Cenſure either of the Author or his Doctrines; that the Author had been puniſhed with a very good Biſhoprick, and the Book ſeemingly diſcountenanced, to no other end but to divert thoſe of contrary perſwaſion from Writing or Acting any thing againſt it in the following Parliament. And as for *Potter*, what could he have done leſs in common gratitude, than to prefer him to a Biſhoprick, for ſo many years Service as *Potter* in his time had done him both as Prince and King, So true is that of the wiſe Hiſtorian? (a) *When Princes once are in diſcredit with their Subjects, as well their good Actions as their bad are all accounted Grievances.*

(a) *Inviſo ſemel principe ceu bene facta, ceu male facta premunt.* Tacit. Hiſt.

For notwithſtanding all theſe preparatory actions, the Commons were reſolved to begin at the ſame Point where before they ended. The Parliament had been Prorogued as they were hammering a Remonſtrance againſt *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which animated, *Chambers*, *Rouls*, and ſome other Merchants, to refuſe the payment; for which refuſal ſome of their Goods was ſeiſed by Order from the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, and ſome of them committed Priſoners by the Kings Command. Theſe matters ſo poſſeſſed their thoughts, that a week was paſſed before they could reſume their old care of Religion or think of Petitioning his Majeſty for a Publick Faſt: but at laſt they fell upon them both. To their Petition for a Faſt (not tendred to his Majeſty till

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till the thirtieth of *January*) he returned this Answer the next day, *viz.* "That this Custom of Fasts at every Session was but lately begun; that he was not so fully satisfied of the necessity of it at this "time; that notwithstanding, for the avoiding of Questions and Jealousies, he was pleased to grant them their Request; with this "*Proviso*, That it should not hereafter be brought into President but "on great occasions: And finally, that as for the form and times "thereof he would advise with his Bishops, and then return unto both "Houses a particular Answer. But so long it was before that Answer came unto them, and so perverse were they in crossing with his Majesties Counsels, that the Parliament was almost ended before the Fast was kept in *London* and *Westminster*, and dissolved many days before it was to have been kept in the rest of the Kingdom. And for Religion, they insisted on it with such importunity, that his Majesty could no longer dissemble his taking notice of it, as a meer artifice and diversion to stave him off from being gratified in the Grant of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which he so often press'd them to. And thereupon he lets them know, *That he understood the cause of their delay in his business to be* Religion, *of the preservation whereof none of them should have greater care than himself; and that either it must be an Argument he wanted Power to preserve it (which he thought no body would affirm) or at the least, That he was very ill counselled, if it were in so much danger as they had reported.*

This notwithstanding, they proceed in their former way. His Majesty had granted several Pardons to *Mountague*, *Cosens*, *Manwairing* and *Sibthorp*, before-mentioned. These Pardons must be questioned, and the men summoned to appear: And Information is preferred by *Jones* against *Mountague*'s Confirmation in the See of *Chichester*, which after many disputes is referred to a Select Committee. Complaint is made against *Neile* Bishop of *Winton*, for saying to some Divines of his Diocess, *That they must not Preach against Papists now, as they had done formerly.* *Marshall* and *Moor*, two Doctors in Divinity (but such as had received some displeasures from him) are brought in to prove it. Upon him also it was charged, That the Pardons of *Mountague* and *Cosens* were of his procuring: Insomuch that *Eliot* pronounced positively, *That all the Dangers which they feared, were contracted in the person of that Bishop*; and thereupon desired, *That a motion might be made to his Majesty to leave him to the Justice of that House.* Many Reports come flowing in to the Committee for Religion, of turning Tables into Altars, adoring towards or before them, and standing up at the Gospels and the *Gloria Patri*, which must be also taken into consideration. The Articles of *Lambeth* are declared to be the Doctrines of this Church, and all that did oppose them to be called in question. *Walker* delivered a Petition from the Booksellers and Printers, in complaint of the Restraint of Books written against *Popery* and *Arminianism*; and the contrary allowed of, by the only means of the Bishop of *London*; and, That divers of them had been *Pursevanted* for Printing of *Orthodox Books*; and, that the Licensing of Books was only to be restrained to the said Bishop and his Chaplains.

lains. Hereupon followed a Debate amongſt them about the Licenſing of Books, which having taken up ſome time, was referred to the Committee alſo, as the other was. By theſe Embaraſſes the Committee for Religion had work enough, more than they knew how to turn their hands to. But before they could bring any thing to perfection, his Majeſty was ſo exaſperated by their rigorous Proceedings againſt the Farmers of his Cuſtoms, the Impriſoning of *Acton* Sheriff of *London*, their Voting down his right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and their threatning Speeches againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, whom he highly favoured; That on the ſecond of *March* he Adjourned the Houſe, and on the tenth of the ſame Month Diſſolved the Parliament. At which Adjournment ſome of the Members carried themſelves in ſuch an undutiful (I muſt not ſay a ſeditious) manner, that they locked up the doors of the Houſe, put the keys into one of their Pockets, excluded the Kings Meſſenger from coming in to deliver his Errand, compelled the Speaker to return to his Chair, and held him there by ſtrong hand, till they had thundred out their *Anathema's*, not only againſt ſuch as ſhould dare to Levy the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, but thoſe alſo who ſhould willingly pay it, before it had been granted by Act of Parliament; for which Contempts and Diſobediencies, the principal Sticklers were convented by the Lords of the Council, and after brought before the Juſtices of his Majeſties Bench, by whom they were not only fined, but committed unto ſeveral Priſons, notwithſtanding all they could pretend or plead from the *Petition of Right*, which they ſo much ſtood on. So hard a thing it is to find a cord ſo ſtrong as to bind the Prerogative, when Kings have either power or Will to make uſe thereof.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1628.

During this laſt Parliament, *Leighton*, a *Scot* by birth, a Doctor of Phyſick by Profeſſion, a fiery *Puritan* in Faction, dedicated a moſt peſtilent Book unto them, called *Sions Plea*: In this Book he incited them *to kill all the Biſhops, and to ſmite them under the fifth Rib*; inveighing alſo againſt the *Queen*, whom he branded by the name of an *Idolatreſs*, a *Canaanite*, and the Daughter of *Heth*. And that this general Doctrine might not be Preached without a particular Application, a Paper was caſt into the yard belonging to the Houſe of the Dean of St. *Pauls*, *March* 2. to this effect; *viz.* "*Laud* look to thy ſelf; be "aſſured thy Life is ſought, as thou art the fauterer of all Wicked"neſs: Repent thee, repent thee of thy monſtrous ſins, before thou "be taken out of the World, *&c.* And aſſure thy ſelf, neither "God nor the World can endure ſuch a vile Counſellour to live, "or ſuch a Whiſperer. Another was found at the ſame time and place againſt the Lord Treaſurer, who now is made the Scape-Goat, to bear all thoſe faults in Civil Matters which formerly had been imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham*. It was no need to bid them have a care of themſelves, after two ſuch Warnings: *Leighton* is therefore brought into the *Star-Chamber* as ſoon as he could be apprehended, where he was Sentenced to have his Ears cropp'd, his Noſe ſlit, his Forehead ſtigmatized, and to be whipped: But between the Sentence and Execution he made his eſcape out of the *Fleet*, though by

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better

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better hap to the *Warden*, than to himſelf, he was retaken in *Bedfordſhire*, and underwent the puniſhment appointed for him; but this happened not till *November* 29. 1630. The reſt of this Year (in reference to our preſent Story) was of little Action, *Laud* falling into a burning Fever on the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, at the Houſe of *Windebank* his old Friend, by which he was brought to ſuch a low and weak eſtate, that he was not able to reach to his own Houſe till *October* 20. nor to put himſelf into the Service of his Place till the end of *March*. Yet ſuch was the Activeneſs of his Spirit, that though his Body was infirm, yet his Thoughts were working. He ſaw the Church decaying both in Power and Patrimony: Her Patrimony dilapidated by the Avarice of ſeveral Biſhops, in making havock of their Woods to enrich themſelves; and more than ſo, in filling up their Grants and Leaſes to the utmoſt term, after they had been nominated to ſome other Biſhoprick, to the great wrong of their Succeſſors. Her Power he found diminiſhed partly by the Biſhops themſelves, in leaving their Dioceſſes unregarded, and living altogether about *Weſtminſter*, to be in a more ready way for the next Preferment; partly by the great increaſe of Chaplains in the Houſes of many private Gentlemen: but chiefly by the multitude of Irregular Lecturers, both in City and Country, whoſe work it was to undermine as well the Doctrine as the Government of it. For the preventing of ſuch miſchiefs as might hence enſue, ſome Conference had paſſed betwixt him and *Harſnet*, who lately had ſucceeded *Mountain* (before he had half warmed his Chair) in the See of *York*; and certain Conſiderations were reſolved upon to be propounded to the King, for the peace and well-ordering of the Church; which being reduced into form, and by *Laud* preſented to his Majeſty, were firſt ſigned by his Majeſties Royal Hand, and publiſhed in *December* following by the Title of *His Majeſties Inſtructions to the moſt Reverend Father in God* George *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *containing certain Orders to be obſerved and put in execution by the ſeveral Biſhops in his Province*: Which ſaid Inſtructions were as followeth.

CHARLES REX.

I. *That the Lords the Biſhops be commanded to their ſeveral Sees, there to keep Reſidence; excepting thoſe which are at neceſſary Attendance at Court.*

II. *That none of them Reſide upon his Land or Leaſe that he hath Purchaſed, nor on his* Commendam, *if he hold any; but in one of his* Epiſcopal Houſes, *if he have any ſuch: And that he waſte not the Woods where any are left.*

III. *That they give Charge in their* Triennial Viſitations, *and at other convenient times, both by themſelves and their Arch-Deacons, That the Declaration for ſetling all Queſtions in difference, be ſtrictly obſerved by all Parties.*

IV. *That there be a ſpecial Care taken by them all, That their Ordinations be Solemn, and not of unworthy Perſons.*

V. *That*

V. *That they take great Care concerning the* Lecturers *in their ſeveral* Dioceſſes, *for whom We give theſe Special Directions following.*

1. *That in all Pariſhes the afternoon Sermons be turned into Catechiſing by Queſtion and Anſwer, where and whenſoever there is not ſome great cauſe apparent to break this ancient and profitable Order.*

2. *That every Biſhop Ordain in his* Dioceſs, *That every* Lecturer *do read* Divine Service *according to the* Liturgy *Printed by Authority, in his* Surplice, *and before the* Lecture.

3. *That where a* Lecture *is ſet up in a Market-Town, it may be Read by a Company of Grave and Orthodox Divines near adjoyning, and in the ſame* Dioceſs; *and that they Preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many do uſe.*

4. *That if a Corporation do maintain a ſingle* Lecturer, *he be not ſuffered to Preach till he profeſs his willingneſs to take upon him a* Living *with* Cure of Souls, *within that incorporation, and that he do actually take ſuch* Benefice *or* Cure *ſo ſoon as the ſame ſhall be fairly procured for him.*

VI. *That the Biſhops do incourage and countenance the grave and Orthodox Divines of their Clergie, and that they uſe all means by ſome of their Clergie, or others, that they have knowledge how both* Lecturers *and* Preachers *within their Dioceſſes behave themſelves in their Sermons, that ſo they may take order for any abuſe accordingly.*

VII. *That the Biſhop ſuffer none under Noblemen, and men qualified by the Law, to have any private Chaplain in his houſe.*

VIII. *That they take eſpecial care, that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for the Prayers and Catechiſm, as Sermons; and take particular notice of all ſuch as abſent themſelves as Recuſants, or otherwiſe.*

IX. *That every Biſhop, who by Our Grace and Favour, and good opinion of his Service, ſhall be nominated by Us to another Biſhoprick, ſhall not from that day of nomination preſume to make any Leaſe for three Lives, or one and twenty years, or* Concurrent *Leaſe, or any way renew any Eſtate, or cut any wood or timber, but meerly to receive the Rents due, and ſo quit the place; For we think it a hateful thing that any mans leaving the Biſhoprick ſhould almoſt undo his Succeſſor. And if any man ſhall preſume to break this Order, We will refuſe him at Our Royal Aſſent, and keep him at the place which he hath ſo abuſed.*

X. *And laſtly, We command you to give Us an account every year on the ſecond of* January *of the performance of theſe Our Commands.*

The Reader may think ſtrange that in the ſecond of theſe Inſtructions we ſhould find any Biſhop under a ſuppoſition of having no Epiſcopal houſe for his habitation; concerning which he is to know, that the Biſhops of *Oxon* at that time had no houſe left belonging to their Epiſcopal See, either in the City, or in the Country: but dwelt at their Parſonage houſes which they held in *commendam*, as before Dr. *Bridges*, who had no *commendam* within the Dioceſs, did for the moſt

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part in hired houſes. For though at the foundation of the Biſhoprick of *Oxon*, in the Abbey of *Oſeney* the King appointed *Gloceſter* Hall for the Biſhops Palace; yet when that foundation was diſſolved, and the Biſhops See removed to *Chriſt Church*, the Grant of *Gloceſter* Hall was diſſolved alſo. The Biſhops thereupon retired to ſome Country houſe within the Dioceſs, which appertained unto them in the right of their See, as long as any of their Mannours, Land, and Houſes were left unſold. But they being finally made a prey to the Luſt and Sacriledge of ſome great perſons, they have ſince lived for the moſt part in hired houſes, or on their *Commendams* (if they had any ſuch) within their Dioceſſes, till the year 1632. when Dr. *John Bancroft* was made Biſhop of *Oxon*, who having at or about that time obtained of the King that the Vicarage of *Cudſden*, about five miles from *Oxen*, being of his own proper Patronage and Donation, might be annexed for ever unto his Epiſcopal See, built there at the perſwaſion of our Biſhop of *London*, a very fair and convenient houſe, with a decent Chappel thereunto, to be the ordinary dwelling place of himſelf, and his Succeſſors. But the houſe proved almoſt as ſhort lived as the Founder, being burned down by Colonel *Leg*, during the ſhort time that he was Governour of *Oxon*, for fear it might be made a Garriſon by the Parliament Forces; though with as much reaſon, and more piety, he might have Garriſoned it for the King, and preſerved the houſe.

But to proceed, No ſooner were theſe *Inſtructions* come to the hand of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, but they were preſently diſperſed, and communicated to the Suffragan Biſhops. In this he acted only *Miniſterially*, and durſt do no otherwiſe, but when he came to act *Authoritatively*, in his own capacity he betrayed the cauſe; he neither liked the third Inſtruction for obſerving his Majeſties Declaration before the Articles, that being looked on as an Artifice to bring in *Arminianiſm*. Nor was he pleaſed with any of the Limitations concerning *Lecturers*, to whom (as the chief ſticklers in the *Puritan* Cauſe) he was always favourable; which laſt affection he was ſo unable to conceal, that when the *Dean* and *Archdeacon* of *Canterbury* had ſuſpended *Palmer* and *Udnay*, two of the *Lecturers* in that Dioceſs, whom they found obſtinately inconformable to the Kings Directions; He reſtored them not long after to their ſeveral Lectures, inhibiting the Archdeacon from his Juriſdiction, and expoſing all that acted in it to contempt and ſcorn. And if an Archbiſhop could be ſo unſatisfied for putting theſe Inſtructions into execution, as his place required, there is no queſtion to be made, but various deſcants and reports would be raiſed upon them by moſt ſorts of People. The Country Gentlemen took it ill to be deprived of the liberty of keeping Chaplains in their houſes, from which they had not been debarred by the Laws of the Land. The Laws indeed had taken order, that no perſons under the Degree of a Baron, (ſome Judges and great Offices excepted only) ſhould qualifie any of their Chaplains for a diſpenſation to hold more than one Benefice with *Cure of Souls*, or to be diſpenſed with for not reſiding on ſuch Cures as they were preferred to. And they had taken

Cant. Doom. p. 513.

taken order how many Chaplains every ſuch perſon, according to his Rank and Degree in the *Scale* of Nobility, ſhould be enabled to qualifie to thoſe ends and purpoſes: but otherwiſe all perſons had been left at liberty to keep as many as they would, and as long as they pleaſed, without any comptrol. Nor were the Chaplains better pleaſed, than their Maſters were. For having lived upon hard commons, and perhaps under ſome ſmart Diſcipline alſo in their Halls and Colledges, they thought that they had ſpent their ſtudies to good purpoſe by finding eaſe and a full belly in theſe Gentlemens houſes, from whom there was ſome poſſibility of preferment alſo, which better Scholars then themſelves might have otherwiſe hoped for. Such of the Biſhops as were poſſeſſed of the poorer Biſhopricks, were as much troubled as the other, and thought it the worſt kind of baniſhments to be confined unto the Country; complaining privately, that now the Court-Biſhops had ſerved their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miſeries their poor brethren were expoſed unto; who if they were conſtrained to live in their Epiſcopal houſes, or in any other place within their Dioceſſes, muſt be conſtrained alſo to keep up ſuch a Port, and maintain ſuch open Hoſpitality as their Revenues could not bear. Nor was it thought a leſs injury to them, that they could not make the beſt of their time, but were required to be good huſbands for another man, who was to enjoy the place which they were to leave; when they were fain to take it as it came to their hands, without any prevention going before, or ſatisfaction following after.

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But greater were the clamours of the *Puritan* Faction, reviving all, which had been made againſt the like Inſtructions in the time of King *James*, and the late Declaration publiſhed by the King reigning. For what leſs could be aimed at in them than ſuppreſſing the Divine Ordinance of Preaching, or at the leaſt a dreadful diminution of the number of Sermons; And what could follow thereupon, but negligence in the Prieſts, ignorance in the People, *Popery* and Superſtition in the mean time gaining ground on both? Spending the afternoons in teaching the Catechiſm was a work fitter for a *Pedagogue* than a preaching Miniſter, who rather were ordained to provide *ſtrong meats* for men, than *milk* for babes; and yet ſuch was the ſtrictneſs of the ſaid *Inſtructions*, in looking to the obſervance of the late *Declaration*, that they were not ſuffered to ſet *ſtrong meats* before the people, though men of ripe years, and ſomewhat more than Children in their underſtandings. Preaching muſt be reſtrained hereafter to Gods Will *revealed*, to Faith in Chriſt, and Moral duties towards God and men: but as for his ſecret Will and Purpoſe in the unſathomable depths of *Predeſtination*, thoſe muſt be kept ſealed up under lock and key, and none but the *Arminians* have the opening of them. And yet the grief had been the leſs if *Lecturers* had been left to their former liberty, and not tied up to *Gown* and *Surplice*, or fettered with *Parochial* cures, and conſequently with Subſcriptions and Canonical Oaths; badges of Antichriſt, and profeſſed enemies to the pure Freedom of the Goſpel. Where might a man repair with comfort to hear Gods Word preached in truth and ſimplicity, the Sacraments adminiſtred in their origi-

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nal nakedneſs; to hear Chriſt ſpeaking in his Prophets, and the Prophets ſpeaking to the People, if this world went on? But notwithſtanding theſe ſecret Murmurs on the one ſide, and the open Clamours of the other, *Laud* was reſolved to do his duty, who ſummoning all the *Miniſters* and *Lecturers* about the City of *London* to appear before him, made a ſolemn Speech, in which he preſſed the neceſſity of his Majeſties ſaid *Inſtructions* for the good of the Church, and of their chearful obedience to them; He directed Letters alſo to every Archdeacon in his Dioceſs, requiring them to ſee them publiſhed to all the Clergy, and to give him an exact account at the end of their Viſitations how they were obſerved; eſpecially inſiſting on the third Inſtruction, *For keeping the Kings Declaration, that ſo the differences and diſputes in thoſe prohibited points might be laid aſide.* The like care taken alſo by the reſt of the Biſhops, but ſlackning by degrees when the heat was over; and poſſibly in ſhort time after they had not been looked into at all, if *Abbot* had continued longer in the See of *Canterbury*: or that his Majeſty had not enjoyned the Biſhops to give him an exact account of their proceedings in the ſaid particulars, not once for all, but Annually once in every year, on the ſecond of *January*. Which care being taken for the peace and happineſs of the Church of *England*, we will lay hold upon this opportunity for croſſing over into *Ireland*, and taking a ſhort view of the ſtate of Religion in that Country; which from henceforth ſhall be lookt into more than hath been formerly.

Concerning which we are to know, that when the Reformation was advanced in the Church of *England*, the firſt care was to let the people have the Bible, the publick Liturgie, and certain godly Homilies in the Engliſh tongue; as appeareth by the Statutes 2, 3. *Edw.* vi. 5, 6. *Edw.* vi. and 1 *Eliz.* Secondly, The like care was taken of the *Welſh*; For whoſe Inſtruction it was further ordered, partly by the Queen, and partly by Act of Parliament, in the fifth of her Reign, that as well the Bible as the Common-Prayer Book ſhould be Tranſlated, Printed, and Publiſhed in that Language; one Book of each ſort to be provided for every ſeveral Church at the Charge of the Pariſh. Which being Printed at the firſt in the large Church-Volume, was afterwards reduced to a more portable bulk for Domeſtical uſes, by the coſt and charge of *Rowland Heylyn*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, about the beginning of the Reign of this King. But for *Ireland* no ſuch care was taken. The Acts of the Supremacy, and of the Conſecrations of Archbiſhops and Biſhops were received there as before in *England*, the *Engliſh Liturgie* impoſed on them by order from hence, and confirmed by Parliament in that Kingdom. Which notwithſtanding not only the *Kernes*, or natural wild *Iriſh*, but many of the better ſort of the Nation, either remain in their old barbarous ignorance, or elſe adhere unto the Pope, or finally to their own ſuperſtitious fancies, as in former times. And to ſay truth, it is no wonder that they ſhould, there being no care taken to inſtruct them in the *Proteſtant* Religion, either by tranſlating the Bible, or the Engliſh *Liturgie*, into their own Language, as was done in *Wales*; but forcing them to come

come to the Engliſh Service, which they underſtood no more than they did the *Maſs*. By means whereof the *Iriſh* are not only kept in continual ignorance, as to the Doctrine and Devotions of the Church of *England*: but thoſe of *Rome* are furniſhed with an excellent argument for having the Service of the Church in a Language which the Common people underſtand not. And though ſomewhat may be pleaded in excuſe thereof, during the unquietneſs of that Kingdom under Queen *Elizabeth*, who had the leaſt part of it in her poſſeſſion; yet no ſufficient plea can be made in defence of it for the time ſucceeding, when the whole Country was reduced, and every part thereof lay open to the courſe of Juſtice. So that I cannot look upon it without great amazement, that none of the Biſhops of that Church ſhould take care herein, or recommend the miſerable condition of that people to the Court of *England*.

Now as Popery continued by this means in the Realm of *Ireland*, ſo *Calviniſm* was as ſtrongly rooted in that part thereof, which profeſſed the Doctrine and Religion of the Church of *England*. And touching this we are to know alſo, that the *Calvinian* Doctrines being propagated in both Univerſities by ſuch Divines as lived in exile in Queen *Maries* time; one *Peter Baroe* a Frenchman obtained to be the Lady *Margarets* Profeſſor in the Divinity Schools at *Cambridge*. This man approving better the *Melanchthonian* Doctrine of Predeſtination than that of *Calvin*, publickly taught it in thoſe Schools, and gained in ſhort time very many followers. *Whitaker* was at that time her Majeſties Profeſſor for Divinity there, and *Perkins* at the ſame time was of no ſmall note, both *Calviniſts* in theſe points of Doctrine, and both of them *ſupralapſarians* alſo. Betwixt theſe men and *Baroe* there grew ſome diſputes, which afterwards begat ſome heats, and thoſe heats brake out at laſt into open *Factions*. Hereupon *Whitaker*, *Perkins*, *Chaderton*, and others of the ſame opinion, thought it expedient to effect that by power which they were not able to obtain by Argument. And to that end preoccupate the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Whitgift* with moſt ſad complaints touching the Rupture made by *Baroe* in that Univerſity. For remedy whereof, the Archbiſhop calls unto him *Fletcher* the Lord Elect of *London*, *Vaughan* the Lord Elect of *Bangor*, *Tyndal* Dean of *Ely*, and ſuch Divines as came from *Cambridge*, who meeting at his houſe in *Lambeth* on the twenty ſixth day of *November*, *Anno* 1595. did then and there conclude upon certain Articles, for regulating diſputations in thoſe points of Controverſie. Which Articles, being nine in number, are theſe that follow:

I. *God from all eternity hath predeſtinated certain men unto life, certain men he hath reprobated.*

II. *The moving or efficient cauſe of Predeſtination unto life, is not the foreſight of Faith, or of perſeverance, or of Good-works, or of any thing that is in the perſon predeſtinated, but only the good will and pleaſure of God.*

III. *There is predetermined a certain number of the Predeſtinate which can neither be augmented or diminiſhed.*

IV. *Thoſe*

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IV. *Those who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily damned for their sins.*

V. *A true living and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the Act either finally or totally.*

VI. *A man truly faithful, that is, such a one who is endued with a justifying Faith, is certain with the full assurance of Faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.*

VII. *Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men; by which they may be saved if they will.*

VIII. *No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.*

IX. *It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.*

These Articles being brought to *Cambridge*, so discouraged *Baro*, that when the ordinary time of his publick readings was expired, he forsook that place, and not many years after died in *London*. His Funeral being attended (by order from Bishop *Bancroft*) by most of the Eminent Divines about that City, which shews that both the Bishop, and the most eminent Divines of *London*, were either inclinable to his opinions, or not so averse from them, as not to give a solemn attendance at the time of his Funeral. The news of which proceedings being brought to the Queen, she was exceedingly offended, conceiving it a deep intrenchment upon her Prerogative, that any such Declaration should be made in matter of Religion without her Authority. Once was she at a point to have them all indited of a *Præmunire*, but the high esteem she had of *Whitgift*, whom she commonly called her *black husband*, reprieved all the rest from the danger of it. Howsoever such a strict course was taken for suppressing the said Articles, that a Copy of them was not to be found in *Cambridge* for a long time after; though after the Queens death they began to peep abroad again, and became more publick. Nor was King *James* better conceited of them than Queen *Elizabeth* was; for when it was moved by Dr. *Reynolds* at *Hampton* Court that the nine *Orthodoxal Assertions* (as he pleased to call them) which were concluded on at *Lambeth* might be admitted into the confession of the Church of *England*, the King so much disliked the motion, that it was presently rejected without more ado. But that which the *Calvinians* could not get in *England*, they effected at the last in *Ireland*; where the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England* had been less looked after than at home. For in the year 1615. a Parliament and Convocation being holden in *Dublin*, it was resolved on by the Archbishop, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy then assembled, that a Book of Articles should be framed to be the Publick Confession of that Church for succeeding times; the drawing up whereof was committed to Dr. *James Usher* (afterwards Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Lord *Primate* of *Ireland*) a Rigid *Calvinist*, but otherwise the ablest Scholar of that Nation: And he accordingly fashioning the Doctrine for that Church by his

Ushers *Life*. p. 49.

his own Conceptions, inſerted into the ſaid Book of Articles the nine Concluſions made at *Lambeth*, to be the ſtanding Rule (as he thought and hoped) of that Church for ever. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1629.

And yet they did not ſtay there neither. The *Sabbatarian* Doctrines had been broached by *Bownd* in the ſame year wherein the nine Articles had been made at *Lambeth*: Which being oppoſed by Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, and never admitted in this Church, were by the cunning of that Faction, and the zeal or diligence of this man, incorporated into the Body of the Articles for the Church of *Ireland*; in which it is declared for a Doctrinal Point, *That the firſt day of the Week, which is the* Lords-day, *is wholly to be dedicated to the Service of God; and therefore we are* Bound *therein to reſt from our common and daily Buſineſs, and to beſtow that leiſure upon holy Exerciſes, both Publick and Private.* And becauſe he concluded in himſelf that the *Pope* was *Antichriſt*, that alſo muſt be made an Article of this Confeſſion, in which we find it in theſe words, *viz. The Biſhop of* Rome *is ſo far from being the Supream Head of the Univerſal Church, that his Works and Doctrines do plainly diſcover him to be the* Man of Sin, *foretold in the Holy Scripture, whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the Spirit of his mouth, and aboliſh with the brightneſs of his coming.* Add hereunto, That the Plantation of the *Scots* in *Ulſter* (unhappily projected in the time of King *James*) brought in ſo much *Puritaniſm*, ſuch a contempt of Biſhops, ſuch a neglect of the Publick *Liturgie*, and other Divine Offices of this Church, that there was nothing leſs to be found amongſt them than the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. The *Papiſts* in the mean time encreaſing more and more, grew at the laſt to ſo great a confidence, by the claſhings here in *England* betwixt the King and his Parliaments, that they gave themſelves great hope of a *Toleration*: And poſſibly enough they might have obtained ſomewhat like it, if the *Iriſh* Biſhops had not joyned together in a *Proteſtation* to the contrary, and cauſed it to be publiſhed in the Pulpit by the Biſhop of *Derry*, with infinite Acclamations of the *Proteſtant* Hearers. Howſoever, the loſt hopes had ſo far emboldened them, that they ſet up ſome Religious Houſes even in *Dublin* it ſelf, ſhewed themſelves openly in their Friars Habits, and publickly affronted not only the Mayor, but the Archbiſhop of that City. This coming to his Majeſties knowledge, he cauſed his pleaſure to be ſignified to the Lords of his Council, "That Order "ſhould be taken there, That the Houſe where the ſaid *Seminary* "*Friars* appeared in their Habits, and wherein the Reverend Arch-"biſhop and the Mayor of *Dublin* received their firſt Affront, be "ſpeedily demoliſhed, and be the Mark of Terrour to the Reſiſters "of Authority; and that the reſt of the Houſes erected or employed "there or elſewhere, to the uſe of Superſtitious Societies, be con-"verted to Houſes of Correction, and to ſet the People on work, or "to other Publick uſes, for the Advancement of Juſtice, good Arts, "or Trade. Which Order of the Council-Table bears date 31 *January* 1629.

That

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1630. *Cant. Doom.*

That part of the *Remonſtrance* of the Houſe of Commons which related to the Affairs of *Ireland*, firſt alarm'd *Laud* to take the buſineſs of that Church into conſideration. And that he might be the better informed in all Particulars which concerned it, he took order with Doctor *William Beadle*, deſigned unto the Biſhoprick of *Killmore*, to give him an exact Account of the Eſtate of that Church, as ſoon as he could make any perfect Diſcovery of it. This Order of the Council-Table reinforced that caſe, and quickned the diſpatch of *Beadle* for his ſatisfaction, from whom he received a Letter dated *April* the firſt, *Anno* 1630. In which he ſignified, "That he had not been unmindful of his Lordſhips commands, which he was now the better able to "perform, becauſe (ſaith he) I have been about my Dioceſs, and can "ſet down out of my knowledge and view what I ſhall relate, and "ſhortly, to ſpeak much ill matter in few words. Which ſaid, he "lets his Lordſhip know, That the Eſtate of his Church was very miſerable; That the Cathedral Church of *Ardagh* (united to the See "of *Killmore*) one of the moſt ancient in *Ireland*, and ſaid to be built "by St. *Patrick*, together with the Biſhops Houſe there, was down "to the ground; That the Church at *Killmore* had been built, but "without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice: That the Pariſh-Churches were all in a manner ruined, or unroofed and unrepaired; That "the People, ſaving a few *Britiſh* Planters here and there, (which are "not the tenth part of the Remnant) were obſtinate Recuſants; "That there was a *Popiſh* Clergy, more numerous by far than the "*Engliſh* Clergy; That they were in full Exerciſe of all Juriſdiction "Eccleſiaſtical by their *Vicars-general* and *Officials*, who were ſo confident as to Excommunicate thoſe that came to the Courts of the "*Proteſtant* Biſhops; That the *Popiſh Primate* for *Ireland* lived within "two miles of his Houſe, and the *Biſhops* in another part of his *Dioceſs* "further off; That every Pariſh had their *Prieſt*, and ſome two or "three apiece, and ſo their *Maſſing-houſes* alſo; and that *Maſſes* are "ſometimes ſaid in their Churches; That there were *Friars* in divers "places, who went about, though not in their Habit, who by their "importunate begging did impoveriſh the People; That Poverty "was much increaſed, as well by their paying double Tythes both to "their own *Clergy* and the *Engliſh*, as by the dearth of Corn, and the "death of their Cattel; That the Oppreſſions of the Courts Eccleſiaſtical (which was reckoned for another cauſe of the common poverty) were not indeed to be excuſed, which for his part he had a "purpoſe to reform; That in each Dioceſs there were ſome ſeven or "eight Miniſters of good ſufficiency; but being *Engliſh*, they neither "underſtood the Tongue of the People, nor could perform any Divine "Offices, nor converſe with them as they ought, and conſequently "could give no ſtop to the growth and increaſe of *Popery*; That moſt "of the ſaid Miniſters held two, three, four, or more Vicarages apiece; "and that ſometimes one man was Clerk of three or four Pariſhes, "which were ordinarily bought, ſold, and let to Farm: And finally, "That by thoſe and ſuch other means, his Majeſty was King as to the "Hearts and Conſciences of that People; but ſo, that it remained "wholly at the *Popes* Diſcretion.

Here

Here was ſufficient work for a Reformation; and we ſhall ſee *Laud* taking care of it in convenient time. But firſt we muſt look back to *England*, where we ſhall find a new Honour attending on him. On *Saturday*, being the tenth of *April*, *William* Lord *Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Steward of his Majeſties Houſhold, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxon.* died ſuddenly at his Houſe called *Baynards-Caſtle*, having then made up the fiftieth year of his life, beyond which it had been foreſigned by ſome Learned Mathematicians that he ſhould not live. This news being brought to *Oxon.* the ſame night or elſe betimes on *Sunday* morning, *Laud's* friends not only in St. *Johns*, but in other Colledges, ſo beſtirred themſelves, that before noon there was a Party ſtrong enough to confer that honourable Office on him. *Frewen* of *Magdalen* Colledge being then *Vice-Chancellor*, was at that time as far as *Andover* in a Colledge-Progreſs, where hearing accidentally of the Earls deceaſe, he made ſuch haſte back again to *Oxon.* that he came thither before the end of Evening Prayer; and finding his own Colledge in ſo good a poſture, adviſed with ſome other heads of Houſes, whom he knew to have the ſame Inclinations, to make ſure work of it; by whom it was agreed, That a *Convocation* ſhould be called the next day, to ſpeed the buſineſs before any other Competitor ſhould appear againſt him. Nor did they make more haſte than good ſpeed in it, ſome Agents coming thither before night in behalf of *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, Brother to the Earl deceaſed; and they ſo well diſcharged their Truſt, that thoſe of the *Welch* Nation generally, *Prideaux*, and ſome other Heads of Houſes who were of the *Calvinian* Party, and the four Colledges belonging to the Viſitation of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* (that is to ſay, *Baliol*, *Orial*, *Lincoln*, and *Brazen-noſe*) were wholly in a manner for him; that Biſhop ſtickling in the Cauſe, not ſo much out of love to him, as hate to *Laud*. But all their diligence could not carry it as they deſired, the Election paſſing clear for the Biſhop of *London*, of which he was preſently advertiſed by the Univerſity. On his receiving of which Meſſage, he preſently addreſſed himſelf unto the King, acquainted him with what had hapned, and humbly ſubmitted the Place unto his diſpoſal. To which his Majeſty moſt graciouſly returned this Anſwer, *That he knew none more worthy of it than himſelf; and that he ſhould rather ſtudy how to add further Honours to him, than take any from him.* On which incouragement, he appointed *Wedneſday* the twenty eighth of the ſame Month for the Solemnity of his Inveſtiture in that Office, which was performed in a frequent *Convocation* of that Univerſity, held at *London*-Houſe, to the great contentment of both Parties.

To add a further Honour to him, it pleaſed his Majeſty to ſend him the joyful news, under his Royal Signature, of the Princes Birth, born at his Majeſties Houſe of St. *James's* on *Saturday May* the twenty ninth, about one of the Clock in the afternoon. He had the happineſs of ſeeing the Royal Infant in the firſt hour of his Birth, and the honour afterwards to Baptize him. By ancient Priviledge belonging to the See of *Canterbury*, thoſe Archbiſhops are Ordinaries of the Court; his Majeſties Houſhold, whereſoever the ſame ſhall be, being

Bibl. Regia. ſect. 5. n. 15.

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reckoned to be his Parishioners, or of his peculiar. But *Abbot* being at that time infirm, or otherwise of no desirable Company, this Office was devolved on *Laud*, as Dean of the Chappel; and he accordingly performed it. The Birth of this young Prince, as it gave cause of great Rejoycings to all good Subjects, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to the *Puritan* Faction, who had laid their Line another way, and desired not that this King should have had any Children: insomuch that at a Feast in *Fryday-street*, when some of the Company shewed great joy at the news of the Queens first being with Child, a leading man of that Faction (whom I could name, were it worth the while) did not stick to say, *That he could see no such cause of joy as the others did.* Which said he gave this Reason for it; *That God had already better provided for us than we had deserved, in giving such a hopeful Progeny by the Queen of* Bohemia, *brought up in the Reformed Religion; whereas it was uncertain what Religion the Kings Children would follow, being to be brought up under a Mother so devoted to the Church of* Rome. And I remember that being at a Town in *Glocestershire*, when the news came of the Princes Birth, there was great Joy shewed by all the rest of the Parish, in causing Bonfires to be made, and the Bells to be rung, and sending Victuals unto those of the younger sort, who were most busily imployed in the publick Joy: But so, that from the rest of the Houses, being of the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* Party, there came neither Man, nor Child, nor Wood, nor Victuals; their doors being shut close all the evening, as in a time of general mourning and disconsolation.

It was not long after the Birth of this new Prince, that the *Feoffees* for buying in *Impropriations* were called in question. The Project took beginning about four years since, when *Preston* governed the Affairs of the *Puritan* Faction; at what time it was resolved amongst them, to set up stipendary *Lectures* in all or most Market-Towns, where the People had commonly less to do, and consequently were more apt to Faction & Innovation than in other places; and of all Market-Towns, to chuse such as were Priviledged for sending Burgesses to the High-Court of Parliament: Which that it might be done with the less charge to the People, who commonly love that Religion best which comes cheapest to them, it was agreed to raise a common Stock amongst them, for buying in such Impropriations as were remaining in the hands of the *Laity*. To this end they erected a kind of Corporation amongst themselves, consisting of twelve Persons, Clergy-men, Citizens, and Lawyers, enabling them to receive and expend such Monies as their Emissaries should bring in from their several Circuits. Their names, *Gouge*, *Offspring*, *Sibbs*, and *Davenport*, Ministers; *Eyre*, *Brown*, *White*, and *Sherland*, Lawyers; *Geering*, *Davis*, *Harwood*, and *Bridges*, Citizens; to whom was afterwards added *Rowland Heylyn* Alderman of the City of *London*, by the name of Treasurer to the Company, that there might be a casting Voice amongst them, as occasion served. Great were the sums of Mony which the Piety of the Design, and the Diligence of their Limitaries brought in from their several Walks; most men admiring, all applauding the noble-

ness

neſs of ſuch a Popular and Religious Act. But ſo it hapned, that one of the Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge, reſorting frequently to a Town in *Gloceſterſhire*, where one of theſe new *Lectures* had been founded by them, obſerved theſe two things: First, That the Impropriation of that place remained in the ſame Lay-hands as before it did; and therefore that the *Lecturer* muſt receive his Stipend from the Profits of ſome other Pariſh: And ſecondly, he obſerved, That the man there planted in that *Lecture* was one of a notorious Inconformity, found upon further ſearch to have been hunted from one Dioceſs to another, till at laſt he was ſilenced upon that account by the *High-Commiſſion*. This gave him the firſt hint of making a more diligent Inquiry into that Deſign; and the more he looked into it, the worſe he liked it. He knew ſo much of ſome, and heard ſo much of all the reſt which were truſted in the Conduct of it, that he could hope for no good to the Church of *England*, from any thing of their projectment; For if ſuch publick miſchiefs be preſaged by *Aſtrologers* from the Conjunctions of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, though the firſt of them be a *Planet* of a moſt ſweet and gentle Influence; what Dangers, what Calamities might not be feared from the Conjunction of twelve ſuch Perſons, of which there was not one that wiſhed well to the preſent Government?

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

Having gone thus far in the Diſcovery, it pleaſed the *Preſident* of his Colledge, being then *Vice-Chancellor*, to appoint him to Preach the Act Sermon at Saint *Maries* on *Sunday* in the afternoon, *July* 11. 1630. To which appointment he ſubmitted, reſolving to deliver ſomething in that great concourſe of People from all parts of the Kingdom, which might ſerve to undeceive them in that Particular. He had choſen for his Text thoſe words in the thirteenth of Saint *Matthew*, viz. *But while men ſlept, the enemy came and ſowed tares amongſt the wheat, and went his way.* Beginning to draw toward the end of his Sermon, he thus began to unfold the Arras, and ſhew the Portraicture thereof in as lively Colours as he could, "Planting, ſaith he, alſo many Penſionary "Lecturers in ſo many places where it need not, and upon days of "common labour, will at the beſt bringing forth of fruit, appear to "be a tare indeed, though now no whoat be counted tares, *&c.* We "proceed a little on further in the propoſal of ſome things to be con"ſidered. The Corporation of *Feoffees* for buying in of Impropria"tions to the Church; Doth it not ſeem in the appearance to be an "excellent piece of *Wheat*? A noble and gracious point of piety? Is "not this *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*? But bleſſed God, that men "ſhould thus draw near unto thee with their mouths, and yet be far "from thee in their hearts! For what are thoſe intruſted in the ma"naging of this great buſineſs? Are they not the moſt of them the "moſt active and the beſt affected men in the whole cauſe, and *Magna "Partium momenta*, Chief Patrons of the Faction? And what are "thoſe, whom they prefer? Are they not moſt of them ſuch as muſt "be ſerviceable to their dangerous innovations? And will they not "in time have more preferments to beſtow, and therefore more de"pendencies than all the Prelates in the Kingdom, *&c.* Yet all this "while we ſleep and ſlumber, and fold our hands in ſloth, and ſee per"haps, but dare not note it.

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No ſooner were theſe words delivered, but a general conſternation ſhewed it ſelf in the looks of his Auditors. Some honeſt and well meaning men ſeemed much to pity his misfortune in being put (as it was then generally, but falſly, thought) on that odious task by ſome higher power, of purpoſe to diſcourage ſuch a pious work which good men rejoyced at. But greater was the clamour of the *Puritan* Faction, who in a meeting held that night conceived no puniſhment great enough to inflict upon him which either Law, Malice, or Revenge could expoſe him to. Being thus alarmed on the one ſide, and threatned by the other, he ſent a Copy of his Sermon to the Biſhop of *London*, not long before made Chancellour of that Univerſity; and ſignified in a Letter therewith ſent, that he was both able and ready to make good his charge, whenſoever it ſhould be required. This information came opportunely to his Lordſhip, with whom the King had uſed ſome ſpeech (as appears by his *Breviate* p. 12.) about reſtoring Impropriations to the Church, which this new project ſeemed to fruſtrate. And thereupon he entred it in the *Memorandum* at the end of his *Breviate*, viz. *To overthrow the* Feoffment, *dangerous both to Church and State, going under the ſpecious pretence of buying in Impropriations.* The Preacher in the mean time making a further ſearch into the buſineſs, obſerved theſe particulars, firſt, That no Impropriation by them bought, was laid unto the Pariſh Church, and ſetled upon the preſent Incumbent, as was firſt expected, that being utterly deſtructive of their deſign. Secondly, That a great part of that Revenue was ſpent in maintaining a daily Lecture in the Church of Saint *Antholins* at ſix a clock in the Morning, to ſerve for a *Seminary* for the training up of ſuch *Novices* as were to be ſent into the Country. Thirdly, That another part of it was laid out, not only for the ſupport of ſilenced Miniſters, during their own lives, but of their Wives and Children alſo after their deceaſe, than which there could not be a greater tye to unite men to them, and make them ſticklers in the Cauſe. Fourthly, Theſe Penſions neither were ſo ſetled, nor their Lectures ſo well eſtabliſhed in their ſeveral places: but that the one might be withdrawn, and the other removed, at the will and pleaſure of their Patrons, if they grew ſlack and negligent in the *holy cauſe*, which faſtened a dependence on them to the very laſt. It was not long before *Noy*, that Renowned Lawyer, was made his Majeſties Atturney General, to whom the Preacher was commanded to deliver a particular of all ſuch paſſages as he had obſerved in the carrying on of this deſign; the Feoffees thereupon being called into the Court of Exchequer, the Feoffment damned, the Impropriations by them bought confiſcated to his Majeſties uſe, and the merit of the cauſe referred to a further cenſure. And though the Sentence paſt not on them in the Court of Exchequer, *Anno* 1632. yet I have laid all here together, that ſo I might proceed to the reſt of my buſineſs with the leſs diſturbance.

For whileſt the buſineſs of theſe *Feoffees* was under a more ſtrict enquiry, ſome things were acted by this Biſhop, which brought him into the like danger of an Inquiſition. Saint *Catherine Creed* Church in *London*

London being ruinous, and in great decay, had in ſome places been taken almoſt down to the ground, and rebuilt again by the Pariſhioners at ſuch time as *Mountain* was their Biſhop, who ſuffered it to be made uſe of for Religious Offices without any new conſecration of it, which coming to the knowledge of Biſhop *Laud*, he cauſed it for a time to be ſuſpended from all Divine Service, Sermons, and Sacraments, till it was reconſecrated by himſelf. Which Office he ſolemnly performed on Sunday *January* 16. An infinite number of people of all ſorts drawing together to behold that Ceremony to which they had ſo long been ſtrangers, ignorant altogether of the Antiquity and the neceſſity of it. The like done alſo at the Church of Saint *Giles* in the Fields on the Sunday after; which had been generally repaired, and for the greateſt part new built in the time of his Predeceſſor alſo; Divine Service, Preaching, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments being uſed therein, without any ſuch Dedication of it, contrary to the practice of the Primitive times and the Ancient Canons. And that we may lay theſe things together, the next year after, *June* the ſeventh, he conſecrated a new Church at *Hammerſmith*, built at the charges of that Village; and the next year after that, *July* the ſeventeenth, a new Church built at *Stanmore magna*, in the County of *Middleſex*, erected at the ſole coſt and charges of Sir *John Wolſtenholm*, one of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, who made that day a ſumptuous and magnificent Feaſt for the entertainment of all ſuch perſons of quality as reſorted thither to behold the Conſecration. It was my chance to beſtow a viſit on his Lordſhip at his houſe in *Fulham*, as he was preparing to ſet forwards to this laſt Conſecration; and being one of his Chaplains was at that time abſent, and that he was of ordinary courſe to make uſe of two, he took me along with him to perform the Office of the Prieſt in the ſolemnity, in which his Chaplain *Bray* was to Act the Deacons. I obſerved all the Circumſtances and religious Ceremonies which were uſed by him in that ſacred Action from his firſt coming into the Church till his going out, but could ſee nothing in it ſavouring of that Superſtition which had raiſed ſo much talk amongſt ignorant People, and afterwards was certified by *Willingham* at the time of his trial in reference to the conſecration of Saint *Katherine Creed Church*. The Antiquity of which Conſecrations hath been ſhown in our *Introduction* performed by the Fathers at ſuch times when the Church hated nothing more than ſuperſtitious vanities, or the accumulating of unneceſſary and fruitleſs Ceremonies. The form and manner of it left by our firſt *Reformers* to the care and diſcretion of the Biſhops whom it moſt concerned; Preſuming that nothing would be done by them which would not be conſiſtent with the Rules of Piety, and the ancient practice of the Church in the times foregoing. And ſuch a Form was that which this Biſhop now made uſe of, digeſted firſt by the Learned *Andrews* for his own particular uſe, but afterwards copied out, approved and followed (though poſſibly not without ſome alterations) by moſt Biſhops elſe.

Nor did he take care only of the Fabrick, the material Church, to make

PART I. Ann. Dom. 1630. make it fit and ready for Gods publick Service: but that Gods publick Service ſhould be ſo done in it, as might moſt tend to the edification of the Myſtical Church, the body aggregate of Gods People. His Majeſty had took ſpecial care, as well by his Proclamation of the fourteenth of *June*, 1626. as by his Declaration before the Articles, 1628. for the ſilencing of all diſputes touching Predeſtination, and the points depending thereupon, which had begun to threaten ſuch a general diſturbance to the peace of the Church. But neither Proclamation, nor Declaration could perſwade the *Calvinian* Party unto any ſuch ſilence, which they interpreted to be a plain betraying of Gods Cauſe into the hands of his enemies. Somewhat is to be done to conjure down theſe unruly Spirits, which otherwiſe would not be confined within their Circle. *Mady*, the Lecturer of *Chriſt-Church* near *Newgate*, muſt needs flye out upon the Point of *Election*, and the motives to it. For this contempt he is called before the Biſhop of *London*, and on ſome further miſ-behaviour prohibited from Preaching any more within that Dioceſs. *Burges* (who afterwards pulled down the Croſs in St. *Pauls* Church-yard) muſt needs add ſcorn to his contempt; telling his Auditors, that if their Miniſter Preached *Popery* or *Arminianiſm* they might change their dwellings, and not trouble the peace and order of their Church. For which about the ſame time he is queſtioned alſo. *White*, and ſome others, in that Dioceſs ſuſpended by this Biſhop on the ſame occaſion.

From the City paſs we to the Court. Where toward the end of the ſame *Month* we find *Davenant* Biſhop of *Sarum* Preaching a Lent Sermon before the King, and therein falling upon ſome of thoſe prohibited points, even before his face, for which the King being much offended (as he had good reaſon) he cauſed him to be called before the Lords of his Council. The cauſe is managed againſt him by Archbiſhop *Harſnet* (*Laud* all the while walking by in ſilence) who gravely laid before him as well the Kings Piety in ſetting forth the ſaid Declaration, as the greatneſs of his, the ſaid *Davenants* offence, in making ſo little reckoning of it. *Davenant* at firſt endeavoureth many defences to make good his Action; but at laſt wiſely caſts himſelf upon this ſubmiſſion, he tells the Lords, in anſwer to one of *Harſnets* objections, *That he was ſorry he did no ſooner underſtand his Majeſties intention, which if he had done before, he would have taken ſome other matter to treat of, which might have given none offence; and that for the time to come he would conform himſelf as readily as any other to his Majeſties Command.* *Arundel*, Earl Marſhal, bids him hold to that, as his ſafeſt Plea, and that he ſhould proceed to no further defence; a bad cauſe not being made the better by too much handling. To this counſel he conforms himſelf. And being afterwards admitted to the kiſs of his Majeſties hand (which his attendance might deſerve, though his Sermon did not) his Majeſty declared to him his Reſolution, *That he would not have this high Point medled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, becauſe it was too high for the Peoples underſtanding; and that other Points which concerned Reformation and Newneſs of life, were more needful and profitable.* I hope the lower Clergy will not

Ch. Hiſt. lib. 11. p. 140.

not ſay hereafter as ſome did of old, That Laws are like the Spiders Cobwebs, which ſuffer the great flies to break through, and lay hold only upon thoſe of the ſmaller ſize. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

From the Court let us go to *Oxon.* where we find the next year beginning (in a manner) with a Sermon Preached at St. *Maries* Church by one *Hill* of *Heart-Hall*, *May* 24. point blank enough againſt his Majeſties Declaration, and more than bitter enough againſt thoſe of different perſwaſion from him; whom he charged with *handling Scriptures worſe than poor Chriſtians were by the Turk at* Tunis, *enforcing them to the vaſſallage of the ſouleſt errours*, not without ſome reflection on the Higher Powers by whom they were *miſchieved into honour*. For which indiſcretion being convented before the *Vice-Chancellour*, and Heads of Houſes, (but not without the Chancellors privity) he confeſſed his fault, and craved pardon for the ſame, which he obtained on his ſubmiſſion made in the Convocation the ſixteenth of *July* following. But worſe it fared not long after with *Ford* of *Magdalen* Hall, *Hodges* of *Exeter* Colledge, and *Thorne* of *Baliol*, who in their ſeveral Sermons had not only committed the like error, but charged their *Renovation* of ſome ancient order in the Church, to be no other than plain *Innovation*. Queſtioned for this by *Smith*, then Warden of *Wadham* Colledge, and Vice-Chancellor of that Univerſity, they appeal from him to the *Convocation*. The Proctors, having unadviſedly received the Appeal, were at the point to have named *Delegates* when *Smith* appealed to the King: But they took their aim amiſs when they ſhot this bolt; For both his Majeſty and the Chancellor were alike concerned in it; the King, to juſtifie his Declaration; the other, to preſerve his own power and dignity; neither of which could have been done, but by defending *Smith* in his lawful acting. On the twenty third of *Auguſt* all parties intereſſed in the Cauſe appeared before the King at *Woodſtock*, who after a full hearing of both ſides, it was ordered thus, That the three Delinquents ſhould be expelled the Univerſity; *Doughty* and *Bruch*, the two *Proctors*, ſhould be deprived of their places: *Prideaux* and *Wilkinſon* (this laſt then Principal of *Magdalen* Hall) being checked for ſtickling ſo much in it, and glad they were that they eſcaped without further cenſure. But they ſhewed not the ſame mercy which they found; for *Rainsford* of *Wadham* Colledge, Preached at St. *Maries* in *Auguſt* following in defence of *Univerſal Grace*, and *Mans Election unto life, from Faith foreſeen*. No man more forward than *Prideaux* to appreach him of it, on whoſe complaint and proſecution he was ſentenced to a publick acknowledgment of his offence in a form preſcribed; which was as much as had been done in the caſe of *Hill*. So that the Rigid *Calvinians* can pretend no juſt ground for that ſo great Calumny, that none but they were cenſured from Preaching thoſe prohibited Doctrines; thoſe of the *Arminian* Party (as they commonly called them) going off unpuniſhed. 1631. *Cant. Doom.* p. 173.

From *Oxon.* croſs we into *Ireland*, where we ſhall ſee *Lauds* care as great for preſerving the Kings Authority and the Churches peace as it was in *England*. *Uſher*, the Lord Primate of that Church, had publiſhed

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liſhed a Book this ſame year in the Latine Tongue, called, The Hiſtory of *Gotteſchalchus*: for which he was after much extolled by *Twiſſe* of *Newbury*, as profeſſed a *Calvinian* as himſelf, in a Letter of his dated *May* 29. 1640. "For, having firſt commended him for his great "learning and various reading manifeſted in his Book *De Primordiis* "*Britannicarum Eccleſiarum*, he magnifies next his ſingular wiſdom for "taking an occaſion to inſert therein the Hiſtory of the *Pelagian Here-* "*ſie*, coming ſo opportunely in his way; and then he addeth that his "Hiſtory of *Gotteſchalchus was a piece of the like nature, and came* "*forth moſt ſeaſonable*, ſo much the more becauſe it ſeemed to give ſome check to a Book written by *Voſſius*, a right Learned man, which had been much cried up by the *Remonſtrants*. *Downham* then Biſhop of *Derry* had ſomewhat before that publiſhed a Diſcourſe about Perſeverance, wherein ſome Paſſages were found directly thwarting his Majeſties moſt pious purpoſe in the ſaid Declaration: But *Uſher's* Book being writ in *Latin*, gave the leſs offence. Nor ſeemed it fit to put any publick diſgrace on a man to whom the Government of the whole National Church had been committed by King *James* of moſt Bleſſed Memory. By queſtioning and ſuppreſſing *Downham's* Book, he might be made as ſenſible of his Error in writing the aforeſaid Hiſtory, as if his own had been made ſubject to the like condemnation. His Majeſty therefore gives him Order, by Letters bearing date at *Woodſtock*, *Auguſt* 24. (the next day after the ſaid Sentence of *Thorn*, *Hodges*, *&c.*) to call in Biſhop *Downham's* Book, who thereupon ſent out Warrants, and cauſed all the Books that were unſent into *England*, to be ſeiſed on: but ſo long it was before the King had notice of it, and ſo long after that, before his Letters came to the Lord Primates hands, which was not till the fifteenth of *October* following, that almoſt all the Copies were diſperſed in *England* and *Ireland*, before the coming out of the Prohibition. And for preventing of the like for the time to come, a Command is laid on *Beadle* Biſhop of *Killmore* (which ſheweth that *Uſher* was not thought fit to be truſted in it) to have an eye unto the Preſs, and to take care that nothing hereafter ſhould be publiſhed contrary to his Majeſties ſaid Directions: So *Beadle* in his Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, dated *November* 8. 1631. Which care being taken for the Peace of that Church, and nothing elſe preſented to us on that ſide of the Sea to detain us any longer there, we will hoiſe Sail again into *England*, where we find more Work.

More Work indeed, and far the greateſt not only of this preſent year, but the greateſt of this Biſhops Life: A Work before in project, but in project only. None had the Courage or the Power to carry it on ſo far as he: He could not reſt under the ſhade of thoſe vaſt Ruines of St. *Paul's* Church (his own Cathedral) without continual thought, and ſome hopes withal of repairing thoſe deformities in it, which by long time had been contracted. Of the firſt Founding of this Church by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the firſt Chriſtian King and the ſixth Monarch of the *Saxons*; and the Enlargement of the ſame by *Erkenwald* the fourth Biſhop of it, we have ſpoke already: and now we are to know, That their old Fabrick being much waſted by Fire in the time

of

of the Conquerour, *Mauritius* then Biſhop of *London*, *Anno* 1083. began the Foundation of that moſt magnificent Pile now ſtanding, *viz.* all the Body of the Church, with the South and North croſs Iſles. Toward which Work he made uſe of a great part of the Materials of the old *Palatine* Caſtle (ſtanding in the ſame place where the Covent of the *Black-Friars* was after built) great part whereof had periſhed by the ſame Fire alſo. But the Foundations which this worthy Biſhop had laid, being ſuitable to his mind, were ſo vaſt, as the Hiſtorian obſerves, (*a*) That though he proſecuted the Work twenty years he left the performing thereof to the care of Poſterity: amongſt which, none more tranſcendently affected to this buſineſs, than his next Succeſſor *Richard Beaumis*, (*b*) who beſtowed the whole revenue of his Biſhoprick upon it, ſupporting himſelf and his Family by other means. And after him (ſome other Biſhops ſucceeding between them) that *Richard*, who was Treaſurer to King *Henry* ii. being made Biſhop of *London* in the firſt year of King *Richard*, beſtowed great Sums of Money in the Reparation of this Church, and the Epiſcopal Houſes which belonged unto it. But all this Charge was principally laid out on the main Body of the Church, and the Croſſed Iſles thereof, the Choire not holding Proportion with ſo vaſt a Structure: So that reſolving to make it fairer and more capacious than before, they began with the Steeple, which was finiſhed in *Anno* 1221. (5 *Hen.* 3.) In which year the Dedication of it was celebrated with great magnificence, the King himſelf, *Otho* the *Popes Legate*, *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Roger* ſirnamed *Niger* then Biſhop of *London* (a chief Advancer of the Work) with five other Biſhops, beſides infinite multitudes of the Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, and others of the Common People from all parts of the Land, being preſent at it.

(a) *Hujus laborioſi operis impenſam tranſmiſit ad poſteros.*

(b) *In Eccleſiæ ſuæ, & Ædificiorum ad Sedem ſuam ſpectantium Structura magnam impendit pecuniam.* Godw: in Catal. Epiſc.

Nor is it to be thought that the Charges of that ſtately and magnificent Structure was ſupported by the Biſhops only, or iſſued out of ſuch Revenues as belonged unto the Dean and Chapter: but that the Clergy and People generally, both of *England* and *Ireland*, contributed largely to the Work; the People of thoſe Times, out of their Devotion to Gods Service, being eaſily incited to further all Works of this nature as occaſion offered. And this appears by the ſundry Letters of ſeveral Biſhops of both Nations, to the Clergy under their Juriſdictions, for recommendation of that buſineſs to their particular Congregation, many of which are extant ſtill upon Record. Nor were the People ſtirred on only by the ſollicitation of their Prieſts, or the exhortatory Letters of their ſeveral Prelates; but by the grants of ſuch Indulgences, and relaxation from their ſeveral and reſpective Penances, which in thoſe Letters were extended unto all ſorts of People, who with a chearful heart and liberal hand did promote the Service: By means whereof ſome men contributed Materials, others ſent in Money; and many Maſons, Carpenters, and other Artificers, who were to labour in the Work, beſtowed their pains and toil upon it for leſs conſideration and reward than in other Buildings. Beſides which, *Henry de Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln* is ſaid to have been a principal Benefactor to that part of it which was then called the *New-work*, in

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a Chappel whereof, dedicated to St. *Dunſtan*, we find his body to be interred. And ſo was *Ralph de Baldock* alſo, both while he was Dean, and when he was Biſhop of this Church; whoſe Body was alſo buried in another part of the *New-work*, called *Our Ladies Chappel*.

But this vaſt Pile, the work of ſo long time, and ſo many Ages, was on the fourth of *June*, *Anno* 1561. in danger to be ſuddenly conſumed by a violent Fire, beginning in the Steeple, and occaſioned by the negligence of a Plummer, who left his pan of coals unquench'd at his going to dinner. A Fire ſo violent, that in the ſpace of few hours it conſumed not only the Steeple where it firſt began, but did ſpread it ſelf to the upper Roof of the Church and Iſles, totally burning all the Rafters, and whatſoever elſe was of combuſtible nature. The Queen knew well, as well as any, that the Revenues of that Church were ſo dilapidated, that neither the Biſhops themſelves, nor the Dean and Chapters, were able to repair the leaſt part of thoſe Ruines which the Fire had made: And thereupon out of a deep apprehenſion of that lamentable Accident, forthwith directed her Letters to the Lord Mayor of *London*, requiring him to make ſome ſpeedy Order for its repair; and to further the Work, gave out of her Purſe 1000 Marks in Gold, as alſo a Warrant for 1000 Load of Timber to be taken out of her Woods, and elſewhere. Nor were the Citizens ſlack herein; for having given a large Benevolence, they added three whole *Fifteens* to be ſpeeildy paid for that purpoſe; all which amounted to three thouſand two hundred forty ſeven pound ſixteen ſhillings two pence halfpeny. The Clergy of *England* within the Province of *Canterbury*, freely contributed the fortieth part of all ſuch Church Livings as were charged with Firſt-fruits, and the thirtieth part of all their Benefices not ſo charged; thoſe of *London* only excepted, who beſides the thirtieth part of ſuch as paid Firſt-fruits, gave the twentieth part of all the reſt: Which Contribution of the Clergy amounted to one thouſand four hundred ſixty one pound thirteen ſhillings and eleven pence; whereunto was added, by the benevolence of the Biſhop of *London*, at ſeveral times, coming in all to nine hundred five pound one ſhilling and eleven pence; By the Dean and Chapter one hundred thirty ſix pound thirteen ſhillings and four pence: and made of the ſurpluſage of Timber one hundred nineteen pound three ſhillings and nine pence; Givan by the Juſtices and Officers of the Common Pleas thirty four pound five ſhillings; and by thoſe of the Kings Bench ſeventeen pound ſixteen ſhillings eight pence: All which together made no more than ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and two pound thirteen ſhillings and four pence. And yet with this ſmall Sum (ſuch was the cheapneſs of thoſe Times) the Work was carried on ſo proſperouſly, that before the Month of *April* 1566. all the Roofs of Timber (whereof thoſe large ones of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, framed in *Yorkſhire*, and brought by Sea) were perfectly finiſhed and covered with Lead; the adding of a new Steeple being thought unneceſſary (becauſe too chargeable) though divers Models have been made and preſented of it.

The whole Roof being thus Repaired, the Stone-work of it ſtood as before it did, ſenſibly decaying day by day, by reaſon of the corroding

ding quality of the Sea-cole ſmoke, which on every ſide annoyed it: Which being obſerved by one *Henry Farley*, about the middle of the Reign of King *James*, he never left ſolliciting the King by ſeveral Petitions and Addreſſes, to take the Ruinous Eſtate thereof into his Princely Conſideration, till at laſt it was reſolved on by the King. And to create the greater Veneration to ſo good a Work, he beſtowed that magnificent Viſit on it, deſcribed at large in the firſt Book of this Hiſtory, *Anno* 1620. The product and reſult whereof was, the iſſuing out a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the ſixteenth day of *November* then next following, directed to Sir *Francis Jones* Knight, then Lord Mayor of *London*, *George* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Francis* Lord *Verulam* then Lord Chancellor of *England*, and divers others, to the number of ſixty perſons and upwards: Which Commiſſion importing, That this Church being the greateſt and moſt eminent (as alſo one of the principal Ornaments) of the Realm, and in much decay, any ſix or more of theſe Commiſſioners, whereof three to be of the ſaid Kings Privy-Council, ſhould meet to make Particulars of the decay, and likewiſe what Houſes, Cellars, *&c.* had been built near it, either to the annoyance of it, or the Church-yard: And moreover to Inquire what Lands, Rents, *&c.* had been given towards its Repair, or Sums of Money collected to that purpoſe, and not accordingly employed: And further to conſider of the moſt fit and proper means to raiſe money to carry on the ſaid Repair: And laſtly, to appoint Surveyors and other Officers of their Work, and to make Certificate of their Proceedings therein, into the Chancery. Upon the Meeting of which Commiſſioners, and diligent ſearch made into the Particulars afore-mentioned, it was acknowledged that the Biſhop of *London* had the whole care of the Body of that Church, and the Dean and Chapter of the Choires: But that which each of them enjoyed to this purpoſe, was ſo little, that they yearly expended double as much upon the Roof and other parts decayed, to preſerve them from preſent ruine. Which being made evident to the Commiſſioners, as alſo that in former times, even from the very firſt foundation thereof, it had been ſupported partly out of the large Oblations of thoſe that viſited the Shrines and Oratories therein, and partly from Publick Contributions in all parts of the Kingdom; It was concluded to proceed in the ſame way now, as had been done formerly. And that it might proceed the better, the King himſelf, and many of the principal Nobility and Gentry, declared by their Subſcriptions (for the encouragement of others to ſo good a Work) what Sums they reſolved to give in purſuance of it: Doctor *John King*, then Biſhop of *London*, ſubſcribing for 100 *l. per Annum* as long as he ſhould continue in that See. *Mountain* who ſucceeded not long after in that Biſhoprick, procured with great charge and trouble ſome huge maſſie Stones to be brought from *Portland*, for the beginning of the Work: But money coming ſlowly in, and he being a man of ſmall activity, though of good affection, the heat of this great buſineſs cooled by little and little, and ſo came to nothing.

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But *Laud* ſucceeding him in the See of *London*, and having deſervedly attained unto great Authority with his Majeſty, no ſooner ſaw his Office ſetled both at home and abroad, but he poſſeſſed him with a Loyal and Religious Zeal to purſue that Work, which King *James* had ſo piouſly deſigned, though it went not much further than the bare deſign. Few words might ſerve to animate the King to a Work ſo pious, who aimed at nothing more than the Glory of God, in the Advancement of the Peace and Happineſs of the Church of *England*: And therefore following the example of his Royal Father, he beſtowed the like Viſit on St. *Pauls*, whither he was attended with the like Magnificence, and entertained at the firſt entrance into the Church with the like Solemnity. The Divine Service being done, and the Sermon ended, which tended principally unto the promoting of a Work ſo honourable both to his Majeſties Perſon, and the *Engliſh* Nation; his Majeſty took a view of the Decays of that Church, and there Religiouſly promiſed not to be wanting in the Piety of his beſt Endeavours, to the Repair of thoſe Ruines which Age, the Caſualties of Weather, or any other Accidents had brought upon it. In order whereunto, in the beginning of this year he iſſued out his Royal Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the tenth of *April* in the ſeventh year of his Reign, directed to Sir *Robert Ducy* Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, *George* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Coventry* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, *&c. William* Lord Biſhop of *London*, *Richard* Lord Biſhop of *Winton*, *John* Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, *&c. Nicholas Rainton*, *Ralph Freeman*, *Rowland Heylyn*, *&c.* Aldermen of the City of *London*, *Edward Waymack*, and *Robert Bateman* Chamberlain of the ſaid City of *London*. In which Commiſſion the ſaid King taking notice of this Cathedral, as the goodlieſt Monument and moſt ancient Church of his whole Dominions, as alſo that it was the principal Monument of the City of *London*, the Imperial Seat of this his Realm; and moreover, That the Commiſſions iſſued out by his Royal Father (as heretofore had been obſerved) were ſlackned by reaſon of his death; but he reſolving to go on therewith effectually, declared as followeth: *viz.* 1. *That all Money brought in for Repair thereof, ſhould be paid into the Chamber of* London. 2. *That* William Laud *then Biſhop of* London *offered to allow* 100l. per Annum *out of the Revenues of that Biſhoprick, during his continuance therein.* 3. *That a Regiſter-Book ſhould be made of all Subſcriptions for Contributions thereunto, as had been done in King* James *his time.* 4. *That the Judges of the Prerogative Court, and all Officials throughout the ſeveral Biſhopricks in* England *and* Wales, *upon the Deceaſe of any Perſon Inteſtate, ſhould be excited to remember this Church, out of what was proper to be given to pious uſes:* And laſtly, *That Commiſſions ſhould be iſſued throughout the whole Kingdom.* Which Commiſſions were executed in the Country with care and diligence, and ſeconded ſo ſtrongly by the power and ſollicitation of this pious Prelate, that the money came flowing in apace; ſo much being raiſed by Legacies, by money given to pious uſes, and other free and voluntary Contributions, before the iſſuing out of thoſe Commiſſions, as enabled the grand Com-

Commiſſioners to begin the work. Inſomuch that on the ſixteenth of *December*, *Anno* 1632. they found that there had been brought into the *Chamber* of *London* the Sum of 5416*li.* 13*s.* 6. *d.* And in *April* next enſuing the Work was begun: The houſes adjoyning to and near the Church being compounded for, and plucked down, a great part of the Church-yard paled in for Maſons to work in, and an order given to *Inigo Jones*, Surveyor-general of his Majeſties Works, on the twenty ſixth of *June* next following, to prepare Scaffolding for the ſame. Which Preparations being made, the firſt ſtone of this new Work was ſolemnly laid by our Biſhop himſelf, the ſecond by Sir *Francis Windebanke*, his Majeſties principal Secretary of State, and the third by Sir *Henry Martin* Knight, then Judge of the Prerogative Court, and the fourth by the ſaid *Inigo Jones*, chief Surveyor of that Fabrick; each of them giving money liberally amongſt the Workmen, the better to encourage them to proceed therein with all honeſt ſpeed. The Quire or Chancel being firſt finiſhed, the work was carried on to the North part of the Croſs Iſle, and ſo unto the Weſtern part or main body of the Croſs Iſle, and ſo unto the Weſtern part or main body of the Church. This worthy Prelate continuing the Piety of his endeavours towards the compleating of this ſtately and Magnificent Structure, as well when he was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (to which dignity he was promoted in *September* following) as when he was Biſhop of *London*, and was more nearly concerned in the affairs of that Church.

And though it be affirmed by a late Hiſtorian, *that many had no fancy to the work becauſe he promoted it*; yet on the contrary it is known, that had not he promoted it, there were not many would have had the fancy to a work of that nature. Some men in hope of favour and preferment from him, others to hold fair quarter with him, and not a few for fear of incurring his diſpleaſure, contributing more largely to it than they had done otherwiſe; if otherwiſe they had contributed at all. Certain I am, that the Regular Clergy were ſo forward in it, that being called together by their ſeveral Ordinaries, few of them gave ſo little as a ſingle tenth, many a double Subſidy, moſt in the middle betwixt both, to be paid in three, four, or five years, as the work continued. Which joyned together mounted to a liberal ſum, not reckoning in the Deans and Chapters, whom it more nearly did concern to ſupport that Fabrick than thoſe of the Parochial Clergy. And yet it cannot be denied, but that it met with many rubs, and mighty enemies. The *Puritan* Miniſters and their Adherents inveighed againſt it as the repairing and adorning of a *Rotten Relique*; inſinuating to the people (as they found occaſion) that it was more agreeable to the Rules of Piety to demoliſh ſuch old Monuments of Superſtition and Idolatry than to keep them ſtanding. For remedy whereof order was given to ſuch as Preached at Saint *Paul's* Croſs, and other publick places both in City and Country, to repreſent unto their hearers all thoſe ſeveral motives which might not only ſerve to juſtifie, but endear the work; nor wanted there ſome zealous Patriots (or ſuch as were deſirous to be ſo accounted) on the other ſide, who

Hiſt. of K. Ch. by H.L.

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who gave it out to be a cheat, a mear Court device to procure money for the King without help of Parliaments; which project if it might succeed, the King (said they) would grow too absolute, and take unto himself an Arbitrary form of Government, the People for want of Parliaments being left remedileſs; which falſe report coming to his Majeſties ears, he was compelled to make this Declaration of himſelf in all ſuch following Commiſſions as were diſpatched into the Country, that he had not only commanded, *That the work of Reparation ſhould begin, but had cauſed an entrance to be made into it, and that he was conſtantly reſolved to follow it till it was brought to perfection, whereof he required the Commiſſioners to ſatisfie all his loving Subjects of the clearneſs of his Royal Intention therein, and to aſſure them in his Name, that all rumors and imaginations, as of diverting the money to any other purpoſe, was but the fancies of men either groſly malevolent, or cauſeleſly jealous and diſtruſtful.*

The Subject being thus aſſured, the Clergy active, and the Nobility giving good example unto all the reſt, the work was ſo followed by the care of this powerful Prelate, that before the year 1640. the whole body of it was finiſhed, and the Tower or Steeple Scaffolded to the very top, with an intent to take it down to the very Arches, and raiſe it to a more ſtately height than it had at the preſent, with four great Pinacles (at each Corner one) the Arches being thought unable to ſupport the burthen of ſuch a Steeple as before was fired. And though the publick Contribution which was brought into the Chamber of *London* amounted to the Sum of 101330 *li.* 4 *s.* 8 *d.* yet there was ſomething more done in it by the Munificence of the King, and the bounty of the private Subject. His Majeſty to give life to the Work had ſent in firſt and laſt 10295 *li.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.* toward the ſaid Sum, with part whereof he cauſed a ſtately *Portico* to be erected at the *Weſt* end of the Church, raiſed on *Corinthian* Pillars, where he placed the Statues of his Royal Father King *James*, and himſelf, for a laſting memorial of this their advancement of ſo glorious a work. Which *Portico* was intended to be an *Ambulatory* for ſuch as by uſual walking in the body of the Church prophaned the place, and diſturbed the Divine Service in the Choire. And on the other ſide, Sir *Paul Pindar* Knight (ſometime Embaſſador from King *James* at *Conſtantinople*) firſt repaired the decays of that goodly Partition, made at the Weſt end of the Choire, adorning the outward Front thereof with fair Pillars of black Marble, and *Statues* of thoſe *Saxon* Kings who had been Founders and Benefactors to that Church; beautified the inward part thereof with Figures of Angels, and all the Wainſcoat work with Figures and Carving, *viz.* of *Cherubins*, and other Images richly guilded; adding alſo fine ſorts of hangings for the upper end thereof, and afterwards beſtowed 4000 *li.* in repairing the South part of the *Croſs Iſle*. But as this Biſhop fell, the work fell with him; the yearly Contribution abating in the year 1641. when he was plunged into his troubles, from 15000 *li.* and upward, to little more than 1500 *li.* and after by degrees to nothing, which clearly ſhews upon what Wheel the whole Engine moved, whoſe ſoul it was, which gave both life and motion

to

to that great deſign. A work of ſuch a vaſt Magnificence as required a large and open heart, commenſurate in ſome manner to the greatneſs of it; not to be entertained by a man of ſuch *narrow comprehenſions*, as were aſcribed unto him in a Speech made by one of the Peers, when he firſt fell into his troubles. So eaſie a thing it is to diſgrace the man whom the weight of his afflictions have once made uncapable of ſtanding up againſt ſuch reproaches as the Pens or Tongues of his Revilers ſhall accumulate on him. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1631.

Better ſucceſs he had in another of his undertakings, though not of ſuch a publick nature, or of ſo general concernment to the honour of the Church and State. He had received his breeding and firſt Preferments in St. *Johns* Colledge in *Oxon.* which he reſolved to gratifie for the charge of his Education, by adding a ſecond Quadrangle unto that of the firſt Foundation. The other great work he carried on by the publick Purſe, contributing little more unto it (beſides his annual penſion of 100 *li.*) but his power and diligence. But this he means to carry on at his own proper Coſts, his Majeſty moſt graciouſly contributing ſome timber towards it out of *Shot-over* woods, of which the Lord *Treaſurer* endeavoured (but in vain endeavoured) to have made a ſtop. Some Benefactor had before enricht the Colledge with a Publick Library, which made one ſide to his new Building, the other three he added to it of his own. That on the North conſiſted altogether of ſeveral Chambers, for the accommodations of the Fellows and other Students. That on the Eaſt of a fair open walk below, ſupported upon curious Pillars, and bearing up a beautiful Gallery, opening out of the Library, for Meditation and Diſcourſe: confronted on the other ſide with the like open walk below, and a ſutable Fabrick over that raiſed up againſt the Eaſtern wall of the Ancient Buildings. Thew hole compoſure faſhioned in an excellent Symmetry according to the exacteſt rules of Modern *Architecture*; not only graceful in it ſelf, and uſeful to that private houſe, but a great ornament alſo to the Univerſity. St. *Johns* in *Cambridge* ſhall boaſt no longer of its precedency, before this in a double Quadrangle; in which it ſtands equalled at the leaſt, if not ſurmounted alſo by this of *Oxford*. On the twenty third of *July*, in this preſent year, he laid the firſt ſtone of this new building, not intermitting it (but only during the unſeaſonableneſs of the following Winters) till he had brought it to an end, according to his firſt deſign and propoſition. Nor did theſe publick buildings take him off in the leaſt degree from doing the Office of a Biſhop. His eye was always watchful over the Churches peace. And to preſerve his own Dioceſs both in peace and order, he beſtowed this year a perſonal Viſitation on it; beginning at *Brentwood* in *Eſſex*, on the thirtieth of *Auguſt*, and ſo went on from place to place, till he had viſited and regulated the whole Clergy of it in their ſeveral Deanries, and Precincts. And for performing of that Office he laid aſide the dignity of a Privy Counſellor, and his attendance on the perſon of his gracious Soveraign, in being an example of a careful and prudent Paſtor to the reſt of his brethren.

In the late Agitations at *Woodſtock* before the King he let fall ſome words

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words, which were interpreted to the disparagement of the married Clergy. He was a single man himself, and wisht perhaps as St. *Paul* once did, That all men else (that is to say, all men in *holy Orders*) would remain so likewise. And some occasion being offered at that time to speak about the conveniences or inconveniencies af a married Clergy, he made some declaration of himself to this effect, that in disposing of all Ecclesiastical Promotions he would prefer the single man before the married, supposing the abilities of the persons were otherwise equal; which limitation notwithstanding it gave much matter of discourse, and not a little ground of scandal to many very honest and well-minded men, who began presently to fear the sad consequents of it. This general murmur could not but come unto his ears, and found him very sensible of the Inconveniencies which might grow upon it. For he soon wiped off that reproach by negotiating a Marriage between Mr. *Thomas Turner*, one of his Chaplains, and a Daughter of *Windebanke* his old friend, (at whose house he had so long lain sick, as before is said.) And that the satisfaction in this point might appear the greater, he officiated the whole Service of their Marriage in his own Chappel at *London* House, joyning their hands, and giving the Nuptial Benediction, and performing all other Ecclesiastical Rites which belonged to the solemnization of Matrimony by the Rules of this Church. This was the answer which he made to his own Objection, and indeed it was so full and home, that the Objection seemed not to require any further answer. Nor was it long before *Windebanke* found how well his chearfulness in yielding to that Match had been entertained. He was at that time one of the Clerks of the *Signet*, as his Father Sir *Thomas Windebanke* had been before him: But our Bishop did not mean he should dwell there alwaies. They had been Contemporaries at St. *Johns* Colledge, their acquaintance from their very Childhood, their persons much of the same stature; a like facetiousness in both for wit and company. In which respects *Laud* had commended him to the good Graces of the Duke when he was alive. But the Duke doing nothing for him, left *Laud* in a capacity to supply the want; by whose power and favour with the King he was advanced unto the honourable Office of the principal Secretary of State, in the place of *Dudly* Lord *Carlton* Viscount *Dorchester*. *Dorchester* died on *Ass-Wednesday* Morning, *Anno* 1631. And of *Windebanke* he writes thus in his *Breviate*, viz. *June* 15. 1632. *Mr.* Francis Windebank *my old friend was sworn Secretary of State, which Place I obtained for him of my gracious Master King* Charles.

About the same time also Sir *Francis Cottington*, who succeeded the Lord Treasurer *Weston* in the place of Chancellor, was made Successor unto *Nanton* in the Mastership of the Wards and Liveries. No sooner was he in this place, but some difference began to grow betwixt him and *Coventry*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, about the disposing of such Benefices as belonged to the King in the Minority of his *Wards*: *Coventry* pleaded a joynt Interest in it according to the Priviledge and usage of his Predecessors, it standing formerly for a rule, that he of the two which first heard of the vacancy, and presented his Clerk

Clerk unto the Biſhop, ſhould have his turn ſerved before the other. But *Cottington* was reſolved to have no Competitor, and would have either all or none. During which Competition betwixt the parties, *Laud* ends the difference by taking all unto himſelf. Many Divines had ſerved as Chaplains in his Majeſties Ships, and ventured their perſons in the action at the Iſle of *Rhe*, during his Majeſties late engagements with *France* and *Spain*; ſome reward muſt be given them for their Service paſt, the better to encourage others on the like occaſions for the time to come. It is cold venturing in ſuch hot Services without ſome hope of Reward. And thereupon he takes occaſion to inform his Majeſty, that till this Controverſie were decided he might do well to take thoſe Livings into his own diſpoſing for the reward of ſuch Divines as had done him ſervice in his Wars, or ſhould go forth hereafter on the like imployments. Which Propoſition being approved, his Majeſty committed the ſaid Benefices unto his diſpoſal, knowing full well how faithfully he would diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him for the advancement of his Majeſties Service, the ſatisfaction of the Suitors, and the Churches peace. Neither did *Cottington* ſeem diſpleaſed at this deſignation: As being more willing that a third man ſhould carry away the prize from both, than to be overtopt by *Coventry* in his own Juriſdiction. By the acceſſion of this power as he encreaſed the number of his dependents, ſo he gained the opportunity by it to ſupply the Church with regular and conformable men, for whom he was to be reſponſal both to God and the King. Which ſerved him for a Counter-Ballance againſt the multitude of Lecturers eſtabliſhed in ſo many places, eſpecially by the *Feoffees* for impropriations, who came not to their doom till *February* 13. of this preſent year, as before was ſaid.

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But greater were the Alterations amongſt the Biſhops in the Church than amongſt the Officers of Court, and greater his Authority in preferring the one than in diſpoſing of the other. *Buckeridge* his old Tutor, dying in the See of *Ely* makes room for *White*, then Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Lord *Almoner*, to ſucceed in his place; A man who having ſpent the greateſt part of his life on his private Cures, grew ſuddenly into eſteem by his zealous preachings againſt the *Papiſts*, his Conferences with the Jeſuite *Fiſher*, and his Book wrote againſt him by command of King *James*. Appointed by that King to have a ſpecial eye on the Counteſs of *Denbigh* (whom the Prieſts much laboured to pervert) he was encouraged thereunto with the Deanry of *Carliſle*, advanced on that very account to the Biſhoprick thereof by the Duke her Brother. The Duke being dead, his favour in the Court continued, removed to *Norwich* firſt and to *Ely* afterwards. *Corbet* of *Oxon.* one of *Lauds* fellow-ſufferers in the Univerſity, ſucceeds him in the See of *Norwich*; and *Bancroft*, Maſter of *Univerſity-Colledge*, is made Biſhop of *Oxon.* Kinſman he was to ever renowned Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, by whom preferred unto that Headſhip, and looked upon for his ſake chiefly, though otherwiſe of a good ſecular living in this Succeſſion. The Biſhoprick of ſmall Revenue, and without a Houſe, but *Laud* will find a remedy for both in convenient time.

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The Impropriate Parſonage of *Cudeſdens* five miles from *Oxon.* belonged to the Biſhop in the right of his See, and he had the Donation of the Vicarage in the ſame right alſo. The Impropriation was in Leaſe, but he is deſired to run it out without more renewing, that in the end it might be made an improvement to that ſlender Biſhoprick. The Vicarage in the mean time falling, he procured himſelf to be legally inſtituted and inducted, and by the power and favour of our Biſhop of *London* obtains an annexion of it to the See Epiſcopal, (the deſign of bringing in the Impropriation going forwards ſtill) and builds that beautiful houſe upon it, which before we mentioned. The See of *Briſtol* was grown poorer than that of *Oxon.* both having been dilapidated in Queen *Elizabeths* time, though by divers hands. To improve the Patrimony thereof, his Majeſty had taken order, that *Wright*, then Biſhop of that Church, ſhould ſpend the renewing of a Leaſe of a very good Farm, not very far diſtant from that City, well Houſed, and of a competent Revenue, to ſerve as a Demeſn to the following Biſhops; for which he was to be conſidered in ſome other Preferment. *Houſon* of *Durham* being dead, *Morton* removes from *Lichfield* thither; A man who for the greateſt part of his time had exerciſed his Pen againſt the *Papiſts*: but gave withal no ſmall contentment to King *James*, by his learned Book in the defence of the three harmleſs *Ceremonies* againſt the *Puritans*. *Wright* follows him at *Lichfield*, and *Cooke* (brother to Secretary *Cooke*) follows *Wright* at *Briſtol*, tyed to the ſame conditions, and with like encouragement. The Secretary had formerly done our Biſhop ſome bad Offices. But great Courtiers muſt ſometimes pay good turns for injuries, break and be pieced again, as occaſions vary. The like care alſo taken by him for mending the two Biſhopricks of *Aſaph* and *Cheſter*, as appears by his *Breviate*.

Breviate. p. 28.

Nor were theſe all the Alterations which were made this year; Archbiſhop *Harſnet* having left his life the year before, care muſt be taken for a fit man to ſucceed at *York*; a man of an unſuſpected truſt, and one that muſt be able to direct himſelf in all emergencies. *Neiles* known ſufficiencies had pointed him unto the place, but he was warm at *Winton*, and perhaps might not be perſwaded to move toward the North, from whence he came not long before with ſo great contentment; Yet ſuch was the good mans deſires to ſerve his Majeſty, and the Church in what place ſoever, though to his perſonal trouble and particular loſs; that he accepted of the offer, and was accordingly tranſlated in the beginning of this year, or the end of the former. Two Offices fell void by this remove, one in the Court, which was the Clerkſhip of the Cloſet: and another in the Church of *Winton*, which was that of the Biſhop. To the Clerkſhip of the Cloſet he preferred Dr. *William Juxon*, (whom before he had made Preſident of St. *Johns* Colledge) and recommended to his Majeſty for the Deanry of *Worceſter*, to the end that he might have ſome truſty friend to be near his Majeſty, whenſoever he was forced by ſickneſs, or any other neceſſary occaſion, to abſent himſelf. So that *Windebanck* having the Kings ear on one ſide, and the Clerk of the Cloſet on the other, he

he might presume to have his tale well told between them; and that his Majesty should not easily be possessed with any thing to his disadvantage. To find another fit man for *Winton* must be his chief business, whom it concerned to plant such a Bishop in that See as might be pliant and subservient unto his desires. The Bishop of *Winton* by his place is Visitor of five considerable Colledges in the University of *Oxon.* that is to say, *Magdalens*, *New Colledge*, *Corpus Christi*, St. *Johns*, and *Trinity*; by which means he is able to draw a great party after him, and such as might much curb the power of the Chancellor if they should cross with one another. Therefore to make sure work at *Oxford*, he thought it most conducible to his peace and power to prefer *Curle* from *Bath* and *Wells* to the See of *Winton*, which being accordingly effected, *Pierce* is removed from *Peterborough* to the Church of *Wells*, upon the like consideration as *Wright* about the same time was translated to *Lichfield*. There was a rich Parsonage, called *Castor*, which belonged to his Patronage as Bishop of *Peterborough*, about three or four miles from that small City, designed whensoever it fell void to serve for a perpetual *commendam* to the Bishops of it. And falling void, it was so ordered by the care of our Bishop of *London*, that *Pierce* should wave the preferment of a friend unto it, and take it for the present unto himself, leaving it afterwards to his Successors. For his Reward therein he was preferred to *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough* procured by *Laud* for his old Friend and Fellow-Servant Dr. *Augustine Lyndsell*, for whom he formerly had obtained the Deanry of *Lichfield*: And to say truth, the man deserved it, being a very solid Divine, and a learned Linguist, to whom the Christian World remains indebted for *Theophylact's* Comment on the Epistles, and the *Catena* upon *Job*, published by him in *Greek* and *Latin*.

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His Majesties Printers, at or about this time, had committed a scandalous mistake in our *English* Bibles, leaving out the word *Not* in the Seventh Commandment. His Majesty being made acquainted with it by the Bishop of *London*, Order was given for calling the Printers into the *High-Commission*, where upon evidence of the Fact, the whole Impression was called in, and the Printers deeply fined, as they justly merited. With some part of this Fine *Laud* causeth a fair Greek Character to be provided, for publishing such Manuscripts as Time and Industry should make ready for the Publick view; of which sort were the *Catena* and *Theophylact* set out by *Lyndsell*.

This mentioning of the *High-Commission* conducts me toward the *Star-Chamber*, where we shall find a Censure passed on *Sherfield* the Recorder of *Sarum*, wherein our Bishop was as active as in that before; which because it drew upon him some clamour, and such a clamour as not only followed him to his death, but hath been since continued in sundry Pamphlets, I shall lay down the occasion of it, and the true Reasons of his Earnestness and Zeal in that prosecution. This *Sherfield* being Recorder of *Sarum*, as before is said, was one of the Parishioners of the Parish Church of St. *Edmonds*, in one of the Windows whereof the Story of the Creation was express'd in old painted Glass, in which there was a Representation of God the Father

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in the ſhape of an Old Man, after which form the Painters of thoſe Elder times did moſt commonly draw him. This Window, which had continued in the Church without any offence from the firſt ſetting of it up, till the year 1629. or thereabouts, became a great eye-ſore to this man, whom nothing would content but the defacing of thoſe Pictures, in ſuch a way as might beſt pleaſe his own humour, and affront Authority. *Davenant* at that time was Biſhop of *Sarum*, and lived for the moſt part in his Palace there; a man of known diſaffections to the Church of *Rome*, and all the Superſtitious Vanities and Corruptions of it. Had he been made acquainted with it, there is no queſtion to be made, but that he either would have gratified the man, in cauſing the ſaid window to be taken down in a peaceable way; or elſe have given him ſuch good Reaſons to the contrary, as might have qualified the peccancy of the preſent Humour. But *Sherfield* being the Recorder, and thinking he had the Law in his hands, as well as he had it in his head, muſt go another way to work, and bring the Buſineſs to be agitated in a Pariſh *Veſtry*; which *Baſtard Elderſhips* began to grow ſo much in uſe in moſt Corporate Towns, that countenance and connivence in ſhort time would have made them Legitimate. The *Elders* of the *Veſtry* being as willing to embrace the buſineſs, as he was to commend it to them, enabled him at the next *Church-Seſſion*, in the Month of *January* 1629. to eaſe his Conſcience of that burthen, by taking down the offenſive Window, and ſetting up another of plain white Glaſs in the place thereof: And yet this gave him no content, unleſs he might ſhew a more than ordinary Zeal, in defacing thoſe Images which he was ordered to take down; and did accordingly deface them, beating down the Pictures with his Staff in ſuch a violent and ſcandalous way, as was diſreliſhed by moſt moderate men of his own Perſwaſion. The noiſe of ſo foul a miſdemeanour growing lowder and lowder, it came at laſt unto the Court; whereupon an Information was exhibited againſt him in the *Star-Chamber* by the Kings Atturney, not ripened for a Hearing till the latter end of this preſent year, and then brought to Sentence. The Affront done to the *Dioceſan*, and the erecting of a new *Elderſhip* in deſpite of Authority, had been crime ſufficient to bring him under the Cenſure of the *High-Commiſſion*: But taking power unto himſelf of Reforming what he thought amiſs in the face of the Church, and proceeding to the execution of it in a way ſo dangerous, ſo full of ill example to the reſt of the Zealots, made him more properly ſubject to the Court of *Star-Chamber*, and to as heavy a Cenſure there as that Court could legally inflict for the like diſorders. For what Security could be hoped for in Church or State, if every man ſhould be a *Sherfield*, and without asking leave of the Prince or Prelate, proceed to ſuch a Reformation as beſt pleaſed his Phanſie? If ſuffered to go on in defacing Windows, they would be ſpirited in ſhort time to pull down Churches; there being commonly no ſtop in ſuch Tumultuary Reformations, till every man be wearied in his own confuſions. And ſomewhat there was alſo in it which was looked upon as a great diſcouragement to the moderate *Papiſts*, from

from thinking favourably of our Churches, or resorting to them; and to some moderate *Protestants* also, in beautifying and adorning Churches after such a manner, as without giving just offence, might draw the greater Estimation to those sacred Places. In which respect, *Laud* did not only aggravate the Crime as much as he could, in reference to the dangerous Consequences which might follow on it: but shewed how far the use of painted Images, in the way of Ornament and Remembrance, might be retained in the Church; not justifying the painting of God the Father in the shape of an Old Man (as he was commonly misreported) but only laying down the Reason which induced some Painters to that Representation, which they grounded on *Daniel* 7. 9. where God the Father is not only called *the Ancient of Days*, to signifie his Eternity before all time (which was so much insisted on by the Earl of *Dorset*) but described after the similitude of an Old Man, *the hair of whose head was like the pure wooll*. In fine, though *Sherfield* found some Friends, yet they were but few, the major part concurring in this Sentence on him, that is to say, to be fined a thousand pounds to the King, deprived of his Recordership, bound to his good behaviour for the time to come, as also to make a publick Acknowledgment of his Offence, not only in the Parish Church of St. *Edmonds*, where it was committed; but in the Cathedral Church it self; that the Bishop, in contempt of whose Authority he had plaid this *Pageant*, might have Reparation.

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This Censure being past on *Sherfield* on the eighth of *February*, Order is given to *Noy* the Atturney-General to make preparation for another, but of greater consequence. We shew'd before how busie *Prynne* had made himself in some present Controversies, and with what insolence he carried himself from the *High-Commission*. Prepared with confidence and success for a further Calamity, he publishes a small Pamphlet called *Lame GILES his Halting*, An *Appendix* against *Bowing at the Name of JESUS*, a larger Book called the *Anti-Arminianism*, and notably bestirs himself in discovering a mistake (an *Imposture* it must needs be called) in the *Historical Narration* published 1631. against which he never left exclaiming, till he had procured Archbishop *Abbot* (with whom he was grown very gracious) to call it in: But not contented with that Triumph, he prepares another *Pageant* for us in the end of *Michaelmas* Term this year, known by the name of *Histrio-Mastix*, in which he seemed to breathe nothing but Disgrace to the Nation, Infamy to the Church, Reproaches to the Court, Dishonour to the Queen, and some things which were thought to be tending to the destruction of his Majesties Person. Neither the Hospitality of the Gentry in the time of *Christmas*, nor the Musick in Cathedrals and the Chappels Royal, nor the Pomps and Gallantries of the Court, nor the Queens harmless Recreations, nor the Kings solacing himself sometimes in Masques and Dances, could escape the venom of his Pen; expressed for the most part in such bitter Language and frequently interlaced with such dangerous Aggravations and Insinuations, that it was not possible for the Author to escape uncensured. This Book being brought before the Lords of the Council toward the end of *January*,

and

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and found too tedious for their Lordships to be troubled with it, it pleased his Majesty to give order, that the Book should be committed to the reading of one of the *Prebends* of *Westminster*, with command to draw out of it and digest such particular Passages as tended to the danger or dishonour of the King or State. On the finishing and return of which Collection, *Prynne* is committed to the Tower on *Sunday* being *Candlemas* day, and on the morrow after the Collector received a further Order to review his Notes, and deduct out of them such Logical Inferences and Conclusions as might and did naturally arise on those dangerous Premises: One Copy of the same to be left for the Lords of the Council, and another with *Noy* the Attorney-General, and the rest of his Majesties Council-Learned in the Laws of this Realm; which Papers gave such satisfaction to the one, and such help to the other, that when the Cause was brought to hearing in the *Star-Chamber*, *they repeated his Instructions only*, as (*a*) *Prynne* himself informed against him to the House of Commons. What was done further in this business, we shall see hereafter.

(a) *Discovery of the Prelates Tryal*, p. 129.

This business being put into a course, our Bishop offereth some considerations to the Lords of the Council, concerning the dishonour done to the Church of *England* by the wilful negligence of some Chaplains and other Ministers, both in our Factories and Regiments beyond the Seas; together with the Inconveniencies which redounded to it from the *French* and *Dutch* Congregations setled in many places amongst our selves. He had long *teemed* with this Design, but was not willing to be his own *Midwife* when it came to the *Birth*; and therefore it was so contrived, that *Windebank* should make the Proposition at the Council-Table, and put the business on so far, that the Bishop might be moved by the whole Board to consider of the several Points in that weighty Business: who being thus warranted to the execution of his own desires, presented two *Memorials* to their Lordships, at the end of this year, *March* 22. The one relating to the Factories and Regiments beyond the Seas; the other to the *French* and *Dutch* Plantations in *London*, *Kent*, *Norfolk*, *Yorkshire*, *Hampshire*, and the Isle of *Axholme*. He had observed, not without great indignation, how Tenacious the *French* and *Dutch* Churches were of their own received Forms, both in Worship and Government; as on the other side, how ignoble and degenerous the *English* had shown themselves, in neglecting the Divine Service of this Church in their several Factories, where they were licensed to make use of it by the Power and Countenance of that State in which they Traded. The Earl of *Leicester* being sent this year to negotiate some Affairs with the King of *Denmark*, and *Anstrother* ready to come from the Court of the Emperour, they were appointed by his Majesty to meet at *Hamborough*, there to expect the coming of *Pennington* with some Ships to conduct them home. The *English* driving a great trade in that Town, were by the Magistrates thereof indulged all the Priviledges of an *English* Church: but they retained nothing of a Church of *England*, governing themselves wholly by *Calvin*'s Plat-form, which they had taken up in *England*. The two Embassadors being met, but the Ships not come, the

Elders

Elders of the Church humbly deſired their Lordſhips to do them ſo much honour in the eyes of the People, as to vouchſafe their preſence at the *Engliſh* Church; and that their Lordſhips Chaplains might be ordered to Exerciſe in the Congregation. This Motion being chearfully embraced by both, the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Chaplain firſt mounts the Pulpit, and after a ſhort Pſalm, according to the *Genevian* faſhion, betakes himſelf unto his Sermon. The like was done by *Johnſon*, *Anſtrothers* Chaplain, (for I remember not the name of the other) when it came to his turn. The Ships being come, and ſtaying for a change of wind, the like courteſie was deſired of *Pennington*, Admiral of that little Fleet for the preſent Service. *Pennington* told them that he had no Chaplain, that there was in the Ship one Doctor *Ambroſe* his Friend and Kinſman, who had born him company in that Voyage; and that he doubted not but that he would readily hearken to them, if they made the motion. The motion being made and granted, *Ambroſe* attends his Admiral to the place of Exerciſe, where he took up his ſtand very near the Pulpit. The Congregation being filled, and the Pſalm half done, a *Deacon* is ſent to put him in mind of going into the Pulpit; of whom he deſires to be accommodated with a Bible, and a *Common-Prayer* Book; The *Deacon* offered him a Bible, but told him that they had no ſuch thing as a *Common-Prayer* Book, and that the Common Prayers were not uſed amongſt them: Why then, ſaid *Ambroſe*, the beſt is, that I have one of my own; which being preſently taken out of his Pocket, he began with the Sentences, and invitation, and was ſcarce entred into the Confeſſion, when all the Church was in an uproare. The Elders thereupon in a great amaze ſent back the *Deacon*, to deſire him to go into the Pulpit, and not to trouble them with that which they were not uſed to do. *Ambroſe* replied, That if they were an *Engliſh* Church they were obliged to ſerve God by the *Engliſh* Liturgie, and that if they would have no Prayers they ſhould have no Sermon, and ſo proceeded on with the reſt of the Liturgy; which Meſſage being delivered to the *Elders*, the *Deacon* was ſent back the third time, requiring him to deſiſt from that unneceſſary Service. On the receiving of which Meſſage he puts the Book into his pocket, and goes out of the Church, the two Embaſſadours following him, and the Admiral them; to the great honour of himſelf, and the confuſion of *Johnſon* (from whoſe mouth I received the ſtory) and the other Chaplain, being thus ſhewed their errour in not doing the like.

That our Biſhop was ever made acquainted by the ſaid *Johnſon* with this paſſage, I am not able to ſay; but whether he were or not, he had too much ground for what he did, in offering to their Lordſhips his conſiderations for regulating Divine Service in that and all other Factories, Imployments, and Commands of the Engliſh Nation. That is to ſay, "Firſt, That the Colonels of the Engliſh Regiments in the "*Low-Countries* ſhould entertain no Miniſter as Preacher to their "Regiments but ſuch as ſhould conform in all things to the Church of "*England*, to be commended to them by their Lordſhips, the advice "of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *York* being taken in it. Secondly,

"That

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"That the Company of Merchants there reſiding, or in any other "parts, ſhall admit no Miniſter as Preacher to them, but ſuch as are ſo "qualified, and ſo commended, as aforeſaid. Thirdly, That if any "Miniſter hath gotten himſelf by indirect means to be ſo commended, "and ſhould be afterwards found to be unconformable, and ſhould "not conform himſelf within three months, upon warning given him "by the ſaid Colonels, or Deputy Governour of the Factors under "whom he liveth, he ſhall be diſmiſt from his employment, and a more "orderly man recommended to it. Fourthly, That every Miniſter "or Chaplain in any Factory, or Regiment, whether of *Engliſh* or "*Scots*, ſhall read the Common Prayers, Adminiſter the Sacraments, "Catechiſe the Children, and perform all other publick Miniſterial "duties, according to the Rules or *Rubricks* of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, "and not otherwiſe. Fifthly, That if any Miniſter or Preacher, be-"ing the Kings born Subject, ſhould with any bitter words, or writ-"ings, in Print or otherwiſe, defame the Church of *England* by Law "eſtabliſhed, notice thereof is to be given to the Ambaſſador there, "and by him to this State, by whom the party ſo offending ſhould be "commanded over again to anſwer for his ſaid offences; the like to "be done alſo in derogating from the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the "Church, and in Preaching, Writing or Printing any thing prejudi-"cial to the Temporal State and Government of the Realm of *Eng-"land*. Sixthly, That no Colonel or Deputy Governour ſhould "permit their Miniſter or Preacher, in the caſe of ſickneſs, or neceſ-"ſary abſence, to bring in any to Preach or Officiate for him, but ſuch "an one for whoſe conformity he would be accountable. Seventhly, "That no Deputy Governours ſhould be ſent to *Delfe*, or any other "place of Reſidence for the *Engliſh* Merchants, but one that, being "conformable to the Church of *England* both in Doctrine and Diſci-"pline, would take care alſo, that ſuch as be under him, ſhall per-"form all Church duties before expreſſed; that the party ſo deſigned "ſhall be preſented to their Lordſhips by the Merchant *Adventurers*, "giving aſſurance of his fitneſs and ſufficiency for that charge, and "that ſome of the chief of the Merchants be ſent for to the Board, "and made acquainted with this order. Eighthly, That as often as "the ſaid Merchants ſhall renew their Patents, a clauſe for the due ob-"ſervation of theſe Inſtructions (or ſo many of them at the leaſt as "ſhould ſeem neceſſary to their Lordſhips) to be inſerted in the ſame. "Ninthly, That all his Majeſties Agents there from time to time have "theſe Inſtructions given them in Charge, and that once a year they "be required to give the Board an account of the Progreſs of the bu-"ſineſs, that further order might be taken if occaſion be. Tenthly, "That the *Engliſh* Miniſters in *Holland*, being his Majeſties born "Subjects, be not ſuffered to hold any *Claſſical* meetings, but how-"ſoever not to aſſume the power of *Ordination*; from which if they "ſhould not be reſtrained, there would be a perpetual Seminary for "breeding up men in Schiſm and Faction, to the diſturbance of this "Kingdom.

In reference to the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here in *England* he pro-

proceeded in another method; firſt, repreſenting the occaſion of their ſetling here, their ſeveral abuſes of that Favour, together with the manifold dangers and inconvenencies which might thence ariſe; and next adviſing ſuch agreeable remedies as he thought moſt proper for the cure. "And firſt he repreſented to them the great piety of this "State in giving liberty to thoſe Nations to enjoy the freedom of "their own Religion, at *London* and elſewhere in this Kingdom; "when being under perſecution in their own Countries they could "not enjoy the ſame at home. Secondly, That it was not the mean-"ing of this State then, or at any other time ſince, that the firſt Gene-"ration being worn out, their Children, and Childrens Children, be-"ing naturally born Subjects of this Realm, ſhould ſtill remain di-"vided from the reſt of the Church, which muſt needs alienate them "from the State, and make them apt to any innovation which may "ſort better with their humour. Thirdly, That they ſtill keep "themſelves as a diſtinct body of themſelves, marrying only in their "own Tribe with one another: by means whereof it muſt needs fol-"low, that as they are now a Church within a Church, ſo in ſhort "time they might grow to be a Commonwealth in the middeſt of a "Kingdom. Fourthly, That theſe bodies ſtanding thus divided from "the Church and State are planted for the moſt part in ſuch Haven "Towns as lay fitteſt for *France* and the *Low-Countries*: which may "be a ſhrewd temptation to them to take ſuch advantages to them-"ſelves, or to make uſe thereof for others as occaſion offereth. Fifthly, "That the example is of ill conſequence in Church-affairs to the Sub-"jects of *England*, many being confirmed by it in their ſtubborn "ways, and inconformities, but in *London* chiefly. Sixthly, That nei-"ther *French* nor *Dutch* Church be longer tolerated in this Kingdom "than the Subjects of this Kingdom be ſuffered to enjoy the Doctrine "and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* in thoſe ſeveral parts be-"yond the Seas where they have their abode. The dangers and in-conveniencies being thus laid down, he proceeds to the Remedies. And firſt he doth adviſe, "That the number of them in all places of "the Kingdom be fully known, to the end a better judgment might "be made of the way by which they are to be reduced to the reſt of "the Kingdom. Secondly, That a Command be iſſued to this pur-"poſe from the State it ſelf, and that it be avowedly (and not per-"functorily) taken in all places where they do reſide, and a Certifi-"cate returned of the men of moſt credit and wealth amongſt them. "Thirdly, That if they will continue as a diſtinct body both from "State and Church, they ſhould pay all duties double as ſtrangers "uſed to do in this Realm, and not be capable of ſuch immunities as "the Natives have, as long as they continue ſo divided from them. "Fourthly, That when it ſhall be thought convenient to reduce "them to the ſame condition with the reſt of the Subjects, they ſhould "then be warned in an Eccleſiaſtical way (excepting ſuch as be new "Comers) to repair diligently to their Pariſh Churches, and to "conform themſelves to their Prayers and *Sacraments*; which if they "ſhould refuſe to do, then to proceed againſt them by Excommuni-

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1632. "cation, and so unto the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, for a terror to others. Fifthly, and lastly, That if this course prevail not with them, a Declaration to be made by the State to this effect, That if they will be as Natives, and take the benefit of Subjects, they must conform themselves to the Laws of the Kingdom, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal; that being the likeliest way to make them capable of the inconveniences they should run into by their refusal and perverseness. Such were the considerations offered by him to the Lords of the Council, for advancing the peace and honour of this Church both at home, and abroad. But long it will not be before we shall behold him sitting in the Chair of *Canterbury*, acting his own counsels, bringing these *Conceptions* to the *birth*, and putting the design into execution, of which more hereafter.

1633. These matters standing in this state, we must at last look toward *Scotland*; for the receiving of which Crown his Majesty and the Court prepare the beginning of this year. But besides the Pomp and Splendor of a Coronation, which the people with great importunity had long prest upon him, there were some other *Loadstones* which made the *Needle* of his *Compass* point so much to the *North*. Concerning which the Reader may be pleased to know, that at the first Alteration of Religion in the Kirk of *Scotland*, the *Scots* petitioning for aid from Queen *Elizabeth* to expel the *French*, (*a*) obliged themselves by the subscription of their hands to embrace the *Liturgie*, *Rites*, and *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*. According whereunto, an Ordinance was made by their *Reformers*, that in all Parishes of that *Realm* (*b*) the Common-Prayer should be read weekly on Sundays, and other Festival days, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the Order of the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of *England*; it being well known, that for divers years after, they had no other order for Common-Prayer but that which they received from hence. But as *Presbytery* prevailed, so the Liturgie fell: the fancy of *Extemporary* Prayers growing up so fast in the minority of King *James*, that it soon thrust all Publick Forms out of use and credit. In which confused estate it stood till the coming of that King to the Crown of *England*, where he much pleased himself with the Sobriety and Piety of the publick *Liturgie*. This made him cast his eyes more sadly on the Kirk of *Scotland*, where for want of some such publick *Forms* of *Prayers* the Ministers prayed so ignorantly, that it was a shame to all Religion to have God spoke to in that barbarous manner, and sometimes so seditiously, that their Prayers were plain Libels against Authority, or stuft with lies made up of all the false reports in the Kingdom. For remedy whereof, after he had restored, and setled the *Episcopal* Government, he procured the *General Assembly* of that *Kirk*, held at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. to pass an Act for Authorising some of the Bishops, and divers others, to compile a Publick *Liturgie* for the use of that *Kirk*; which being presented unto the King, and by him approved, should be universally received over all the Kingdom. To prepare the way unto them, his Majesty gave order the next Spring after, That the *English Liturgie* should be Officiated day by

(*a*) *Religionis cultui & ritibus cum Anglis communibus subscripserunt. Buch. Hist. Scot. l.* 19.

(*b*) Preface to the Scots Liturgy.

by day in his Chappel-Royal in the City of *Edenborough*; and in the year following 1618. obtained the five Articles before-mentioned (as ſo many chief Ingredients for the Common-Prayer-Book) to be paſſed at *Perth*: by which Encouragements, the Commiſſioners which were appointed to compile the Book, went ſo luckily forwards, that it was not long before they brought it to an end, and ſent it to King *James* by Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*; who not only carefully peruſed every paſſage in it, but cauſed it to be reviſed by ſome of the Biſhops of that Kingdom, which were then in *England*, in whoſe judgments he repoſed eſpecial confidence. Fitted according to his mind, he ſent it back again to thoſe from whoſe hands he received it, to be by them commended to the uſe of the Church; which undoubtedly had took effect, if the Breach with *Spain*, and the Death of that King, which followed not long after, had not unfortunately interrupted the Succeſs of the buſineſs. LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

In this condition of Affairs King *Charles* ſucceeded in the Crown, ingaged in a War with the King of *Spain*, and ſtanding upon no good terms with his People at home; ſo that the buſineſs of the *Liturgie* ſeemed to be laid aſleep, if not quite extinct. But in the year 1629. having agreed his differences with the Crown of *France*, and being in a good way towards an Accommodation with the King of *Spain*, the *Scottiſh* Biſhops were again remembred of their Duty in it, who diſpatch'd *Maxwell*, then one of the Preachers of *Edenburgh*, to the Court about it: *Maxwell* applying himſelf to *Laud*, then Biſhop of *London*, from whom he received this poſitive Anſwer, *That if his Majeſty would have a* Liturgie *ſetled there, different from what they had already, it was beſt to take the* Engliſh Liturgie, *without any variation from it; that ſo the ſame* Service-Book *might paſs through all his Majeſties Dominions.* *Maxwell* replying, *That the* Scottiſh *Biſhops would be better pleaſed to have a* Liturgie *of their own, but ſuch as ſhould come near the* Engliſh *both in Form and Matter*, the Cauſe was brought before the King, who on a ſerious conſideration of all Particulars, concurred in Judgment for the *Engliſh*. And on theſe terms it ſtood till this preſent year, *Laud* ſtanding hard for admitting the *Engliſh Liturgie* without alteration; the *Scottiſh* Biſhops pleading on the other ſide, *That a* Liturgie *made by themſelves, and in ſome things different from the* Engliſh Service, *would beſt pleaſe their Countrymen, whom they found very jealous of the leaſt dependence on the Church of* England. But becauſe Letters written in the time of Action, are commonly conceived to carry more truth in them, than Relations made upon the *poſt-fact* for particular ends; take here this ſhort remembrance in one of his Letters to the Earl of *Traquaire*, dated *September* 11. 1637. Where we find this paſſage: *And ſince* (ſaith he) *I hear from others, That ſome exception is taken, becauſe there is more in that* Liturgie *in ſome few particulars, than is in the* Liturgie *of* England, *Why did they not admit the* Liturgie *of* England *without more ado? But by their refuſal of that, and the diſlike of this, 'tis more than manifeſt they would have neither, and perhaps none at all, were they left to themſelves.* *Hist. Works*, p. 155. *Ib.* p. 169.

But beſides this, there was another Invitation which wrought much upon him in order to the preſent Journey: At his firſt coming to the

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Crown, the greater Engagements then upon him, want of Supply from *England*, and ſmall help from *Scotland*, forced him to have recourſe to ſuch other ways of aſſiſtances as were offered to him; of which this was one. In the Minority of King *James*, the Lands of all Cathedral Churches and Religious Houſes which had been ſetled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were ſhared amongſt the Lords and great men of that Kingdom (by the connivence of the Earl of *Murrey*, and ſome other of the Regents) to make them ſure unto that ſide: And they being thus poſſeſſed of the ſame Lands, with the Regalities and Tythes belonging to thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Corporations, Lorded it with Pride and Inſolence enough in their ſeveral Territories, holding the Clergy to ſmall Stipends, and the poor *Peaſant* under a miſerable Vaſſalage and ſubjection to them, not ſuffering them to carry away their nine parts, till the Lord had carried off his Tenth; which many times was neglected out of pride and malice, thoſe Tyrants not caring to loſe their Tythe, ſo that the poor mans Crop might be left unto ſpoil and hazard. King *James* had once a purpoſe to revoke thoſe Grants; but growing into years and troubles, he left the following of that Project to his Son and Succeſſor: Having but little help from thence to maintain his Wars, by the Advice of ſome of the Council of that Kingdom, he was put upon a courſe of reſuming thoſe Lands, Tythes, and Regalities into his own hand, to which the preſent Occupants could pretend no other Title than the unjuſt Uſurpation of their Predeceſſors. This to effect, he reſolves upon an Act of *Revocation*, Commiſſionating for that purpoſe the Earl of *Annandale*, and the Lord *Maxwell* (afterwards Earl of *Niddiſdale*) to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, for Contribution of Money and Ships againſt the *Duynkirkers*; and arming *Maxwell* alſo with ſome ſecret Inſtructions for paſſing the ſaid Act of *Revocation*, if he found it feaſible. Being on the way as far as *Berwick*, *Maxwell* was there informed, That his chief errand being made known, had put all at *Edenburgh* into Tumult; that a rich Coach which he had ſent before to *Dalkeith* was cut in pieces, the poor Horſes killed, the People ſeeming only ſorry that they could not do ſo much to the Lord himſelf. Things being brought unto this ſtand, the King was put to a neceſſity of ſome ſecond Counſels, amongſt which none ſeemed more plauſible and expedient to him, then that of Mr. *Archibald Achiſon*, who from a puiſne Judge in *Ireland*, was made his Majeſties *Procurator* or Solicitor-General, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; who having told his Majeſty, *That ſuch as were Eſtated in the Lands in queſtion, had ſerved themſelves ſo well by the bare naming of an Act of* Revocation, *as to poſſeſs the People (whom they found apt to be inflamed on ſuch Suggeſtions) That the true intendment of that Act was to revoke all former Laws for ſuppreſſing of* Popery, *and ſetling the* Reformed Religion *in the Kirk of* Scotland: *And therefore, That it would be unſafe for his Majeſty to proceed that way.* Next he adviſed, *That inſtead of ſuch a General* Revocation *as the Act imported, a Commiſſion ſhould be iſſued out under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, for taking the* Surrendries *of all ſuch* Superiorities *and* Tythes *within the Kingdom, at his Majeſties Pleaſure: And that ſuch as ſhould refuſe to ſubmit*

ſubmit unto it, ſhould be Impleaded one by one; to begin firſt with thoſe whom he thought leaſt able to ſtand out, or elſe moſt willing to conform to his Majeſties Pleaſure: Aſſuring him, *That having the Laws upon his ſide, the Courts of Juſtice muſt and would paſs Judgment for him.*

The King reſolved upon this courſe, ſends home the Gentleman, not only with thanks and Knighthood (which he had moſt worthily deſerved) but with Inſtructions and Power to proceed therein; and he proceeded in it ſo effectually to the Kings Advantage, that ſome of the impleaded Parties being caſt in the Suit; and the reſt ſeeing, that though they could raiſe the People againſt the King, they could not raiſe them againſt the *Laws*, it was thought the beſt and ſafeſt way to compound the buſineſs. Hereupon, in the year 1630. Commiſſioners are ſent to the Court of *England*, and amongſt others, the Learned and right Noble Lord of *Marcheſton* (from whoſe mouth I had this whole Relation) who after a long Treaty with the King, did at laſt agree, that the ſaid Commiſſion ſhould proceed as formerly; and, That all ſuch *Superiorities* and *Tythes* as had been or ſhould be ſurrendred, ſhould be re-granted by the King on theſe Conditions: Firſt, *That all ſuch as held Hereditary Sheriffdoms, or had the Power of Life and Death over ſuch as lived within their Juriſdiction, ſhould quite thoſe Royalties to the King.* Secondly, *That they ſhould make unto their Tenants in their ſeveral Lands, ſome permanent Eſtates, either for their Lives, or one and twenty years, or ſome ſuch like Term; that ſo the Tenants might be encouraged to Build and Plant, and improve the Patrimony of that Kingdom.* Thirdly, *That ſome Proviſions ſhould be made for augmenting the Stipends of the Clergy.* Fourthly, *That they ſhould double the yearly Rents which were reſerved unto the Crown, by their former Grants.* And finally, *That theſe Conditions being performed on their parts, the King ſhould ſettle their Eſtates by Act of Parliament.* Home went the Commiſſioners with joy for their good ſucceſs, expecting to be entertained with *Bells* and *Bonfires*: but they found the contrary; the proud *Scots* being generally reſolved, rather to put all to hazard, than to quit that Power and Tyranny which they had over their poor *Vaſſals*, by which name (after the manner of the *French*) they called their Tenants. And hereunto they were encouraged underhand by a Party in *England*, who feared that by this Agreement the King would be ſo abſolute in thoſe Northern Regions, that no Aid could be hoped from thence, when the neceſſity of their deſigns might moſt require it: Juſt as the *Caſtilians* were diſpleaſed with the Conqueſt of *Portugal* by King *Philip* the Second, becauſe thereby they had no place left to retire unto, when either the Kings diſpleaſure, or their diſobedience ſhould make their own Country too hot for them.

Such was the face of Church and State when his Majeſty began his Journey for *Scotland* to receive the Crown; a Journey of great expence on both ſides, but of ſmall profit unto either. On the thirteenth day of *May* he advanced toward the North; but by ſuch leiſurely Removes, that he recovered not the City of *York* till the twenty fourth, into which he made a Solemn and Magnificent Entrance, attended by

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the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility, the principal Officers of his Court, and ſome of the Lords of his Privy Council. He was received at his firſt entrance into *Scotland* with a gallant body of that Nation, conſiſting for the moſt part of the like Ingredients, and ſo conducted into *Edenborough* on the tenth of *June*. *Edenborough*, the chief City of the Realm of *Scotland*, and indeed the *Summa totalis* of that Kingdom, extended a whole mile in length from the *Palace-Royal* of *Holy-Rood*-Houſe, lying at the foot of the Hill, to a fair and ancient Caſtle mounted on the top thereof. From this Caſtle the King was to deſcend the Street in a Royal Pomp, till he came to his Palace (as the Kings of *England* commonly on the like occaſion ride from the *Tower* thorow *London* to the Court of *Whitehall*) where the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be performed. The day deſigned for it was the eighteenth of *June*, the concourſe of people beyond expreſſion, and the expreſſions of their joy in gallantry of Apparel, ſumptuous Feaſtings, and Acclamations of all ſorts, nothing inferiour to that concourſe. But this was only the *Hoſanna* of his firſt Reception; they had a *Crucifie* for him when he came to his Parliament. It was conceived at his Majeſties firſt going toward the *North*, that he would have ſetled the *Engliſh Liturgie* in that Church, at his being there: but he either carried no ſuch thoughts with him, or, if he did, he kept them to himſelf as no more than thoughts, never diſcovering any ſuch thing in his words or actions. The *Scots* were of another temper, than to be eaſily won to any thing which they had no mind to; and a leſs mind they could have to nothing than the *Engliſh Liturgie*. King *James* had taken order at his being in *Scotland*, *Anno* 1617. That it ſhould conſtantly be read twice every day in his Chappel-Royal for that City; and gave command that the Lords of his Privy-Council, and the Lords of *Seſſion*, ſhould be preſent at it on the *Sundays*, and there receive the Holy Communion, according to the form preſcribed in the Common-Prayer-Book: And this he did unto this end, That as well the Citizens of *Edenburgh*, as ſuch as came thither upon Buſineſs, might by degrees be made acquainted with the *Engliſh* Forms, and conſequently be prepared for the receiving of ſuch a *Liturgie* as the King, with the Advice of his Biſhops, and other Learned Men (according to the Act of the *Aſſembly* at *Aberdeen*) ſhould commend unto them But theſe Directions being either diſcontinued, or careleſly followed after his deceaſe, and the five Articles of *Perth* not preſs'd ſo diligently on the People as they might have been, the *Scots* were generally as great ſtrangers to the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*, as when King *James* firſt came amongſt us.

His Majeſty could not be ſo ill ſerved, as not to be well enough informed how things went in *Scotland*; and therefore was not to venture raſhly upon ſuch a buſineſs, wherein he might receive a foil. He thereupon reſolves to proceed no further in Matters which concerned the Church, than to paſs an Act of *Ratification*, an Act Confirmatory of ſuch Laws and Statutes, relating unto Church-concernments, as by King *James* had been obtained with great charge and cunning. And though he carried this Act at laſt, yet was it not without

out a far greater oppoſition than he had reaſon to expect from that *Convention*: But the Commiſſion of *Surrendry* did ſo ſtick in their ſtomachs, that they could not chuſe but vent their diſaffections on the firſt occaſion. Nor would they ſuffer him to enjoy the benefit of that Act, ſo hardly gotten, with Peace and Honour; but followed him into *England* with a peſtilent *Libel*, in which they charged him to have carried that Act by corrupting ſome, and a plain down-right buying of the Voices of others. This was the firſt taſte which they gave the King of their malevolency towards his Perſon and Government; but it ſhall not prove to be the laſt. His Majeſty had another buſineſs to effect at his being there, for which he needed not their Aſſiſtance, and for that reaſon did not ask it: This was the raiſing of the City of *Edenborough* to a See Epiſcopal, which before was only a Borough Town, belonging anciently to the Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of Saint *Andrews*. The *Metropolitan* of St. *Andrews* was willing for the common good to yield unto this diminution of his Power and Profit; and that the whole County of *Lothian*, extending from *Edenborough-Fryth* to the Town of *Berwick*, ſhould be diſmembred from his own Dioceſs, to ſerve as a Dioceſs to this Biſhop of new Election. And on the other ſide, the Duke of *Lenox*, whoſe Anceſtors had long enjoyed the *Priory* of St. *Andrews*, with a great part of the Lands belonging to it, was willing to let his Majeſty have a good penyworth of ſome part of thoſe Lands, to ſerve as a Patrimony to this new Epiſcopal See, and the Biſhop of it: Which Proviſion being thus made and ſetled, *Forbeſſe* a right grave and ſolid Divine, is made the firſt Biſhop of this City, his Cathedral fixed in the Church of St. *Giles* (being the faireſt in the Town) a Dean appointed for that Church, ſome Miniſters of *Edenborough* and the Parts adjoining, being nominated for the *Canons* or *Prebends* of it. A deſign pious in it ſelf, and purpoſely intended to inure the *Edenburghers* to the Fatherly Government of a Biſhop, who by tempering the exorbitancies of the Miniſters there, might by degrees prepare the People to ſuch impreſſions of Conformity as his Majeſty, by the Council and Conſent of the reſt of the Biſhops, ſhould graciouſly be pleaſed to imprint upon them. But ſuch ill luck his Majeſty had with that ſtubborn Nation, that this was look'd upon alſo as a general Grievance, and muſt be thought to aim at no other end than Tyranny and *Popery*, and what elſe they pleaſed.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

We have almoſt done our work in *Scotland*, and yet hear nothing all this while of the Biſhop of *London*; not that he did not go the Journey, but that there was little to be done at his being there, but to ſee and be ſeen: And yet it was a Journey which brought him ſome acceſs of Honour, and gave him opportunity of making himſelf known to thoſe of beſt Quality of that Kingdom. He had been in *Scotland* with King *James*; but then he waited only as a private Chaplain. He is now looked upon as the third Biſhop of *England* in Place, and the greateſt in Power; a *Counſellor* of *State*, and the Kings great Favourite. He entred *Scotland* as a Privy-Counſellor of *England* only; but returned thence as a Counſellor for that Kingdom alſo: to which Office he was ſworn on the fifteenth of *June*. Not did

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did he ſhew himſelf leſs able in that Church, than in the Council-Chamber; being appointed by his Majeſty to Preach before him on the laſt of that Month: in which ſome queſtion may be made how he pleaſed the *Scots*, although it be out of queſtion that he pleaſed the King. The greateſt part of the following *July* was ſpent in viſiting the Country, and taking a view of the chief Cities, and moſt remarkable Parts and Places of it: Which having ſeen, he made a Poſting Journey to the Queen at *Greenwich*, whither he came on *Saturday* the twentieth of *July*, croſſing the Water at *Blackwall*, and looking towards *London* from no nearer diſtance: But in this Act he laid aſide the Majeſty of his Predeceſſors, eſpecially of Queen *Elizabeth* of Famous Memory, of whom it was obſerved, That ſhe did very ſeldom end any of her *Summer Progreſſes*, but ſhe would wheel about to ſome end of *London*, to make her paſſage to *Whitehall* thorow ſome part of the City; not only requiring the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their Scarlet Robes and Chains of Gold, to come forth to meet her: but the ſeveral Companies of the City to attend ſolemnly in their Formalities as ſhe went along. By means whereof ſhe did not only preſerve that Majeſty which did belong to a Queen of *England*, but kept the *Citizens* (and conſequently all the Subjects) in a reverent Eſtimation and Opinion of her. She uſed the like Arts alſo in keeping up the Majeſty of the Crown, and Service of the City, in the Reception and bringing in of Foreign *Embaſſadors*; who if they came to *London* by Water, were met at *Graveſend* by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Companies in their ſeveral Barges, and in that ſolemn manner conducted unto ſuch Stairs by the Water-ſide, as were neareſt to the Lodgings provided for them: But if they were to come by Land, they were met in the like ſort at *Shooters-Hill*, by the Mayor and Aldermen, and thence conducted to their Lodgings, the Companies waiting in the Streets in their ſeveral Habits. The like ſhe uſed alſo in celebrating the *Obſequies* of all Chriſtian Kings, whether *Popiſh* or *Proteſtant*, with whom ſhe was in Correſpondence; performed in ſuch a Solemn and Magnificent manner, that it preſerved her in the eſtimation of all Foreign Princes, though differing in Religion from her, beſides the great contentment which the People took in thoſe Royal Pomps. Some other Arts ſhe had of preſerving Majeſty, and keeping diſtance with her People; yet was ſo popular withal, when ſhe ſaw her time, that never Majeſty and Popularity were ſo matched together. But theſe being laid aſide by King *James*, who broke neither of them; and not reſumed by King *Charles*, who loved them not much more than his Father did; there followed firſt a neglect of their Perſons, which Majeſty would have made more Sacred; and afterwards a miſlike of their Government, which a little Popularity would have made more grateful.

Laud having no ſuch cauſe of haſtning homewards, returned not to his Houſe at *Fulham* till the twenty ſixth of the ſame month: But he came time enough to hear the news of *Abbot*'s Sickneſs, and within few days after, of his Death, which hapned on *Sunday* morning the fourth of *Auguſt*, and was preſently ſignified to the King, being then at

at *Greenwich*. A man he was that had taſted both of good and ill Fortune in extremes; affirmed by the Church Hiſtorian (for I ſhall only ſpeak him in the words of others) to be a grave man in his Converſation, and unblameable in his Life: but ſaid withal to have been carried with *non amavit gentem noſtrum*, forſaking the Birds of his own feather, to flye with others; and generally favouring the *Laity* above the *Clergie*, in all Caſes which were brought before him: Conceived by one of our State Hiſtorians, to be too facil and yielding in the exerciſing of his Function; by whom it is alſo affirmed, *That his extraordinary remiſneſs, in not exacting ſtrict Conformity to the preſcribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, ſeemed to reſolve thoſe legal Determinations to their firſt Principle of Indifferency, and to lead in ſuch an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of thoſe tender-conſcienc'd men to long diſcontinued Obedience, was interpreted an* Innovation. By the firſt Character we find what made him acceptable amongſt the Gentry; by the laſt, what made him grateful to the *Puritan*, in favour of which men he took ſo little care of the great Truſt committed to him, and gave them ſo many opportunities of increaſing both in Power and Numbers, that to ſtop them in their full career, it was found neceſſary to ſuſpend him from his *Metropolitical* Juriſdiction, as before was noted.

LIB. III. *Anno Dom.* 1633. Ch. Hiſt. B. 11. p. 128. *Hiſt. of K.* Charles. p. 131.

It is reported, That as Prince *Henry*, his Majeſty, then Duke of *York*, Archbiſhop *Abbot*, with many of the Nobility were waiting in the Privy Chamber for the coming out of King *James*; the Prince, to put a jeſt on the Duke his Brother, took the Archbiſhops Square Cap out of his hands, and put it on his Brothers head, telling him, that if he continued a good Boy, and followed his Book, he would one day make him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Which the Child took in ſuch diſdain, that he threw the Cap upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, not being without much difficulty and ſome force taken off from that eagerneſs. This though firſt it was not otherwiſe beheld than as an Act of Childiſh Paſſion, yet when his Brother Prince *Henry* died, and that he was Heir apparent to the Crown, it was aken up by many zealous Church-men for ſome ill preſage unto the *Hierarchy* of Biſhops; the overthrow whereof by his Act and Power did ſeem to be fore-ſignified by it. But as their fears in that were groundleſs, ſo their conjectures were no better grounded than their fears (there never being a greater Patron of the Epiſcopal order than he lived and died) but whether there might not be ſome preſage in it in reference to the Archbiſhops perſon, the diminution of his Dignity and fall of his Power, may be beſt judged by this ſuſpenſion and the conſequents which followed on it: And though he lived not long under the diſgrace, yet in the interval of time he ſaw ſo much of his Authority devolved on *Laud*, that he grew more and more diſcontented, and was ready in a manner to have made himſelf the head of the *Puritan* Faction.

It is related by a late Writer, That towards his death he was not only diſcontented himſelf, but that his houſe was the Rendezvouz of all the Male-contents in Church and State, that he turned Mid-night to Noon-day by conſtant keeping of Candles lighted in his Chamber

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and Study; as alſo that ſuch Viſitants as repaired unto him called themſelves *Nicodemites*, becauſe of their ſecret coming to him by night. I know how much that Author hath been miſtaken in other things, but I ſee nothing in this which may not be conſiſtent with the truth of Hiſtory. Certain I am, his Chaplains were ſucceſſively declared *Calvinians*, his Secretary a profeſſed Patron of the Puritan Faction, his doors continually open to the Chiefs of that party, and ſuch as ſtickled in that cauſe; and amongſt others to him by whoſe Suggeſtion (if we may take his own report) the *Hiſtorical Narration* was called in, for the great danger which it threatned to the grounds of *Calviniſm*.

Ch. Hiſt. B. 11. p. 128.

For his compliance with the Gentry againſt the Clergy, this reaſon is alledged from his own mouth, *That he was ſo ſevere to the Clergie on purpoſe to reſcue them from the ſeverity of others, and to prevent the puniſhment of them by Lay Judges to their greater ſhames*; which leaves the poor Clergy under a greater obloquy than any which their enemies had laid upon them. But the truer reaſon of it was, that having never been Parſon, Vicar, nor Curate, he was altogether ignorant of thoſe afflictions which the Clergy do too often ſuffer by the pride of ſome, and the Avarice of others of their Country Neighbours, and conſequently ſhewed the leaſt compaſſion towards them when any of them had the hard fortune to be brought before him. And for his compliance with the *Puritans* againſt the Church this reaſon is alledged by others, *viz.* That he ſhewed the greater favour to them, to keep the ballance even betwixt them and the *Papiſts*; as *Laud* was thought to be indulgent to the Papiſts, the better to keep down the pride and prevalency of the Puritan Faction. But the truer reaſon of it was, that he had been always inclinable to them from his firſt beginnings; inſomuch that when he went *Chaplain* into *Scotland* with the Earl of *Dunbar* (imployed by King *James* in ſome negotiation about that Church) he was upon the point of betraying the cauſe, if *Hodgskins*, (afterwards one of the *Reſidentiaries* of *York*) who went Chaplain with him, had not preacquainted the Earl with his tergiverſation.

And as he laboured to be Popular upon both accounts, ſo he endeavoured a more particular correſpondence with the Gentry of *Kent*, but moſt eſpecially of his own Dioceſs. It had been formerly the cuſtom of his Predeceſſors to ſpend the greateſt part of the long Vacations in the Palace of *Canterbury*; met at the firſt entrance into the Dioceſs with a body of five hundred horſe, conducting them to *Canterbury* with great love and duty; feaſting the Gentry, relieving the poor City, entertaining their Tenants, and by them liberally furniſhed on the other ſide with all ſorts of proviſions. *Abbot* affected not this way, and therefore never beſtowed any ſuch viſit upon his Dioceſs, but when he was confined to his houſe at *Ford* by the Kings appointment; and yet reſolved upon a courſe which carried ſome equivalence with it towards his deſign. For once or twice in every year (and ſometimes oftner) at the end of the Term he would cauſe enquiry to be made in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, the common Rendezvouz in Saint *Pauls* Church, and the Royal Exchange, for all ſuch Gentlemen of his Dioceſs as lodged in and about the City of *London*, diſperſing ſeveral

veral Tickets from one to another, by which they were invited to a general entertainment at his houſe in *Lambeth*, the next day after the end of the preſent Term, where he feaſted them with great bounty and familiarity. A courſe as acceptable to the *Kentiſh* Gentry as if he had kept open Hoſpitality in his Palace at *Canterbury*; becauſe it ſaved them both the trouble of attending on him, and the charge of ſending Preſents to him, both which had been expected if he had ſpent any part of the year amongſt them. But this he diſcontinued alſo for three or four years, or more, before his death, fearing (as his affairs then ſtood) that it might render him obnoxious to ſome miſconſtructions, which he was willing to avoid.

To bring his Story to an end, I ſhall ſay no more, but that he had his Birth at *Guilford*, the chief Town of *Surrey*, and the beſt part of his breeding in *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxon.* whereof he was Fellow, and from thence preferred to be Maſter of *Univerſity Colledge*, and Dean of *Winton*. Other preferments he had none till he came to *Lichfield*, of which he was conſecrated Biſhop on the third of *December*, *Anno* 1609. from thence tranſlated unto *London* within few Months after, and within twelve Months after that to the See of *Canterbury*. Marks of his Benefaction we find none, in places of his Breeding, and Preferments; but a fair Hoſpital, well built, and liberally endowed in the place of his Birth. To which the woful man retired in the firſt extremity of thoſe afflictions which his misfortune at *Bramzill* had drawn upon him; and to this place he deſigned his body whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe God to tranſlate him out of the Church *Militant* to the Church *Triumphant*, which hapned on the fourth of *Auguſt*, as before was ſaid.

The End of the Firſt Part.

CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Life and Death

OF

The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE

WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *ENGLAND*, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the Lords of the Privy Council to His late most SACRED MAJESTY

King CHARLES

Second MONARCH of *Great Britain.*

PART II.

Carrying on the History from his Nomination to the Metropolitical See of Canterbury, August 6. 1633. *to the day of his Death and Burial,* Jan. 10. 1644.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for several Book-sellers in *London*, 1671.

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Life and Death

OF

The most Reverend and Renowned PRINCE

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of

His CHARLES

Second by ORANGE of Great Britain.

PART II.

Printed by J. M. for several Booksellers in London.

THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. IV.

Extending from his being made Archbishop of Canterbury *to the end of the Parliament and Convocation,* Anno 1640.

CANTERBURY was anciently the principal City of the Kingdom, and afterwards of the County of *Kent*, situate about seven miles from the Sea, and neighboured by a little River, capable only of small boats, and consequently of no great use for the wealth and trading of the place. It was made an *Archiepiscopal See* at the first planting of the Gospel amongst the *English*; *Augustine* the Monk who first preacht the one, being the first Archbishop of the other. For though that Dignity was by Pope *Gregory* the Great designed for *London*, yet *Augustine* the Monk (whom he sent hither on that Errand) having received this City in gift from the King, resolved to fix himself upon it without going further. *Merlin* had propheſied as much, if those Propheſies be of any credit, signifying, that the (a) Metropolitan dignity which was then at *London*, should in the following times be transferred to *Canterbury*. *Ethelbert* then King of *Kent*, having thus given away the Regal City, retires himself unto *Reculver*, where he built his Palace for himself and his Successors in that Kingdom, leaving his former Royal Seat to be the Archie-

Anno Dom. 1633.

(a) *Dignitas Londini adornabit Dorobertniam*, Moth. West. in Hist. Flor.

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Archiepiſcopal Palace for the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*. The Cathedral, having been a Church before in the *Britains* time, was by the ſaid Archbiſhop *Auguſtine* repaired, Conſecrated and Dedicated to the name of *Chriſt*, which it ſtill retains, though for a long time together it was called St. *Thomas*, in honour of *Thomas Becket*, one of the Archbiſhops hereof, who was murthered in it. The preſent Fabrick was begun by Archbiſhop *Lanfrank* and *William Carboyle*; and by degrees made perfect by their Succeſſors. Take *Canterbury* as the Seat of the *Metropolitan*, it hath under it twenty one *Suffragan* Biſhops, of which ſeventeen are in *England*, and four in *Wales*: But take it as the Seat of a *Dioceſan*, and it containeth only ſome part of *Kent*, to the number of 257 Pariſhes, (the reſidue being in the Dioceſs of *Rocheſter*) together with ſome few particular Pariſhes diſperſed here and there in ſeveral Dioceſſes; it being an ancient priviledge of this See, that whereſoever the Archbiſhops had their Mannors or Advouſons, the place forthwith became exempt from the Ordinary, and was reputed of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*. The other Priviledges of this See are, that the Archbiſhop is accounted *Primate and Metropolitan of ALL England*, and is the firſt *Peer of the Realm*: having precedency of all *Dukes*, not being of the *Royal blood*, and all the great Officers of the State. He hath the Title of *Grace* afforded him in common ſpeech, and writes himſelf *Divina Providentia*, where other Biſhops only uſe *Divina Permiſſione*. The Coronation of the King hath anciently belonged unto him: It being alſo formerly reſolved, that whereſoever the Court was, the King and Queen were (*b*) the proper and Domeſtical Pariſhioners of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. It alſo did belong unto him in former times to take unto himſelf the Offerings made at the holy Altar by the King and Queen, whereſoever the Court was, if he were preſent at the ſame; and to appoint the *Lent Preachers*: but theſe time hath altered, and the King otherwiſe diſpoſed of them. Abroad in *General Councils* he had place at the Popes Right foot: At home this Royal Priviledge, That thoſe which held Lands of him were liable for Wardſhip to him, and to compound with him for the ſame, though they held other Lands in *chief* of our Lord the King. And for the more increaſe of his power and honour it was Enacted, 25. *Hen.* viii. and 21. "That all Licenſes "and Diſpenſations (not repugnant to the Law of God) which here"tofore were ſued for in the Court of *Rome*, ſhould be hereafter "granted by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and his Succeſſors. As al"ſo in the 1 *Eliz.* and 2. That by the Advice of the *Metropolitan* or "*Eccleſiaſtical* Commiſſioners, the Queens Majeſty might ordain and "publiſh ſuch *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, as may be moſt for the Advance"ment of Gods glory, the Edifying of his Church, and the due Re"verence of Chriſts holy Sacraments. To this high dignity *Laud* ſucceedeth on the death of *Abbot*, nominated unto it by the King on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, the Election returned and preſented to his Majeſty from the *Dean* and *Chapter*, on the twenty fifth of the ſame, and the tranſlation fully perfected on the nineteenth of *September* then next following, on which day he kept a ſolemn and magnificent Feaſt at

(b) *Speciales, & Domeſtici Parochiam Domini Archiepiſcopi.*

at his houſe in *Lambeth*, his State being ſet out in the great Chamber of that houſe, and all perſons ſtanding bare before it after the accuſtomed manner; his Steward, Treaſurer, and Comptroller, attending with their white ſtaves in their ſeveral Offices. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

Thus have we brought him to his height, and from that height we may take as good a proſpect into the Church under his direction, as the advantage of the place can preſent unto us. And if we look into the Church as it ſtood under his direction, we ſhall find the Prelates generally more intent upon the work committed to them, more earneſt to reduce this Church to the ancient Orders, than in former times; the Clergy more obedient to the Commands of their *Ordinaries*, joyning together to advance the work of *Uniformity* recommended to them, the Liturgy more punctually executed in all the parts and offices of it; the Word more diligently preacht, the Sacraments more reverently adminiſtred, than in ſome ſcores of years before; the people more conformable to thoſe Reverend Geſtures in the Houſe of God, which, though preſcribed before, were but little practiſed; more coſt laid out upon the beautifying and adorning of Parochial Churches, in furniſhing and repairing Parſonage-houſes, than at or in all the times ſince the Reformation; the Clergy grown to ſuch eſteem, for parts and power, that the Gentry thought none of their Daughters to be better diſpoſed of, than ſuch as they had lodged in the Arms of a Church-man; and the Nobility grown ſo well affected to the State of the Church, that ſome of them deſigned their younger Sons to the Order of Prieſthood, to make them capable of riſing in the ſame *Aſcendant*. Next, if we look into the Doctrine, we ſhall find her to be no leſs glorious within, then beautified and adorned to the outward eye; the Doctrines of it publickly avowed and taught, in the literal and Grammatical ſenſe, according to the true intent and meaning of the firſt *Reformers*; the Dictates and Authorities of private men (which before had carried all before them) ſubjected to the ſenſe of the Church; and the Church hearkening to no other voice than that of their great *Shepherd* ſpeaking to them in his Holy Scriptures; all bitterneſſes of ſpirit ſo compoſed and qualified on every ſide, that the advancement of the great work of Unity and Uniformity between the parties went forwards like the building of *Solomons* Temple without the noiſe of Axe or Hammer. If you will take her Character from the mouth of a (*c*) Proteſtant, he will give it thus: "He that "deſires to pourtray *England* (ſaith he) in her full ſtructure of exter- "nal glory, let him behold the *Church* ſhining in tranſcendent Empy- "real brightneſs, and purity of Evangelical Truths. Her Religious "Performances, her holy Offices, ordered and regulated agreeable to "the ſtrict expedient of ſuch Sacred Actions. Her Diſcipline, Mo- "del, ſutable to the Apoſtolick Form. The ſet and ſuit of her whole "Tribe, renowned for Piety and Learning, are all thoſe in ſo ſuper- "eminent a degree, that no Church on this ſide of the Apoſtolick, can "or could compare with her in any one: All Arts and Sciences high- "ly honoured, and conſequently their Academies to flouriſh. To which laſt part of the Character let me add thus much, That the Uni-

(*c*) *H. of K. Charles by H.L. p.* 242.

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versities never had such a flourishing time for number of Students, civility of Conversation, and eminence in all parts of Learning, as when the influences of his Power and Government did direct their Studies.

(d) *Preface to Charity maintained*, sect. 2.

If you will take her Character from the Pen of a (*d*) *Jesuit*, you shall find him speaking, amongst many falshoods, these undoubted Truths; *viz.* "That the Professors of it, they especially of greatest "Worth, Learning and Authority, love Temper and Moderation; "That the Doctrines are altered in many things; as for example, the "Pope not *Antichrist*, *Pictures*, *Free-will*, *Predestination*, *Universal* "*Grace*, *Inherent Righteousness*, *the preferring of Charity before Know-* "*ledge*, *the Merit* (*or Reward rather*) *of good Works*; the 39 *Articles* "seeming patient, if not ambitious also of some Catholick sense; "That their Churches begin to look with a new face, their Walls to "speak a new Language, and some of their Divines to teach, *That the* "*Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and inter-* "*preting the Scriptures*; That men in talk and writing use willingly "the once fearful names of *Priests* and *Altars*, and are now put in mind, "That for Exposition of Scripture they are by Canon bound to follow "the Fathers. So far the *Jesuit* may be thought to speak nothing but truth; but had he tarried there, he had been no *Jesuit*: And therefore to preserve the Credit of his Order, he must flye out further, and tell us this, *viz.* "That *Protestantism* waxeth weary of it self; That we "are at this time more unresolved where to fasten, than in the infancy "of our Church; That our Doctrine is altered in many things, for "which our Progenitors forsook the then visible Church of Christ, "amongst which he reckons *Limbus Patrum*, *Prayer for the Dead*, *Justi-* "*fication not by Faith alone*, *The possibility of keeping Gods Command-* "*ments*, *and the accounting of* Calvinism *to be* Heresie *at the least*, *if* "*not also* Treason. Which Points the *Jesuit* cannot prove to have been positively maintained by any one Divine in the Church of *England*; and yet those fooliſh men began to phancy such a mis-construction of that Ingenuity and Moderation which they found in some Professors of our Religion, whom they affirmed to be of greatest *Worth*, *Learning and Authority*, as to conceive that we were coming towards an Agreement with them, even in those Superstitions and Idolatries which made the first Wall of Separation between the Churches. Upon which hope (as weak and fooliſh as it was) the late Archbishop of *Canterbury* was no sooner dead, but one of their Party came to *Laud*, whom they looked upon as his Successor, seriously tendred him the offer of a *Cardinals Cap*, and avowed Ability to perform it; to whom he presently returned this Answer, *That somewhat dwelt within him which would not suffer him to accept the Offer*, *till* Rome *were otherwise than it was*: And this being said, he went immediately to his Majesty, acquainting him both with the Man, and with his Message, together with the Answer which he made unto it. The like he also did when the same Offer was reinforced a fortnight after; upon which second Refusal, *the Tempter left him*, and that not only for that time, but for ever after.

But

But to proceed: To welcome him to his new great Charge, he received Letters from his Majeſty, dated upon the very day of his Confirmation, upon this occaſion. It had been ordered by the ancient Canons of the Church, "That none ſhould be admitted Deacon or "Prieſt, who had not firſt ſome certain place where he might uſe his Function. And it was ordered by the Canons of the year 1603. in purſuance of the ſaid old Canons, "That no perſon ſhould be admit-"ted into Sacred Orders, except he ſhall at that time exhibit to the "Biſhop of whom he deſireth Impoſition of Hands, a Preſentation of "himſelf to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Preferment then void in that Dioceſs; "or ſhall bring unto the ſaid Biſhop a true and undoubted Certificate, "That either he is provided of ſome Church within the ſaid Dioceſs, *Can.* 33. "where he may attend the Cure of Souls, or of ſome Miniſters Place "vacant, either in the Cathedral Church of that Dioceſs, or of ſome "other Collegiat Church therein alſo ſcituate, where he may execute "his Miniſtry; or that he is a Fellow, or in right as a Fellow, or to "be a Conduct or Chaplain in ſome Colledge in either of the Univer-"ſities; or except he be a Maſter of Arts of five years ſtanding, that "liveth in either of them at his own charge. And hereunto was added this Commination, "That if any Biſhop ſhall admit any perſon "into the Miniſtry, that hath none of theſe Titles as is aforeſaid, then "he ſhall keep and maintain him with all things neceſſary, till he do "prefer him to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Living; and on his refuſal ſo to do, "he ſhall be ſuſpended by the Archbiſhop, being aſſiſted with another "Biſhop, from giving of Orders by the ſpace of a year. Which ſevere Canon notwithſtanding, ſome Biſhops of the poorer Sees, for their private benefit, admitted many men promiſcuouſly to Holy Orders, ſo far from having any *Title*, that they had no *Merit*: By means whereof the Church was filled with indigent Clerks, which either thruſt themſelves into Gentlemens Houſes to teach their Children, and ſometimes to officiate Divine Service at the Tables end; or otherwiſe to undertake ſome Stipendary Lecture, whereſoever they could find entertainment, to the great fomenting of Faction in the State, the Danger of Schiſm in the Church, and ruine of both. It had been formerly ordered by his Majeſties Inſtructions of the year 1629. "That no private Gentleman, not qualified by Law, ſhould keep any Chaplain in his Houſe: Which though it were ſomewhat ſtrictly inquired into at the firſt, yet not a few of them retained their Chaplains, as before: For remedy whereof for the time to come, it was thought fit to tie the Biſhops from giving Orders unto any which were not qualified according to the foreſaid *Canon*; which was conceived to be the only probable means of diminiſhing the number both of ſuch petit Lecturers, and ſuch Trencher-Chaplains; the *Engliſh* Gentry not being then come to ſuch wild extremities, as to believe that any man might exerciſe the Prieſts Office, in miniſtring the Sacraments, Praying, Preaching, *&c.* which was not lawfully Ordained by ſome Biſhop or other. Now his Majeſties Letter to this purpoſe was as followeth.

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CHARLES REX.

MOst Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty and Right Entirely-beloved Counsellor, We greet you well. There is nothing more dear to us than the preservation of true Religion, as it is now setled and established in this Our Kingdom, to the Honour of God, the great Comfort of Our Self and Our Loyal People: and there can nothing more conduce to the Advancement thereof, than the strict observations of such Canons *of the Church as concern those who are to take Orders in their several Times; more especially of keeping that particular* Canon *which enjoyns, That no man be made a* Priest *without a* Title: *For We find, that many not so qualified, do by favour or other means procure themselves to be Ordained, and afterwards for want of means wander up and down, to the scandal of their Calling; or to get Maintenance, fall upon such Courses as were most unfit for them, both by humouring their Auditors, and other ways altogether unsufferable. We have therefore thought fit, and We do hereby straightly command, require, and charge you, to call such Bishops to you as are now present in or near Our City of* London, *and to acquaint them with this Our Resolution. And further, That you fail not in the beginning of the next Term, to give notice of this Our Will and Pleasure openly in Our* High-Commission *Court; and that you call into your said Court every Bishop respectively, that shall presume to give Orders to any man that hath not a* Title, *and there to censure him as the* Canon *aforesaid doth enjoyn (which is, to maintain the Party so* Ordered *till he give him a* Title) *and with what other Censure you in Justice shall think fit. And Our further Will is, That nothing shall be reputed a* Title *to enable a man for* Orders, *but that which is so by the Ancient Course of the Church, and the* Canon-Law, *so far forth as that Law is received in this Our Church of* England. *And as you must not fail in these Our Directions, nor in any part of them; so We expect that you give Us from time to time a strict Account of your Proceedings in the same.*

Given under Our *Signet* at Our Palace of *Westminster, Septemb.* 19. in the ninth year of Our Reign. 1633.

On the Receipt of these Letters, which himself had both advised and digested, he called such of his Suffragan Bishops who were then about *London* to come before him, acquaints them with the great scandal which was given the Church, the danger of Schism and Faction which might thence arise, and the more than ordinary displeasure which had been taken by his Majesty and the Lords of his Council, at such unlawful and uncanonical *Ordinations*; he required them therefore to be more careful for the time to come, and not to give the like offence to his Sacred Majesty, who was resolved to see the Canons of the Church in that particular more punctually observed than they had been formerly, and to call all such to an account who should presume hereafter to transgress therein: Which said, he gave to each of them a Copy of his Majesties Letters, and sent the like Copies unto all the rest of his Suffragan Bishops incloſed in Letters of his own;

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in which Letters having declared unto them as much as he spake unto the rest, touching his Majesties pious Care to redress that mischief, he requires them and every one of them, *That at all times of* Ordination *they be very careful to admit none into* Holy Orders, *but such men as for Life and Learning are fit, and which have a* Title *for their maintenance, according to the Laws and the ancient Practice of the Church, assuring them that his Majesty had commanded him to let them know, That he would not fail to call for an account of those his Letters, both from him and them; and therefore, That he did not doubt but that they would have a special care both of the good of the Church, and his Majesties Contentment in it.* The like Letters were sent from his Majesty, by his procurement, to the Archbishop of *York*, who was as sensible of the inconvenience as himself could be. And though nothing was required in either of the said Letters, but what had been provided for in the Canon of 1603. yet was it as much inveighed against as if it had been a new device, never heard of formerly. The reason was, because that neither any Lecture, nor any possibility of being entertained as a Chaplain in the Houses of Noblemen, or others of the inferiour Gentry, could be allowed of for a *Title*, and consequently no *Orders* to be given hereafter under those Capacities. But notwithstanding those Reproaches, the Archbishops so bestirred themselves, and kept such a strict eye on their several Suffragans, that from henceforth we hear but little of such vagrant Ministers and Trencher-Chaplains (the old brood being once worn out) as had pestred and annoyed the Church in those latter Times.

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Bibl. Regia, sect. 3. c. 11. p. 332.

It is to be observed, That the Archbishops Letter to his several Suffragans bears date on the eighteenth of *October*, which day gives date also to his Majesties Declaration about *Lawful Sports*, concerning which we are to know, That the Commons in the first Parliament of his *Majesties* Reign had gained an Act, That from thenceforth there should be no Assembly or Concourse of People out of their own Parishes on the Lords day, or any Bull-baiting, Bear-baiting, Enterludes, Common Plays, or any other unlawful Exercises or Pastimes in their own Parishes on the same: Which being gained, they obtained another in the third Parliament, for inhibiting all Carriers, Waggoners, Drovers, Pack-men, for Travelling on the said day with their Horses, Waggons, Packs, *&c.* As also, That no Butcher should from thenceforth kill or sell any Victual upon that day, either by himself or any other, under the several Penalties therein contained. And though it was not his Majesties purpose in those Acts to debar any of his good Subjects from any honest and harmless Recreations, which had not been prohibited by the Laws of the Land; or that it should not be lawful for them, in case of necessity, to buy a piece of Meat for the use of their Families, the Butchers Shop not being set open as on other days: yet presently some Publick Ministers of Justice began to put another sense upon those Acts, than ever came within the compass of his meaning. For at the Summer Assizes held in *Exon. Anno* 1627. an Order was made by *Walter* then Chief Baron, and *Denham* one of the puisne Barons of the Court of Exchequer, for suppressing all Revels,

Cant. Doom. p. 153.

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vels, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, which had been uſed upon that day; requiring the Juſtices of the Peace within the ſaid County to ſee the ſame put in execution; and that every Miniſter in his Pariſh-Church ſhould publiſh the ſaid Order yearly, on the firſt *Sunday* in *February*. The like Order made in the ſame year alſo for the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Dorſet*, and probably enough for ſome of the other Counties of that *Weſtern Circuit*; none of them in thoſe ſqueaſie and unſetled Times being queſtioned for it. And then in reference to the Statute of the Third of this King, a Warrant is granted in the month of *April* 1629. by *Richard Dean* then Lord Mayor of *London*, for apprehending all Porters carrying Burthens, or Water-men plying at their Oars, all Tankard-bearers carrying Water to their Maſters Houſes, all Chandlers and Huckſters which bought any Victuals on that day of the Country-Carriers, all Vintners, Alehouſe-keepers, Strongwater-men, and Tobacco-ſellers, which ſuffered any Perſon to ſit drinking on that day (though poſſibly they might do it only for their honeſt neceſſities.) In which as *Dean* out-went the Statute, ſo *Raynton* in the ſame Office, *Anno* 1633. over-acted *Dean*, prohibiting a poor woman from ſelling Apples on that day in Saint *Paul's* Church-yard, within which place he could pretend no Juriſdiction, and for that cauſe was queſtioned and reproved by *Laud* then Biſhop of *London*.

p. 132.

But none ſo luſtily laid about him in this kind, as *Richardſon* the Chief Juſtice of his Majeſties Bench, who in the *Lent*-Aſſizes for the County of *Somerſet*, *Anno* 1631. publiſhed the like Order to that which had been made by *Walter* for the County of *Devon*; not only requiring that the Juſtices of the Peace in the ſaid County ſhould ſee the ſame to be duly put in execution: but alſo (as the other had done before) that publication ſhould be made thereof in the Pariſh-Churches by all ſuch Miniſters as did Officiate in the ſame, with which encroachment upon the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in impoſing upon men in Holy Orders the publiſhing of Warrants and Commands from the Secular Judges, *Laud* being then Biſhop of *London*, and finding his Majeſties Affairs in a quieter condition than they had been formerly, was not meanly offended, as he had good reaſon ſo to be, and made complaint of it to the King, who thereupon commanded *Richardſon* to revoke the ſaid Order at the next Aſſizes. But *Richardſon* was ſo far from obeying his Majeſties Command in that particular, that on the contrary he not only confirmed his former Order, but made it more peremptory than before: Upon complaint whereof by Sir *Robert Philips*, and other chief Gentlemen of that County, his Majeſty ſeemed to be very much moved, and gave Command to the Biſhop of *London* to require an Account from the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* then being, how the ſaid *Feaſt-days*, *Church-Ales*, *Wakes*, or *Revels*, were for the moſt part celebrated and obſerved in his Dioceſs. On the Receipt of which Letters the Biſhop calls before him 72 of the moſt Orthodox and ableſt Clergy-men amongſt them, who certified under their ſeveral hands, *That on the* Feaſt-days *(which commonly fell upon the* Sunday*) the Service of God was more ſolemnly performed, and the Church was better frequented both in the forenoon and afternoon, than upon any* Sunday

Cant. Doom. p. 142.

in

in the year; *That the People very much deſired the continuance of them*; *That the Miniſters in moſt Places did the like, for theſe Reaſons ſpecially*; viz. *For preſerving the memorial of the Dedication of their ſeveral Churches*; *For civilizing the People*; *For compoſing Differences, by the mediation and meeting of Friends*; *For encreaſe of Love and Unity, by thoſe Feaſts of Charity*; *For Relief and Comfort of the Poor (the Richer part in a manner keeping open Houſe,)* &c. On the Return of which Certificate, ſo ſeaſonably ſeconding the Complaint and Information of the Gentry, *Richardſon* was again convented at the Council-Table, and peremptorily commanded to reverſe his former Orders at the next Aſſizes for that County; withal receiving ſuch a rattle for his former Contempt by the Biſhop of *London*, that he came out blubbering and complaining, *That he had been almoſt choaked with a pair of Lawn Sleeves.*

Whilſt theſe things were thus in agitation, one *Brabourne* a poor School-maſter in the Dioceſs of *Norfolk*, being ſeduced and miſguided by the continual inculcating of the Morality of the Lords-day-*Sabboth* from the Preſs and Pulpit, publiſhed a Book in maintenance of the Seventh-day-*Sabboth*, as it was kept amongſt the *Jews*, and preſcribed by *Moſes*, according to Gods Will and Pleaſure ſignified in the Fourth Commandment. This Book at the firſt not daring to behold the Light, went abroad by ſtealth; but afterwards appeared in publick with an open confidence, an Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Majeſty being placed before it. His Majeſty extremely moved with ſo lewd an impudence, and fearing to be thought the Patron of a Doctrine ſo abhorrent from all Chriſtian Piety, gave Order for the Author to be Cenſured in the *High-Commiſſion*. *Brabourne* being thereupon called into that Court, and the Cauſe made ready for an Hearing, his Errour was ſo learnedly confuted by the Biſhops and other judicious Divines then preſent, that he began to ſtagger in his former Opinion; which hint being taken by their Lordſhips, he was admoniſhed in a grave and fatherly manner to ſubmit himſelf unto a Conference with ſuch Learned men as ſhould be appointed thereunto; to which he chearfully conſented, and found ſuch benefit by that Meeting, that by Gods bleſſing he became a Convert, and freely conformed himſelf to the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of *England*, concerning the *Sabboth* and *Lords-day*: Which Tendencies of ſome of the People to downright *Judaiſm*, grounded upon the Practices and Poſitions of the *Sabbatarians*, and ſeconded by the petulancy of ſome Publick Miniſters of Juſtice, in debarring his good Subjects in keeping the ancient Dedication-Feaſt of their ſeveral Churches, occaſioned his Majeſty to think of the reviving of his Royal Fathers Declaration about *Lawful Sports*; To which end he gave Order to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to cauſe the ſame to be Re-printed, word for word, as it had iſſued from the Preſs in the time of his late Royal Father, *Anno* 1618. at the end whereof he cauſed this Declaration of his own ſenſe to be ſuper-added; that is to ſay:

Now out of a like Pious Care (ſaith his Sacred Majeſty) *for the Service of God, and for ſuppreſſing of any humours that oppoſe the Truth, and*

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and for the ease, and comfort, and recreation of Our well-deserving People, We do Ratifie and Publish this Our Blessed Fathers Declaration; the rather, because of late in some Counties of Our Kingdom we find, that under pretence of taking away Abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called Wakes. *Now Our express Will and Pleasure is, That these Feasts with others shall be observed, and that Our Justices of the Peace in their several Divisions shall look to it, both that all Disorders there may be prevented or punished; and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And We further command Our Justices of Assize in their several Circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of Our Loyal and Dutiful People, in or for their Lawful Recreations, having first done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience to Us and Our Laws. And of this We command all Our Judges, Justices of the Peace as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Officers, to take notice, and to see observed, as they tender Our displeasure. And We further Will, That Publication of this Our Command be made by Order from the Bishops, thorow all the Parish Churches of their several Dioceses respectively.* Given at our Palace at *Westminster, Oct.* 18. in the ninth year of Our Reign, 1633.

His Majesty had scarce dried his Pen, when he dipt it in the Ink again, upon this occasion: The Parishioners of St. *Gregories* in Saint *Pauls* Church-yard had bestowed much cost in beautifying and adorning their Parish Church; and having prepared a decent and convenient Table for the holy Sacrament, were ordered by the Dean and Chapter of St. *Pauls*, as being *Ordinaries* of the place, to dispose of it in such a Posture, in the East end of the Chancel, as anciently it had stood, and did then stand in the Mother Cathedral. Against this some of the Parishioners (not above five in number) appeal unto the Dean of the Arches, and the Dean and Chapter to the King. The third day of *November* is appointed for debating the Point in controversie before the Lords of the Council; his *Majesty* sitting as chief Judge, accompanied with *Laud Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, Lord *Keeper*, Lord *Archbishop* of *York*, Lord *Treasurer*, Lord *Privy Seal*, Lord Duke of *Lenox*, Lord High *Chamberlain*, Earl *Marshal*, Lord *Chamberlain*, Earl of *Bridgewater*, Earl of *Carlisle*, Lord *Cottington*, Mr. *Treasurer*, Mr. *Comptroller*, Mr. Secretary *Cooke*, Mr. Secretary *Windebanke*. The cause being heard, and all the Allegations on both sides exactly pondered, his *Majesty* first declared *his dislike of all Innovations, and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just and warrantable reasons*, &c. And afterwards gave Sentence in behalf of the Dean and Chapter. But because this Order of his *Majesty* in the case of St. *Gregories* was made the Rule, by which all other *Ordinaries* did proceed, in causing the Communion Table to be placed *Alterwise* in the Churches of their several and respective Dioceses, I will subjoyn it here *verbatim* as it lies before me.

At

At *Whitehall*, Novem. 3. 1633.

This day, was debated before his Majesty sitting in Council *the question and difference which grew about the removing of the Communion-Table in St.* Gregories *Church, near the Cathedral Church of St.* Paul, *from the middle of the Chancel to the upper end, and there placed* Altarwise *in such manner as it standeth in the said Cathedral and Mother-Church, (as also in other Cathedrals, and in his Majesties own Chappel) and as is consonant to the practice of approved Antiquity; which removing and placing of it in that sort was done by order of the* Dean *and* Chapter *of St.* Pauls, *who are* Ordinaries *thereof, as was avowed before his Majesty by Doctor* King, *and Doctor* Montfort, *two of the* Prebends *there. Yet some few of the Parishioners, being but five in number, did complain of this Act by appeal to the Court of* Arches, *pretending that the Book of Common-Prayer, and the* 82. *Canon, do give permission to place the* Communion Table *where it may stand with most fitness and* convenience. *Now his Majesty having heard a particular relation, made by the Counsel of both parties, of all the carriage and proceedings in this cause, was pleased to declare his dislike of all innovation and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just and warrantable reasons, especially in matters concerning Ecclesiastical Orders and Government, knowing how easily men are drawn to affect Novelties, and how soon weak Judgments in such cases may be overtaken and abused. And he was also pleased to observe, that if those few Parishioners might have their wills, the difference thereby from the foresaid* Cathedral Mother-Church, *by which all other Churches depending thereon ought to be guided, would be the more notorious, and give more subject of discourse and disputes that might be spared, by reason of the nearness of St.* Gregories *standing close to the Wall thereof. And likewise, for so much as concerns the Liberty by the said* Common Book *or* Canon, *for placing the* Communion Table *in any Church or Chappel with most conveniency, that liberty is not so to be understood, as if it were ever left to the discretion of the Parish, much less to the particular fancy of any humorous person, but to the judgment of the* Ordinary, *to whose place and Function it doth properly belong to give direction in that point, both for the thing it self, and for the time, when, and how long, as he may find cause. Upon which consideration his Majesty declared himself, that he well approved and confirmed the Act of the said* Ordinary, *and also gave commandment, that if those few Parishioners before mentioned, do proceed in their said Appeal, then the* Dean of the Arches *(who was then attending at the hearing of the cause) should confirm the said Order of the aforesaid* Dean *and* Chapter.

Of this last Declaration there was no great notice took at first, the danger being remote, the case particular, and no necessity imposed of conforming to it. But the other was no sooner published then it was followed and pursued with such loud outcries as either the Tongues or Pens of the *Sabbatarians* could raise against it. Some fell directly on the King, and could find out no better names for this *Declaration*,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

then a *Profane Edict, a maintaining of his own honour, and a Sacrilegious robbing of God. A Toleration for prophaning the Lords day.* Affirming, That it was *impoſſible that a ſpot of ſo deep a dye ſhould be emblanched, though ſomewhat might be urged to qualifie and alleviate the blame thereof.* Others, and thoſe the greateſt part, impute the Republiſhing of this Declaration to the new Archbiſhop, and make it the firſt remarkable thing which was done preſently after he took poſſeſſion of his *Graceſhip*, as *Burton* doth pretend to wit it in his Pulpit Libel. And though theſe Books came not out in Print till ſome years after, yet was the clamour raiſed on both at the very firſt, encreaſing every day more and more as the reading of it in their Churches had been preſſed upon them. To ſtop the current of theſe clamours, till ſome better courſe might be deviſed, one who wiſht well both to the Parties and the Cauſe, fell on a fancy of Tranſlating into the *Engliſh* Tongue a *Lecture* or *Oration* made by Doctor *Prideaux* at the Act in *Oxon. Anno* 1622. In which he ſolidly diſcourſed both of the *Sabbath* and *Sunday*, according to the judgment of the ancient Fathers, and the moſt approved Writers of the Proteſtant and Reformed Churches. This Lecture thus tranſlated was uſhered alſo with a *Preface:* In which there was proof offered in theſe three Propoſitions, Firſt, *That the keeping holy of one day of ſeven is not the moral part of the fourth Commandment.* Secondly, *That the alteration of the day is only an humane and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution.* Thirdly, *That ſtill the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to ſome other.* Which as they are the general *Tendries* of the *Proteſtant*, *Lutheran*, and *Calvinian* Writers beyond the Seas, ſo were they briefly touched at and maintained in the Doctors Lecture; which came out thus tranſlated in the next *Candlemas* Term, under the Title of *The Doctrine of the Sabbath, delivered in the Act at* Oxon. An. 1622. *By* D. Prideaux, *his Majeſties Profeſſor for Divinity in that Univerſity.* The name of *Prideaux* was ſo Sacred, that the Book was greedily bought up by thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction, preſuming they ſhould find in it ſome invincible Arguments to confirm both the Party and the Cauſe. But when they found how much they had deceived themſelves in that expectation, and that nothing could be writ more ſmartly againſt them and their *Lords-day-Sabbath*; as it did very much cool their colours, and abate their clamours: ſo did it no leſs tend to the diminution of that high eſteem and veneration which before they had harboured of the man. What followed afterwards, when the reading of the book was preſſed, and the clamours multiplyed by ſuch as refuſed to read it, future time ſhall ſhew.

Theſe paſſages concerning *England* being laid together, we muſt look back into the North, which ſtill took up a great part of his Majeſties thoughts. He had obſerved how much his Fathers Pious Order for officiating by the *Engliſh Liturgie* in the Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, had been diſcontinued and neglected, imputing thereunto the oppoſition which he found amongſt them at his late being there. And being reſolved to purſue his ſaid Fathers moſt Religious purpoſe of ſetling an uniformity of Divine Worſhip in all the Churches of theſe Kingdoms, he thought it moſt expedient to purſue the ſame method

thod also, to the end that the people being prepared by little and little might the more willingly admit of that, or some other Liturgie like unto it, when he should think it reasonable to commend it to them. In order whereunto he sends to *Ballentine*, then Bishop of *Dumblaine*, and Dean of the Chappel of that Kingdom, these Instructions following, to be observed in the *Chappel Royal* of *Holy Rood* in the City of *Edenburgh*. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

CHARLES REX,

Bibl. Regia. sect. 11. n. 2.

I. *Our expres Will and Pleasure is, That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and his Successors shall be assistant to the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of* St. Andrews *at the Coronation, so often as it shall happen.*

II. *That the Book of the Form of Our Coronation, lately used, be put in a little Box, and laid into a* Standard, *and committed to the care of the Dean of the Chappel successively.*

III. *That there be Prayers twice a day with the Choires as well in Our absence as otherwise, according to the English Liturgie, till some other course be taken for making one that may fit the Customs and Constitutions of that Church.*

IV. *That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully, that all that receive the blessed* Sacrament *there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a Communion held in that Our Chappel the first Sunday of every Month.*

V. *That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and so successively, come duly thither to Prayers upon Sundays, and such Holidays as the Church observes, in his Whites, and Preach so whensoever he Preach there; and that he be not absent thence but upon necessary occasion of his Dioceses, or otherwise according to the course of his preferment.*

VI. *That these Orders shall be Our Warrant to the Dean of Our Chappel, that the Lords of Our* Privy Council, *the Lords of the* Session, *the Advocate, Clerk, Writers to the* Signet, *and Members of Our Colledge of Justice, be commanded to receive the holy Communion once every year at the least in that Our Chappel Royal, and kneeling, for example sake to the Kingdom; and we likewise command the Dean aforesaid, to make report yearly to Us how We are obeyed therein, and of whom, as also if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why.*

VII. *That the* Copes *which are consecrated for the use of Our Chappel be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon Inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpose, and to be used at the Celebration of the* Sacrament *in Our* Chappel Royal. *To these Orders we shall hereafter adde others, if we find others more necessary for the Service of God there.*

Together with these directions bearing date the eighth of *October*, he sends a Letter of the same Date, to the said Bishop of *Dumblaine*, requiring him to put them speedily in execution, and all things to be carefully performed by him as he was directed; commanding also that he should certifie the Lords of the Council there, if any person who had been formerly appointed to communicate in the said Chappel

PART II. Royal, ſhould either neglect or refuſe conformity to his Majeſties
Anno Dom. 1633. pleaſure, to the end that the Council might take ſuch further order in it, as had been directed by his Majeſty in ſome former Letters. But knowing, or at the leaſt ſuſpecting, that *Ballentine* might have ſomewhat more of the *Presbyter* than the Biſhop in him (as indeed he had) he gave a Warrant under his hand to his *Grace* of *Canterbury*, "Re-
Ibid. num. 4. "quiring him to hold correſpondency with the ſaid Biſhop of *Dumblaine*, that the ſaid Biſhop might from time to time receive his Ma-"jeſties directions for ordering of ſuch things as concerned his Service "in that Chappel. He had before a *Primacy* in the Church of *England*, and a ſtrong influence on the Government of the Church of *Ireland*. This Warrant gives him ſome juſt ground of a ſuperintendency over the Kirk of *Scotland* alſo, which from henceforth was much directed by his power and wiſdom, as will appear by that which follows in its proper place.

Mean while we will behold ſuch alterations as by his power were made in the Preferments of the Church of *England*; which in the beginning of this year lamented the death of Biſhop *Godwin*, made Biſhop of *Landaff* in the year 1601. from thence tranſlated unto *Hereford*, *Anno* 1617. A man whoſe memory ſhall be precious in ſucceeding times for his indefatigable pains and travel in collecting the Catalogue of Succeſſion of all the Biſhops of this Church ſince the firſt planting of the Goſpel amongſt the *Saxons*, not pretermitting ſuch of the *Britiſh* Church as by the care and diligence of preceding Writers, or any old Monument and Record, had been kept in memory. For his Succeſſor in that See *Juxon*, then Dean of *Worceſter*, and Clerk of his Majeſties Cloſet, as before was ſaid, is recommended and elected. But before the buſineſs had proceeded to confirmation there was a *Superſedeas* to it by *Lauds* preferment to the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*; who having a great confidence in him, and no leſs affection to his Perſon than confidence of his Wiſdom and Moderation, commended him ſo efficacioufly to his Majeſties Favour, that he made him not only Biſhop of *London*, but Dean of the Chappel Royal alſo. It had been *Lauds* great care, as he grew into credit with his Majeſty, to give a ſtop to ſuch corruptions as had been uſed too frequently in the Court, about Church Preferments, which made him the leſs acceptable to many which were near the King in Place and Service, who formerly had been on the taking hand, and made a Market of the Church as they had occaſion. *Goodman* of *Gloceſter* having ſtaid in that Dioceſs long enough to be as weary of them as they were of him, affected a remove to the See of *Hereford*, and had ſo far prevailed with ſome great Officer of State, that his Mony was taken, his *Conge d' eſtire* iſſued out, his Election paſſed. But the Archbiſhop coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, and being aſhamed of ſo much baſeneſs in the man, who could pretend no other merit than his Mony, ſo laboured the buſineſs with the King, and the King ſo rattled up the Biſhop, that he was glad to make his peace, not only with the Reſignation of his Election, but the loſs of his Bribe. At laſt, that Church a third time vacant, that is to ſay, by the death of *Godwin*, the promotion of *Juxon* and the Reſignation of *Goodman*, was recommended to the Government

ment of Dr. *Augustine Lindsel*, not long before made Bishop of *Peterborough*, and now succeeded in that See by *Francis Dee*, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of *Chichester*. Now begins *Wren* to come in play, Chaplain to his Majesty when Prince of *Wales*, and chosen by King *James* to be one of the two which were to follow him into *Spain* amongst the rest of his Retinue, as before was said. He had seen *Maw*, who went Chaplain with him into *Spain*, to be preferred first to the Mastership of *Trinity* Colledge, and afterwards to the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Anno* 1628. himself remaining in his place in *Peterhouse* as his highest dignity. In the year 1628. he was at the last made Dean of *Windsor*, and Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, in the place of *Beaumont*. And on that place he dwelt so long, that his well-willers gave it out, that *Laud* was afraid of his abilities, and would not suffer him to rise, for fear that he might rise too high both in power and favour, and overtop him in the Court. But these surmises proved as groundless as they were unjust: For this year he was made Successor unto *Juxon* as Clerk of the Closet, a place of great nearness to the King, and being once on the *Ascendent* he went up apace, succeeding *Lindsel* in the See of *Hereford*, *Anno* 1634. and *Corbet* in the Church of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1635. When *Juxon* was advanced to the *Treasurers* Staff, he was made Dean of the Chappel in his place, *Anno* 1636. Successor unto *White* in the See of *Ely*, *Anno* 1638. and questionless had mounted higher had the times been favourable. Nor was he less fortunate in his Successors, leaving the Deanry of *Windsor* to Dr. *Christopher Wren* his younger brother; his Clerkship of the Closet to Dr. *Richard Steward*, Dean of *Chichester*; and the Mastership of *Peterhouse* to *John Cosens* of *Durham*.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1633.

We must conclude this year, and begin the next with some proceedings against *Prynne*, the Preparations to whose censure we have heard before. *Candlemas* Term brings him at last unto his tryal in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, being first pre-condemned by the Gentlemen of his own Profession, and afterwards sentenced by that Court. The Gentlemen of the four Societies presented their Majesties with a Pompous and Magnificent *Masque*, to let them see that *Prynnes* leaven had not sowred them all, and that they were not poysoned with the same infection. In which as they all joyned together to perform that Service, so gave they such contentment to his Sacred Majesty, that he desired them to make a Representation of it to the City of *London*: Which they accordingly performed with no less honour to themselves, and delight to the People, than shame and sorrow unto him who had given the occasion. But greater shame and sorrow fell upon him when he came to his Censure. *Richardson*, Chief Justice of his Majesties *Bench*, highly extolled his Majesties mercy in bringing him rather unto his trial in a *Criminal* than a *Capital* way; declaring openly, that if he had been turned over to his *Tribunal*, he must have put himself upon a *Jury*, of whom no mercy could be hoped for so great an Offender. The Earl of *Dorset*, being Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, aggravated his offence in asperſing with such foul reproaches a Lady of such eminent Vertue and exemplary Piety, that her very

PART II. very dreams were more in Heaven than moſt womens Prayers. The
Anno Dom. 1633. Archbiſhop having been bred in St. *Johns Colledge* in *Oxon.* where the younger Students uſed yearly to preſent ſome ſhew or other *Dramatick* Exerciſe to the Univerſity, ſpake much in commendation of *Academical Enterludes*, and the great benefit which redounded to the Actors in them, by training them in an Art of ſpeaking, a modeſt confidence of Behaviour, the ſtrengthening of the Memory in the repeating of their parts, and the enriching them with a ſtock of Latine Verſes, out of one approved Author or other, which were their own for ever after. In fine, they generally concurred in this Cenſure of him, *viz.* "To be "fined five thouſand pound to the King; expelled the Univerſity of "*Oxon.* and *Lincolns-Inn*; degraded and diſabled from his Profeſſion
Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, p. 119. "in the Laws; to ſtand in the Pillory, firſt in the *Palace-yard* in *Weſt-* "*minſter*, and three days after in *Cheapſide*, and in each place to loſe "an Ear, (though this laſt part of his Cenſure was much moderated "in the execution;) to have his Book, called *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, publickly "burnt before his face by the hand of the Hangman, and remain pri- "ſoner during life.

1634. But all this was ſo far from working any remorſe in him, that it rather hardened him in his ways. For in *June* following, as ſoon as he could provide himſelf of Pen, Ink and Paper, he writes a moſt ſharp and Libellous Letter to the Lord Archbiſhop, touching his Cenſure in that Court, and that which the Archbiſhop in particular had declared againſt him. With this Letter the Archbiſhop acquaints his Majeſty, and his Majeſty commands him to refer it to Atturney *Noy*. *Noy* ſends for *Prynne*, and demands of him whether the Letter were of his own hand-writing or not; to which *Prynne* cunningly replyed, That he could make no anſwer to that demand, unleſs he ſaw the Letter, and might read the ſame. No ſooner was the Letter put into his hands, and *Noys* back turned a little toward him, but preſently he tore it all to pieces, and flung the pieces out of the window, to the end it might not riſe in judgment againſt him if the Atturney ſhould proceed to an *Ore-tenus*, as he meant to do. With this affront, and the principal paſſages of the Letter, the Atturney acquaints their Lordſhips in open Court, but there was no remedy. For being there was no proof of the miſdemeanour but the Letter it ſelf, and that the Letter could not be brought in evidence as it ſhould have been, the Archbiſhop thought it a more noble Act to remit the crime than to trouble the Court, or any of his *Majeſties Miniſters* in the proſecution. But herein *Prynne* ſped better than ſome others who had before been ſnarling at him, and laboured to expoſe him both to ſcorn and danger. No ſooner had he mounted the Chair of *Canterbury*, but one *Boyer*, who not long before had broke priſon, to which he had been committed for felony, moſt groſly abuſed him to his face, accuſing him of no leſs than *High Treaſon*. For which being brought into the *Star-Chamber*, the next *Michaelmas* Term he was there cenſured by their Lordſhips, as the Crime deſerved. And preſently on the neck of this, one *Greene* a poor decayed Printer, for whom his Grace then Biſhop of *London* had procured a Penſion of five pound *per Annum*, to be paid by the Company of *Sta-*

tioners

tioners yearly as long as he lived, adventured into the Court of St. *James*'s with a great Sword by his side, desperately swearing, That if the King did not do him Justice against the Archbishop, he would take another course with him. For this committed unto *Newgate*; but how long he staid there, and what other Punishment he suffered, or whether he suffered any other, or not, let them seek that list. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

And that the other Sex might whet their tongues upon him also, the Lady *Davies*, the Widow of Sir *John Davies* Atturney-General for King *James* in the Realm of *Ireland*, scatters a Prophesie against him. This Lady had before spoken something unluckily of the Duke of *Buckingham*, importing, that he should not live till the end of *August*, which raised her to the Reputation of a *Cunning Woman* amongst the ignorant people: and now the Prophesies of the new Archbishop, That he should live but few days after the fifth of *November*; for which, and other Prophesies of a more mischievous nature, she was after brought into the other Court of *High-Commission*; the Woman being grown so mad, that she phancied the Spirit of the Prophet *Daniel* to have been infused into her Body: And this she grounded on an *Anagram* which she made of her Name, *viz.* *ELEANOR DAVIES, REVEAL O DANIEL:* And though the *Anagram* had too much by an *L*, and too little by an *S*; yet she found *Daniel* and *Reveal* in it, and that served her turn. Much pains was taken by the Court to dispossess her of this Spirit; but all would not do, till *Lamb* then Dean of the *Arches* shot her through and through, with an Arrow borrowed from her own Quiver; For whilst the Bishop and Divines were reasoning the Point with her out of Holy Scripture, he took a Pen into his hand, and at last hit upon this excellent *Anagram*, viz. *DAME ELEANOR DAVIES, NEVER SO MAD A LADIE:* Which having proved to be true by the Rules of Art, *Madam*, said he, *I see you build much on* Anagrams, *and I have found out one which I hope will fit you*; This said, and reading it aloud, he put it into her hands in Writing, which happy Phancy brought that grave Court into such a laughter, and the poor Woman thereupon into such a confusion, that afterwards she grew either wiser, or was less regarded. This ended as successfully as he could desire: but he sped worse with another of his Female Adversaries. The Lady *Purbeck*, Wife of *John Villers* Viscount *Purbeck*, the elder Brother by the same *Venter* to the Duke of *Buckingham*, had been brought into the *High-Commission*, *Anno* 1627. for living openly in Adultery with Sir *Robert Howard*, one of the younger Sons of *Thomas* the first Earl of *Suffolk* of that Family. Sentenced among other things to do Penance at St. *Paul*'s Cross, she escaped her Keepers, took Sanctuary in the *Savoy*, and was from thence conveyed away by the *French* Embassador. The Duke being dead, all further prosecution against her died also with him; which notwithstanding, the proud woman being more terrified with the fear of the Punishment, than the sense of the Sin, vented her malice and displeasure against the Archbishop (who had been very severe against her at the time of her Trial) when he was come unto his Greatness; spending her tongue upon him in words so full of deep disgrace and reproach

Hist. of K. C. P. 141.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

reproach unto him, that he could do no leſs than cauſe her to be laid in the *Gatehouſe*: But being not long after delivered thence by the Practice of *Howard* aforementioned, *Howard* was ſeiſed upon, and laid up in her place; which Puniſhment (though it was the leaſt that could be looked for) he ſo highly ſtomach'd, that as ſoon as the Archbiſhop was impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons, and committed to Cuſtody by the Lords (which hapned on *Friday*, *December* 18. 1640.) he petitioned for Relief againſt the Archbiſhop, and ſome other of the *High Commiſſioners* by whom the Warrant had been ſigned. The Lords upon the reading of it impoſed a Fine of 500 *l.* on the Archbiſhop himſelf, and 250 *l.* apiece upon *Lamb* and *Duck*, and preſſed it with ſuch cruel rigour, that they forced him to ſell his Plate to make payment of it; the Fine being ſet on *Munday* the 21. of *December*, and ordered to be paid on the *Wedneſday* after.

But theſe Particulars have carried me beyond my year: I return therefore back again; and having ſhewed what Actings had been ſet on foot both in *England* and *Scotland*, muſt now croſs over into *Ireland*, where we find *Wentworth* made Lord Deputy in the place of *Faulkland*. We told you formerly of ſome dearneſs which was growing between him and *Laud* then Biſhop of *London*, at his firſt Admiſſion to the place of a Privy-Counſellor. Toward the latter end of *January*, *Anno* 1630. *Wentworth* being then Lord Preſident of the Council eſtabliſhed for the Northern Parts, beſtowed a Viſit on him at *London*-Houſe, where they had ſome private Conference touching the better Setlement of Affairs both in *England* and *Ireland*, of which Kingdom *Wentworth* not long after was Created Lord Deputy. He ſtaid ſomewhat longer from his Charge than he would have done, to be preſent at the Cenſure of *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, informed againſt in the *Star-Chamber* by his Majeſties Atturney-General, for ſome dangerous and diſgraceful words which he was reported to have ſpoken of his Majeſties Government, and revealing ſome Secrets which his Majeſty had formerly committed to his Truſt as a Privy-Counſellor: But *Williams* found ſo many ſhifts to put off the Trial, that the Deputy was fain to leave him in the ſame eſtate in which he found him, and hoiſed Sail for *Ireland*. Scarce was he ſetled in his Power, but he began to reform ſome things which he beheld as blemiſhes in the face of that Church. In the Chappel of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the chief Seat of his Reſidence, he found a fair large Pue at the end of the Choire, erected for the uſe of his Predeceſſors in that place; the Communion-Table in the mean time being thruſt out of doors. This Pue he commands to be taken down, and the Holy Table to be reſtored to its antient place, where the Altar formerly had ſtood. In *Chriſt-Church* the Cathedral of that City, to which the Lord Deputies repair on *Sundays* and *Holydays* for Gods Publick Worſhip, he found the Holy Table ſituated in the middle of the Choire or Chancel, and day by day profaned by Boys and Girles, who ſate upon it: This Table he cauſed to be removed alſo, as he did the other. And whereas the Earl of *Cork* had built a ſtately Monument for his Wife and ſome of her Anceſtors, but chiefly for himſelf and his own Poſterity, at the Eaſt end of the Choire

Cant. Doom, p. 82.

Choir in St. *Patrick's* Church, being the ſecond of that City, the Lord Deputy required him to take it down, or otherwiſe to ſatisfie the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the ſtanding of it.

Of all theſe things he gave Order to his Chaplain *Bramhall* to give the Archbiſhop an Account, which *Bramhall* did accordingly in his Letters of the tenth of *Auguſt* 1633. In which Letters he gave this teſtimony alſo of the Deputies Care, *That it was not poſſible for the Intentions of a mortal Man, to be more ſerious and ſincere in thoſe things that concerned the good of the* Iriſh *Church than his Lordſhips were.* And that he might lay a ſure foundation to proceed upon, he procured the Univerſity of *Dublin* to make choice of *Laud*, then being Lord Elect of *Canterbury*, for their Lord and *Chancellor*. To this they chearfully aſſented, paſſed the Election on the fourteenth of *September*, *Anno* 1633. being but ſix days before his actual Confirmation into the Metropolitical and Supream Dignity of the Church of *England*. Nor was it long before they found on what a gracious Benefactor they had placed that Honour: He had been told by *Ryves*, his Majeſties Advocate (who formerly had exerciſed that Office in the Realm of *Ireland*) of the deplorable condition of that Church in the reſpect of Maintenance. Moſt of the Tythes had been appropriated to Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, afterwards veſted in the Crown, or ſold to private Subjects, and made *Lay-Fees*; The Vicarages for the moſt part Stipendary, and their Stipends ſo miſerable ſordid, that in the whole Province of *Connaught* moſt of the Vicars Penſions came but to 40 *s. per Annum*, and in many places but 16. The Biſhopricks at that time were many in number, but of ſmall Revenue, having been much dilapidated in the change of Religion, ſome of them utterly unable to maintain a Biſhop, and no good Benefice near them to be held *in Commendam*. This had been certified unto him by Letters from the Lord *Primate* about three years ſince; and it had been certified alſo by *Beadle* Biſhop of *Killmore*, That the Churches were in great decay, and that ſome men of better quality than the reſt were poſſeſſed of three, four, five, or more of thoſe Vicarages, to the great diſſervice of the Church, and reproach to themſelves. *Cant. Doom*, p. 104.

Theſe things he could not chooſe but look on as great diſcouragements to Learning, and ſuch as could produce no other effects than Ignorance in the Prieſt, and Barbariſm in the People. Scandalous Benefices make for the moſt part ſcandalous Miniſters, as naked Walls are ſaid in the *Engliſh* Proverb to make giddy Houſwifes. Where there is neither Means nor Maintenance for a Learned Miniſtry, what a groſs night of Ignorance muſt befall thoſe men who were to hold forth the Light to others? And if the light it ſelf be Darkneſs, how great a Darkneſs muſt it be, which doth follow after it? That Obſervation of (e) *Panormitan*, *That poor Churches will be filled with none but ignorant Prieſts*, being as true as old, and as old as lamentable. For remedy whereof, he took an opportunity to move his Majeſty to reſtore all ſuch Impropriations to the Church of *Ireland*, as were then veſted in the Crown. The Exchequer was at that time empty,

(e) *Ad tenuitatem beneficiorum neceſſario ſequitur ignorantia Sacerdotum.* Panor.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

the Revenue low, which might ſeem to make the Propoſition the more unſeaſonable: But ſo great was his Majeſties Piety on the one ſide, the Reaſons ſo forcible on the other, and the Lord Deputy of that Kingdom ſo cordially affected to advance the Work, that his Majeſty graciouſly condeſcended to it, and found his Miniſters there as ready to ſpeed the buſineſs, as either of them could deſire. Encouraged by which Royal Example, the Earl of *Cork*, who from a very ſmall beginning had raiſed himſelf to a vaſt Revenue in that Kingdom, Re-built ſome Churches, and Repaired others; reſtored ſome of his Impropriations to thoſe ſeveral Churches; and doubtleſs had proceeded further, if a difference had not hapned betwixt the Lord Deputy and him, about the removing of the Mounment which he had erected for himſelf and his Poſterity, in one of the principal Churches of the City of *Dublin*, as before was ſaid. And as for the improving of the Biſhopricks, as *Oſſory* and *Kilkenny*, *Killmore* and *Ardagh*, *Down* and *Connor*, and poſſibly ſome others had before this been joyned together; ſo was it adviſed by the *Primate*, That *Kilſenore* ſhould be joyned unto that of *Killalow*, lying contiguous to each other; Both which being joyned by a perpetual union, were thought ſufficient to make an indifferent Competency for an *Iriſh* Biſhop.

But all this Care had been to little or no purpoſe, if ſome courſe were not alſo taken to preſerve Religion, endangered on this ſide by *Popery*, and on that by *Calviniſm*; each ſide unwillingly contributing to the growth of the other. The perverſe oppoſitions of the *Calviniſt*, made the *Papiſt* obſtinate; and the inſolencies of the *Papiſts*, did both vex and confirm the *Calviniſts*. Betwixt them both, the Church of *England* was ſo loſt, that there was little of her genuine and native Doctrine to be found in the Clergy of that Kingdom. The *Papiſts* being firſt ſuppreſſed, it was conceived to be no hard matter to reduce the *Calvinians* to Conformity; and to ſuppreſs the *Papiſts*, it was found expedient, That the ſtanding Army ſhould be kept in continual Pay, and that Monies ſhould be levied on the *Papiſts* themſelves for the payment of it: In order whereunto, the Biſhop of *Killmore* before-mentioned, had given an account unto his Grace then Biſhop of *London*, touching the dangerous condition of that Church by the growth of *Popery*; and now he finds it neceſſary to give the like Account unto the new Lord Deputy. Him therefore he informs by Letters dated *November* 5. 1633. (which was not long after he had perſonally aſſumed the Government, and received the Sword) to this effect; *viz.* "That in that Crown the Pope had a far greater Kingdom than his Ma"jeſty had; That the ſaid Kingdom of the Pope was governed by the "new Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, eſtabliſhed not long ſince at "*Rome*; That the Pope had there a Clergy depending on him, double "in number to the *Engliſh*, the Heads of which were bound by a corpo"ral Oath to maintain his Power and Greatneſs againſt all Perſons "whatſoever; That for the moulding of the People to the Popes O"bedience, there was a great rabble of *Irregular* Regulars, moſt "of them the younger Sons of Noble Houſes, which made them the "more inſolent and uncontrollable; That the Pope had erected an

"Univerſity

"University in *Dublin*, to confront his Majeſties Colledge there, and "breed up the Youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, one *Harris* be- "ing Dean thereof, who had diſperſed a Scandalous Pamphlet againſt "the Lord *Primates* Sermon preach'd at *Wansteed* (one of the beſt "Pieces that ever came from him) *Anno* 1629. That ſince the Diſſolv- "ing of their new *Frieries* in the City of *Dublin*, they had erected "them in the Country, and had brought the People to ſuch a ſottiſh "negligence, that they cared not to learn the Commandments as "God ſpake and left them; but flocked in Multitudes to the hearing "of ſuch Superſtitious Doctrines as ſome of their own Prieſts were a- "ſhamed of; That a *Synodical* Meeting of their Clergy had been held "lately at *Drogheda* in the Province of *Ulſter*, in which it was decreed, "*That it was not lawful to take the Oath of Allegiance*; And therefore, "That in ſuch a conjuncture of Affairs to think that the bridle of the "Army might be taken away, muſt be the thought not of a Brain-ſick, "but of a Brainleſs man: which whoſoever did endeavour, not only "would oppoſe his Majeſties Service, but expoſe his own neck to the "Skeanes of thoſe *Iriſh* cut-throats. All which he humbly refers to his Lordſhips ſeaſonable Care and Conſideration. Upon this Information, the Deputy obtains his Majeſties leave to hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he managed with ſuch notable dexterity, that he made himſelf Maſter of a Power ſufficient to ſuppreſs the Inſolencies of the *Papiſts*, and yet exceedingly prevailed upon their Affections. From which time forwards the *Popiſh Recuſants* in that Kingdom were kept in ſtricter duty, and held cloſer to loyal Obedience, for fear of irritating ſo ſevere a Magiſtrate, than ever they had been by any of his Predeceſſors.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

This Parliament brought with it a Convocation, as a thing of courſe; and in that ſomewhat muſt be done to check the ſpreading of *Calviniſm* in all parts of that Church. The Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation *Anno* 1615. were ſo contrived by *Uſher* the now Lord *Primate*, "That all the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigours were de- "clared therein to be the Doctrines of that Church; Moſt grievous "Torments immediately in his Soul affirmed to be endured by Chriſt, "which *Calvin* makes to be the ſame with his *deſcent into Hell*; The "abſtinencies from eating Fleſh upon certain days, declared not to be "Religious Faſts: but to be grounded only upon Politick Ends and "Conſiderations; All Miniſters adjudged to be Lawfully called, "who are called unto the Work of the Miniſtry by thoſe that have "Publick Authority given them in the Church (but whether they "be Biſhops or not, it makes no matter, ſo that he be Authorized unto "it by their ſeveral Churches): The Sacerdotal Power of Abſolution "made *declarative* only, and conſequently quite ſubverted; No "Power aſcribed unto the Church in Ordaining *Canons*, or cenſu- "ring any of thoſe who either carelelly or maliciouſly do infringe "the ſame; the *Pope* made *Antichriſt*, according to the like Determi- "nation of the *French Hugonots* made at *Gappe* in *Dolphine*: And finally, "ſuch a ſilence concerning the Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Bi- "ſhops (expreſly juſtifyed and avowed in the *Engliſh* Book) as if there

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634. "were not a different Order from the Common *Presbyters*. All which being *Vsher*'s own Opinions, were disperſed in ſeveral places of theſe Articles for the Church of *Ireland*, approved of in that Convocation, and finally confirmed by the Lord Deputy *Chicheſter* in the Name of King *James*. By means whereof theſe two great miſchiefs did enſue; Firſt, A great matter of diviſion which it cauſed to the *Prieſts* and *Papiſts* of the Realm, that in three Kingdoms, under the Obedience of one Sovereign Prince, there ſhould be three diſtinct, and contrary Profeſſions, and yet pretending every one to the ſame Religion. And ſecondly, Whenſoever the Points were agitated here in *England* againſt the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigours, the Diſputants were forthwith choaked by the Authority of theſe Articles, and the infallible Judgment of King *James*, who confirmed the ſame. If therefore the Archbiſhop meant to have Peace in *England*, the Church of *Ireland* muſt be won to deſert thoſe Articles, and receive ours in *England* in the place thereof.

This to effect, it was not thought expedient by ſuch as had the managing of that deſign, to propoſe any abrogation or repealing of the former Articles, which had ſo many Friends and Patrons in that Convocation, that it was moved ſeverally both in the Houſe of the Biſhops, and in that of the Clergy, to have them ratified and confirmed in the preſent meeting. And queſtionleſs it had been carried in that way, if it had not ſeaſonably been diverted by telling the Promoters of it, That thoſe Articles had already received as much Authority as that Church could give them, and that by ſeeking to procure any ſuch Confirmation, they would weaken the Original Power by which they ſtood. This blow being thus handſomly broken, their next work was to move the *Primate*, That for the avoiding of ſuch ſcandal which was given the *Papiſts*, and to declare the Unity in Judgment and Affections between the Churches, a *Canon* might be paſſed in approbation of the Articles of the Church of *England*. To this the Prelate being gained, the *Canon* was drawn up and preſented to him; and being by him propounded, was accordingly paſſed, one only man diſſenting when it came to the Vote, who had pierced deeper into the bottom of the Project than the others did. It was deſired alſo by *Bramhall*, not long before the Lord Deputies Chaplain, but then Biſhop of *Derrie*, That the whole Body of *Canons* made in the year 1603. might be admitted in that Church: But the *Primate* was ever ſo afraid of *bowing* at the Name of JESUS, and ſome other Reverences required in them, which he neither practiſed nor approved, that he would by no means hearken to it, which bred ſome heats between him and *Bramhall*, ending at laſt in this Temperament, That ſome ſelect *Canons* ſhould be taken out of that Book, and intermingled with ſome others of their own compoſing. But for the *Canon* which approved and received the Articles of the Church of *England*, it was this that followeth, *viz.*

of

Of the Agreement of the Church of England *and* Ireland *in the Profeſſion of the ſame* Chriſtian Faith.

For the manifeſtation of Our Agreement with the Church of England, *in the Confeſſion of the ſame* Chriſtian Faith, *and Doctrine of the* Sacraments, *We do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the whole Clergie, in whole Convocation holden at* London, Anno Dom. 1562. *for the avoiding of diverſities of Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion. And therefore if any hereafter ſhall affirm, That any of thoſe Articles are in any part Superſtitious and Erroneous, or ſuch as he may not with a good Conſcience Subſcribe unto, let him be Excommunicated, and not Abſolved before he make a publick Revocation of his Error.*

Such was the *Canon* paſſed in this Convocation, for the approbation and reception of the Articles of the Church of *England:* Which *Canon* was no ſooner paſſed, confirmed, and publiſhed, but the *Primate* and his Party ſaw the danger which they had caſt themſelves into by their inadvertency; and found too late, That by receiving and approving the *Engliſh* Articles, they had abrogated and repealed the *Iriſh.* To ſalve this ſore, it concerned them to beſtir themſelves with their utmoſt diligence, and ſo accordingly they did. For firſt the *Primate*, and ſome Biſhops of his opinions, required *ſubſcription* to the Articles of both Churches of all ſuch as came to be *ordained* at the next *Ordination.* But it went no further than the next, for if the Papiſts made it a matter of Deriſion to have three Confeſſions in the three Churches of his Majeſties Kingdoms; How much more matter muſt it give them of ſcorn and laughter, that there ſhould be two different Confeſſions in the ſame Church, and both ſubſcribed unto, but as one and the ſame? Judgment of the Lord Primate, *p.* 121.

The Primate next applies himſelf to the Lord Deputy, beſeeching him that the former Articles might receive a new Ratification by Act of Parliament for preventing all innovations in the Religion there eſtabliſhed: But he found but little comfort there, the Lord Deputy threatning to cauſe the ſaid Confeſſion to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; if at the leaſt the *Scots* Commiſſioners may be believed; amongſt whoſe Articles againſt him I find this for one. Finding no better hopes on that ſide of the Sea, he diſpatcheth his Letters of Advice to his Friends in *England*, one to an Honourable Perſon amongſt the reſt, aſſuring them that though by a Canon paſſed in that Convocation they had received and approved the Articles of *England*; yet that the Articles of *Ireland* were ever called in, might well be reckoned for a fancy. The like affirmed in a Certificate made by *Bernard*, and *Pullen*, two Members of the Lower Houſe in this Convocation, where it is ſaid, *That whoſoever do aver that the ſaid Articles were aboliſhed, are groſly miſtaken and have abuſed the ſaid Convocation in delivering ſo manifeſt an untruth.* And to back this, another Certificate muſt be gained Judg. L. Pri. *Ibid.* 112. *Obſ. Obſerv.* P. 42.

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gained from one who comes commended to us under the Title of *a most eminent, judicious, and learned perſon*, who having conſidered of the matter, *Conceives that both Confeſſions were conſiſtent; and that the Act of the Synod was not a Revocation of the Iriſh Articles, but an approbation of the Engliſh, as agreeing with them.*

Judg. of L. Pri. *p.* 121.

But all this would not ſerve the turn, or ſave thoſe Articles from being brought under a *Repeal* by the preſent Canon. For firſt, it appeareth by the Canon, *That they did not only approve, but receive the Articles of the Church of* England. Their *approbation* of them, had they gone no further, had been a ſufficient manifeſtation of their agreement with the Church of *England* in the Confeſſion of the ſame Proteſtant Religion: But their *receiving* of the ſame doth intimate a ſuperinducing of them upon the other, and is equivalent both in Fact and Law to the *Repealing* of the old. For otherwiſe St. *Paul* muſt needs be out in the Rules of *Logick*, when he proved the *Abrogating* of the old *Covenant* by the ſuperinduction of a new; For having affirmed, that God by ſpeaking of a *New* Covenant, had (*d*) antiquated and made void the firſt, (or made the firſt old, as our Engliſh read it;) he adds immediately, *That that which is old, decayeth, and is ready to vaniſh away*; that is to ſay, as *Diodati* deſcants on it, The old being diſanulled by the new, there muſt neceſſarily follow the aboliſhment of its uſe and practice. Nor find they any other abrogation of the *Jewiſh Sabbath* then by the ſuperinducing of the *Lords day for the day of worſhip*. By means whereof the Sabbath was leſſened in authority and reputation by little and little, and in ſhort time was abſolutely laid aſide in the Church of Chriſt; the fourth Commandment, by which it was at firſt ordained, being ſtill in force. So then according to theſe grounds the Articles of *Ireland* were *virtually*, though not formally, abrogated; or elſe it muſt be granted, that there were two Confeſſions in the ſame one Church, different both in form and matter, and contrary in ſome points unto one another, which would have been ſo far from creating an uniformity between the Churches in the concernments of Religion, that it would have raiſed a greater diſagreement within *Ireland* it ſelf than was before between the Churches of both Kingdoms. And certainly the gaining of this point did much advantage the Archbiſhop, conducing viſibly to the promotion of his ends and Counſels in making the Iriſh Clergy ſubject to the two Declarations, and accountable for their breaking and neglect thereof, that is to ſay, his Majeſties Declaration about Lawful Sports, and that prefixt before the book of Articles for appeaſing Controverſies. Take for a farewel this acknowledgment of a late Hiſtorian, ſpeaking as well the ſenſe of others as his own, *A* Convocation (*concurrent with a* Parliament) *was called* (*ſaith he*) *and kept at* Dublin *in* Ireland, *wherein the thirty nine Articles of the Church of* England *were received in* Ireland, *for all to ſubſcribe unto. It was adjudged fit, ſeeing that Kingdom complies with* England *in the Civil Government, it ſhould alſo conform thereunto in matters of Religion.* And thereupon he thus concludes, *That in the mean time the* Iriſh *Articles concluded formerly in a* Synod, 1616. (*miſtaken for* 1615.) *wherein* Arminianiſm *was condemned*

(*d*) *Dicendo autem novum, veteravit prius*, &c. Heb. 8. 13.

Ch. Hiſt. B. 11. *p.* 128.

demned in terminis terminantibus, *and the obſervation of the* Lords day *reſolved* Jure divino *) were utterly excluded.* LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

But leaving *Ireland* to the care of the Lord Deputy, and the Biſhop of *Derry*, who under him had the chief managing of the affairs of that Church; let us ſee how the new Archbiſhop proceeds in *England*, where he had ſo many plows going at once, too many, as it after proved, to work well together. For not thinking he had done enough in order to the peace and uniformity of the Church of *England*, by taking care for it here at home, his thoughts tranſported him with the like affection to preſerve it from neglect abroad. To which end he had offered ſome conſiderations to the Lords of the Council, as before was ſaid, *Anno* 1622. relating to the regulation of Gods publick Worſhip amongſt the *Engliſh Factories*, and Regiments beyond the Seas, and the reducing of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, ſetled in divers parts of this Realm, unto ſome conformity. In reference to the firſt, he had not ſate long in the Chair of *Canterbury* when he procured an Order from the Lords of the Council, bearing date *Octob.* 1. 1633. By which their *Engliſh* Churches and Regiments in *Holland* (and afterwards by degrees in all other Foreign parts and plantations) were required ſtrictly to obſerve the *Engliſh* Liturgie with all the Rites and Ceremonies preſcribed in it. Which Order contained the ſum and ſubſtance of thoſe conſiderations which he had offered to the Board touching that particular. With which the Merchant Adventurers being made acquainted, with joynt conſent they made choice of one *Beaumont* (reputed for a learned, ſober, and conformable man) to be Preacher to their Factory reſiding at *Delf*, *Forbes*, a *Scot* by birth, who formerly had been Preacher to the Society, being either dead, or otherwiſe departed to avoid conformity. And that this man might be received with the better welcom, a Letter is ſent with him to the Deputy Governour, ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop himſelf, in which he ſignifieth both to him and the reſt in his Majeſties name, *That they were to receive him with all decent and courteous uſage fitting his perſon and calling, allowing him the antient Penſion which formerly had been paid to his Predeceſſors. Which ſaid in reference to the man, he lets them know that it was his Majeſties expreſs command, that both he, the Deputy, and all and every other Merchant, that is or ſhall be reſiding in thoſe parts beyond the Seas, do conform themſelves to the Doctrine and Diſcipline ſetled in the Church of* England; *and that they frequent the Common-Prayer with all Religious duty and reverence at all times required, as well as they do Sermons; and that out of their company they ſhould yearly about* Eaſter, *as the Canons preſcribe, name two Church-Wardens, and two Sides-men, which may look to the Orders of the Church, and give an account according to their office. It was alſo required that theſe preſent Letters ſhould be regiſtred and kept by them, that they which come after might take notice what care his Majeſty had taken for the well ordering of the ſaid Company in Church affairs; and that a Copy of the ſame ſhould be delivered to the ſaid* Beaumont, *and to every Succeſſor of his reſpectively, that he and they might know what his Majeſty expected of them, and be the more inexcuſable if they diſobey it.* With this Diſ- Cant. Doom, p. 407.

patch,

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patch, bearing date the seventeenth of *June*, this present year 1634. away goes *Beaumont* into *Holland*, taking with him these Instructions for his own proceedings; that is to say, *That he should punctually keep and observe all the Orders of the Church of* England, *as they are prescribed in the* Canons *and the* Rubricks *of the* Liturgy; *and that if any person of that Company shall shew himself refractory to that Ordinance of his Majesty, he should certifie the name of any such offender, and his offence to the Lord Bishop of* London *for the time being, who was to take order and give remedy accordingly.* Which Order and Instructions given to *Beaumont* in private, were incorporated also in the Letter, lest otherwise he might be thought to act any thing in it without good Authority. And he accordingly proceeded with such honest zeal, and was so punctual in observing his Majesties pleasure and commands, that for a reward of his good service he was preferred unto a Prebends place in the Church of *Canterbury*, though by the unhappy change of times, it brought more reputation than advantage with it.

And now at last we have the face of an *English* Church in *Holland*, responsal to the Bishops of *London* for the time being, as a part of their Dioceſs, directly and immediately subject to their Jurisdiction. The like course also was prescribed for our Factories in *Hamborough*, and those further off, that is to say, in *Turkey*, in the *Moguls* Dominions, the *Indian Islands*, the Plantations in *Virginia*, the *Barbadoes*, and all other places where the English had any standing Residence in the way of Trade. The like done also for regulating the Divine Service in the Families of all Embassadours, residing in the Courts of Foreign Princes for his Majesties Service; as also in the English Regiments, serving under the States. The superinspection of which last was referred to *Boswel* his Majesties Resident at the *Hague*, and his Successors in that place; as he and all the rest of the Embassadors, in what place soever, were to be ordered by the care of the Lords of the Council; and they to be accountable therein to his Sacred Majesty, as the Supream Ordinary. The English *Agents* and Embassadours in the Courts of Foreign Princes had not been formerly so regardful of the honour of the Church of *England*, as they might have been, in designing a set *Room* for religious uses, and keeping up the Vestments, Rites and Ceremonies, prescribed by Law in performance of them. It was now hoped that there would be a Church of *England* in all Courts of *Christendom*, in the chief Cities of the *Turk*, and other great *Mahometan* Princes, in all our Factories and Plantations in every known Part of the world, by which it might be rendred as diffused and *Catholick* as the Church of *Rome*.

In reference to the regulating of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here amongst our selves, he conceived himself in a capacity of putting his own Counsels in execution, either as Bishop of the Dioceſs, or Archbishop of the Province of *Canterbury*. He had considered of the dangers which those Foreign Churches drew on this, by standing divided & dismembred from the rest of the body; and of the countenance and encouragement which was given to the *Puritan* Faction in the promoting

moting of Schiſm. There was no *Traverſe* to be made to this *Dilemma*, but either they were or were not of the ſame Religion with the Church of *England*. If they were not of the ſame Religion, why ſhould they, being ſtrangers, born in other Countries, or deſcending from them, expect more Liberty of Conſcience than the *Papiſts* had, being all Natives, and deſcending from Engliſh Parents? If of the ſame, why ſhould they not ſubmit to the Government and Forms of Worſhip, being the outward acts and exerciſes of the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed? It was now as when they firſt fled into this Land from the Fire and Faggot; from which their own Countries having felt no Perſecution for forty or fifty years laſt paſt, were at this time freed: And therefore if they did not like the Terms of their ſtaying here, they might return from whence they came, in peace and ſafety, with thanks to God and the good *Engliſh* Nation, for the long and comfortable Entertainment they had found amongſt them. Upon theſe grounds, and ſuch Conſiderations as had before been offered to the Lords of the Council, before he had ſate a whole year in the Chair of *Canterbury*, he cauſed theſe three Articles to be tendred to the *French* Congregation in that City, and the two *Dutch* Congregations in *Sandwich* and *Maidſtone*, *Apr.* 14. 1634. 1. *What* Liturgie *do you uſe? or whether you have not the* Dutch *or* French *in uſe?* 2. *Of how many Diſcents for the moſt part they were born Subjects?* 3. *Whether ſuch as are born Subjects, will conform to the Church of* England? For Anſwer to the Articles (after ſome fruitleſs Pleas touching their Exemptions) they obtained time till the fifth of *May*; againſt which time, with the conſent of their ſeveral Churches, they prepared theſe ſeveral Anſwers. To the firſt it was anſwered, *That they had that* Liturgie *which all the Churches of the* French *Tongue* (*both in* France, *and in the* United Provinces *of the* States) *have had ſince the bleſſed Reformation, and which their Churches* (*refuged here*) *have had this ſixty or ſeventy years, or more: That the* Engliſh Liturgy *was tranſlated into* French, *but that they uſed it not; and that they knew not whether it were Tranſlated in* Dutch *or not.* To the ſecond it was anſwered, *That the greateſt part of the Heads of the Families were not born here, but about a third part; becauſe that the greateſt part of the old ones were Strangers born, and many others are newly come ſince a few years.* But to the third they deſired to be excuſed from making any Anſwer at all, foreſeeing (as it was pretended) a diſſipation of their Churches, in reference to the maintenance of their Miniſtry and relief of their Poor, if ſuch Conformity ſhould be preſſed, which they endeavoured to avoid by all means imaginable. But before theſe Anſwers were returned, it was thought fit to conſult with the *Cœtus* (as they ſtyle it) of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London*, who were concerned as much as they, and who by reaſon of their wealth and number governed all the reſt; by whom they were adviſed to ſuppreſs thoſe Anſwers, and to preſent their *Declinator*, fixing themſelves upon their Priviledges, and challenging the Exemption granted them by King *Edward* vi. confirmed by ſeveral Acts of Council in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and his Sacred Majeſty.

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PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634.

This *Declinator* no way satisfied his *Grace* of *Canterbury*. He knew, none better, That Acts of Council were not like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, but might be changed and varied as occasion served; That the Letters Patents granted by King *Edward* vi. to the first Congregation of Strangers under *John A Lasco* (by which they were Licenced to use their own Forms both of Worship and Government, without any disturbance) were vacated by the departure of the said Congregation in the time of Queen *Mary*; and that the *French* and *Dutch* Churches now in *England*, could pretend no succession unto that in the time of King *Edward* vi. And therefore as soon as *Brent* returned from his *Visitation* (of which we shall hear more anon) and had a while reposed himself after that long Journey, he was dispatched to *Canterbury* with these *Injunctions*, *viz.* 1. *That all the Natives of the* Dutch *and* Walloon *Congregations in his* Graces *Diocess, are to repair to their several Parish Churches where they inhabit, to hear Divine Service and Sermons, and perform all Duties and Payments required in that behalf.* And 2. *That all the Ministers, and all other of the same* Walloon *or* French *Congregations, which are Aliens born, shall have and use the* Liturgie *used in the* English *Churches, as the same is or may be faithfully Translated into* French *or* Dutch. These two *Injunctions* being given on the nineteenth of *December*, with time for conforming thereunto till the first of *March*, were presently communicated by the *Kentish* to the *London* Churches, and by those of *London* to the rest in the Province of *Canterbury*, requiring them to send their Deputies to consult together with them in this Common Danger. There were at that time ten Churches of Strangers in this Province; that is to say, two in *London*, two in *Norwich*, and one apiece in *Canterbury*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone*, *Southampton*, *Colchester*, and *Yarmouth*, who were to send their sufficient Deputies, consisting of Ministers and Lay-Elders, to make this *Synod*. But because the time might be elapsed before these Deputies from so many Places could meet together, and resolve upon any Conclusion; it was determined by the *Cœtus*, that those of *Kent*, whom it most immediately concerned, should address themselves to the Archbishop, and desire his favour for the enjoying of their Priviledges, as in former times; whose Propositions being heard, and their Reasons pondered, he answered, *That it was his purpose to make a General Visitation of all his Province, and that he would begin at home; That he did nothing but what had been communicated to the King, and resolved by the Council; That neither the* Letters Patents *of King* Edward vi. *nor any Reasons by them alledged, should hinder him from proceeding in the said* Injunctions; *That their Churches were nests and occasions of Schism, which he would prevent in* Kent *as well as he could; That it were better there were no Foreign Churches nor Strangers in* England, *than to have them thereby to give occasion of prejudice or danger to the Church-Government of it; That they endeavoured to make themselves a State in a State, and had vaunted,* That they feared not his Injunctions; *but, That he hoped the King would maintain him in it, as long as he Governed by the* Canons; *That the dissipation of their Churches, and maintenance of two or three Ministers, was not to be laid in the same Balance with the Peace and Happiness*

Happiness of the Church of England; *That their ignorance in the* English *Tongue, ought not to be used for a pretence for their not going to their Parish Churches, considering that it was an affected Ignorance, and they might avoid it when they would: And finally, That he was resolved to have his Injunctions put in execution, and that they should conform to them at their peril by the time appointed.* L. I. B. IV. Ann. Dom. 1634.

Finding no hope of Good this way, they expect the Sitting of the *Synod* on the fifth of *February*; to which the Deputies made a Report of their ill Successes; and thereupon it was resolved, That a Petition in the name of all the Foreign Churches, should be presented unto the King; which way they found as unsuccessful as the other was: For his Majesty having read the Petition, delivered it to the Earl of *Pembroke*, commanding him to give it to one of the Secretaries. And though *Pembroke*, either out of love to the Cause, or hate to the Archbishops Person, chose rather to deliver it to *Cooke* than *Windebank*; yet neither *Cooke* himself, nor *Wecherly* his chief Clerk (a *Wallon* by birth) who had very much espoused the Quarrel, could do any thing in it. The next course was to back that Petition with a Remonstrance, containing the chief Reasons which they had to urge in their own behalf; and that Remonstrance to be put into his Majesties hands by the Duke of *Soubize*, a Prince of great Descent in *France*, and a chief stickler in the Wars of the *Huguenots* against their King: In which Reasons, when they came to be examined more particularly, there was nothing found material, but what had formerly been observed and answered; except it were the fear of a Persecution to be raised in *France*, when it should there be known, how much the *French* Churches in this Kingdom had been discountenanced and distressed. And this they after aggravated by some fresh Intelligence which they had from thence, by which they were advertised of some words of the great Cardinal *Richelieu*, to this effect; *viz. That if a King of England, who was a Protestant, would not permit two Disciplines in his Kingdom, why should a King of France, a Papist, permit two Religions?* Great workings had been in the Court upon this occasion; though all which was effected by it, was but the pretext qualification of the second *Injunction*; His Majesty on good Reason of *state* insisting so strongly on the first, that it could not be altered. But as for the second *Injunction*, it was qualified thus, *viz. That the Ministers and all others of the* French *and* Dutch *Congregations, which are not Natives, and born Subjects to the Kings Majesty, or any other Stranger that shall come over to them, while they remain Strangers, may have and use their own Discipline, as formerly they have done; yet it is thought fit, that the* English *Liturgie should be Translated into the* French *and* Dutch, *for the better fitting of their Children to the* English *Government.* But before the *Injunction* thus qualified could be sent to *Canterbury*, the Mayor and Brethren of that City were put upon a Petition in their behalf, insisting among other things, on the great Charge which would fall upon them, if the relief of the poor *French*, which formerly had been maintained on the common Purse of the Church, should be cast upon the several Parishes; and the great sum of Work-

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which would happen to their own Poor in that City, if the Manufactures of the *French* ſhould be diſcontinued. To which Petition they received a favourable Anſwer in reſpect of themſelves; but without any alteration of his Graces purpoſe in ſuch other points of it as concerned thoſe Churches; A Temperament was alſo uſed in regard of the Miniſters which did Officiate in thoſe Churches; it being condeſcended to on the ſuit of their Deputies, That ſuch of their Miniſters as were *Engliſh* born ſhould continue in their Place and Miniſtry, as in former times: but that hereafter none ſhould be admitted to be Miniſters in their Congregations, but ſuch as were Strangers. Which Condeſcenſions notwithſtanding, It was directed by the *Cæſar* of the *London* Churches, That by no means the *Kentiſh* Foreigners ſhould publiſh the ſaid *Injunctions* in their Congregations; and that if the proſecution of them ſhould be ſtrictly urged, they would then think upon ſome other courſe to bear off that blow. And by this Tergiverſation they gained ſo much time, that the final Decree was not paſſed upon them till the 26th of *September*, 1635. when to the former *Injunction* they found this Clauſe or *Proviſo* added, *viz. That the Natives ſhould continue to contribute to the maintenance of their Miniſtry, and the Poor of their Church, for the ſubſiſting thereof; and that an Order ſhould be obtained from his Majeſty, if it were deſired, to maintain them in their* Manufactures, *againſt all ſuch as ſhould endeavour to moleſt them by Informations.* Some time was ſpent about the publiſhing of this Decree, the Miniſters and Elders of thoſe Churches refuſing to act any thing in it: But at the laſt it was publiſhed in the *French* Church at *Canterbury* by one of their *Notaries*, and in *Sandwich* by the *Chanter* or Clerk of the Congregation, with Order to the Miniſters and Churchwardens of the ſeveral Pariſhes, to take notice of ſuch of the Natives as reſorted not diligently to their Pariſh Churches.

This proved a leading Caſe to all the other *French* and *Dutch* Churches on this ſide of the Seas, though they oppoſed it what they could. For no ſooner was the news of theſe *Injunctions* firſt brought to *Norwich*, when a Remonſtrance was preſented to *Corbet*, (who was then Biſhop of that Dioceſs) and by him tranſmitted to the Archbiſhop, in which they had expreſſed ſuch Reaſons againſt the tenour of the ſame, as we have met with formerly in this Narration. But the Archbiſhops Viſitation of that Dioceſs in the year next following, *Anno* 1635. put an end to that buſineſs; the *Injunction* being publiſhed in the Churches of Strangers in that City, before any publication of them had been made in *Canterbury*. Nor was the like done only in all the Churches of Strangers in the Province of *Canterbury*, but in thoſe of *York*, where the Archbiſhop kept them to a harder Diet; for having ſeen what had been done by *Brent* in his Viſitation, and having no ſuch powerful Solicitors as the *Cæſar* of the *London* Churches to take off his edge, he denied them the Exerciſe of any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction out of their own; enjoyns them the uſe of the *Engliſh Liturgie* in the *French* Tongue, with Obedience to all the Laws and Ordinances of the Church of *England*; to receive the Sacrament once a year in the Church of the Pariſh where they dwell, and to perform all their Offi-

ſtenings;

stenings, Marriages, and Burials there, or else none of their Congregations to be permitted. But notwithstanding all this care of the *Metropolitans*, the business went forward more or less, as the Ministers and Church-wardens stood affected in their several Parishes. And in most Parishes the Ministers and Church-wardens were so well pleased with that indecency which they had amongst them, in respect of any Superiors in Church-concernments, to whom they might be made accountable for Life or Doctrine, that generally they wish'd themselves in the same condition: And being freed from their greatest fear, of having the Poor of those Churches cast upon them in their several Parishes, they seemed not much sollicitous whether they came to the Church or not, to hear the Sermons, receive the Sacraments, or perform any other part of Publick Worship; especially if they were not scrupulous in paying to the Minister his accustomed Dues, and yielding to such Rates and Taxes as the Church-wardens laid upon them for Parochial uses. If any Minister began to look too strictly to them, they would find some means to take him off by Gifts and Presents, or by some powerful Letter from some of the Grandees residing in *London*, and sometimes from a neighbouring Justice, whose displeasure must not be incurred. And that they may not want encouragement to stand it out as long as they could, the leading men of the *Genevian* Faction in most parts of the Realm, did secretly sollicite them not to be too forwards in conforming to the said *Injunctions*, allaring them of such Assistances as might save them harmless, and flattering them with this Opinion of themselves, That the Liberty of the Gospel, and the most desirable freedom of the Church from Episcopal Tyranny, depended chiefly on their Courage and Resolution. What was done afterwards in pursuance of the said *Injunctions*, shall be told elsewhere: all which Particulars I have laid together, that the Proceedings of his Grace in this weighty business (so much calumniated and defamed) might be presented to the Reader without interruption.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1624.

It was once said by *Telesinus* to *Caj. Marius*, *That he did well to secure the Country; but* Italy *would never want Wolves, so long as* Rome *continued so fit a Forest to afford them shelter.* In like manner the Archbishop knew full well how small a Progress he should make in his Reformation, for reducing the *French* and *Dutch* to a Communion with the Church of *England*, and the Church of *England* to it self, if *London* were not brought to some Conformity. Which City having a strong influence on all parts of the Kingdom, was generally looked on as the Compass by which the lesser Towns and Corporations were to steer their Course, the practice of it being pleaded upon all occasions, for Vestries, Lectures, and some other Innovations in the State of the Church. And to this nothing more concurred, than that the Beneficed Clergy being, but meanly provided for, were forced to undertake some Lectures, or otherwise to connive at many things, contrary to their own Judgment and the Rules of the Church, in hope that gaining the good will thereby of the Chief of their Parishes, they might be gratified by them with Entertainments, Presents, and some other helps to mend their Maintenance. The Lecturers in the mean time,

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time, as being Creatures of the People, and depending wholly on the Purse of the wealthier Citizens, not only overtopped them in point of Power and Reputation, but generally of Profit and Revenue also. Not that these Lecturers were maintained so much by the Zeal and Bounty of their Patrons, as by a general Fraud, which for many years last past had been put upon the Regular Clergy; by the diminishing of whose just Dues in Tythes and Offerings, such Lecturers and Trencher-Chaplains had been fed and cherished. For the better understanding whereof, we are to know, That in the year 1228. *Roger Niger* Bishop of *London*, ordained by a Synodical Constitution, *That the Citizens should pay of every pounds Rent by the year, of all Houses, Shops*, &c. *the Sum of* 3 *s.* 4 *d. as time out of mind had formerly been paid.* Which 3 *s.* 4 *d.* did arise from the Offerings upon every *Sunday* and thirty of the principal Holydays in the same year, after the Rate of one halfpeny for every twenty shillings Rent of their Houses, Shops, *&c.* This Order of *Roger Niger* remaining in force till the year 1397. and the Clergy being kept to such Rates for the Rents of Houses, as at the first making of the same, it was decreed by *Thomas Arundell* then Bishop of *Canterbury*, *That as the Rent increased, so the Offerings or Tythes should increase also; That the said Order should be read in every Parish-Church four times in the year, and a Curse laid upon all those who should not obey it.* Confirmed by Pope *Innocent* VII. and *Nicholas* IV. with a *Proviso*, *That the said Oblations should be paid according to the true yearly value of the Shops and Houses.* It so remained until the twenty fifth year of *Henry* VIII. at what time many of the former Holydays being abrogated by the Kings Authority, the yearly Profit of the Clergy found a great abatement; the greater, in regard of the variances which arose betwixt them and their Parishioners, about the payment of their Dues; the People taking the advantage of some Disorders which the Clergy at that present had been brought unto, by acknowledging the King for the Supream Head of the Church of *England*. Upon this variance a Complaint is made unto the King, who refers the whole matter to *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Audley* Lord Chancellor, *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winton*, *Cromwell* Chief Secretary of *Estate*, *Fitz-James* and *Norwich* Chief Justices of the several Benches, by whom it was concluded, *That from thenceforth* 2 *s.* 9 *d. only should be paid out of every pound for the Rents of Houses, Shops*, &c. And to this Order the Citizens did not only consent, as they had good reason, but bound themselves by an Act of Common Council to perform the same; the said Decree confirmed by Act of Parliament in the twenty seventh, and afterwards in the thirty seventh of that King, with a power given to the Lord Mayor to commit to Prison every Person whatsoever who should not pay his Tythes and Dues according to that Proportion.

But contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said Decrees, and the several Acts of Parliament which confirmed the same, the covetous and unconscionable Landlords, who had the Fee-simple, or some long Leases at the least, of such Shops & Houses, devised many base and fraudulent waies to put a cheat upon the Law, and abuse the Clergie; reserving

reserving some small sum in the name of a Rent, and covenanting for other greater Sums to be paid quarterly or half yearly in the name of Fines, Annuities, Pensions, Incomes, Interest-money, *&c.* Finding these Payments so conditioned and agreed upon to be too visible a cheat, some were so wise as to take their Fines in gross, when they sealed their Leases, some inconsiderable Rent being charged upon them; others so cunning as to have two Leases on foot at the same time, one at a low contemptible Rent to gull the Incumbent of his dues, the other with a Rent four or five times as great to keep down the Tenent; and some by a more cleanly kind of conveyance (reserving a small Rent as others did) caused their Tenants to enter into several bonds for the payment of so much money yearly with reference to the term which they had in their Leases. By which devices and deceits the house-Rents were reduced to so low a value, that some Aldermen, who do not use to dwell in Sheds and Cottages, could be charged with no more than twenty shillings for a whole years Tythe; the Rent reserved amounts after that proportion but to seven pounds yearly. The Clergy by the Alteration of Religion had lost those great advantages, which had before accrued unto them by *Obits*, *Mortuaries*, *Obventions*, to the Shrines and Images of some special Saints, Church-Lands, and personal Tythes according to mens honest gain, which last was thought to have amounted to more than the Tythe of houses. Being deprived of the one, and abused in the other, they were forced in the sixteenth of King *James*, *Anno* 1618. to have recourse to the Court of Exchequer, by the Barons whereof it was declared, that according to the true intent of the said Acts the Inhabitants of *London* and the Liberties thereof ought to pay the Tythe of their houses, shops, *&c.* after the rate of two shillings nine pence in the pound proportionable to the true yearly value of the rent thereof. In order whereunto it was then ordered by the Court, that a Shed, which had been built and made a convenient dwelling house, should pay twenty four shillings nine pence yearly in the name of a Tythe, as was afterwards awarded by Sir *Henry Telverton*, upon a reference made unto him, that one *Rawlins*, who paid forty shillings yearly to his Landlord in the name of a Rent, and twelve pound by the name of a fine, should from thenceforth pay his Tythe to the Incumbent of the Parish in which he dwelt, after the rate of fourteen pound yearly.

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This and the like Arbitrements about that time gave them some hope of finding more relief from the Court of Exchequer than they could expect from the Lord Mayor; who being at the first made Judge in the business for the ease of the Clergy, carried himself rather like a party concerned in it than an equal Umpire. But there was no contending with the Purse of the City; For though the proceedings of the City Landlords were declared to be unjust and Sacrilegious under the hands of many Bishops, and most of the Heads of Houses in both Universities, *Anno* 1620. yet the business going on from bad to worse, they were necessitated to cast themselves at the feet of King *Charles*, and to petition for a remedy of these growing mischiefs, which otherwise in some tract of time might become insupportable. Which Petition being

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634. being taken into consideration by his Sacred Majesty, he was graciously pleased to refer the same to the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Earl Marshal, the Lord Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Cottington*, Mr. Secretary *Windebank*, and Chief Justice *Richardson*, or any five, or three of them, of which the Lord Archbishop to be always one, requiring, and thereby authorizing to call before them all parties concerned in the business, and after a full hearing and examination thereof, to end if they could, or otherwise to report to his Majesty where the Impediment lay, that so his Majesty might take such further order therein as in his Princely wisdom he should think most meet. Which reference, being made the fifteenth of *May* of this present year, was carried on with such equality, and moderation, that the rich Landlords had no reason to complain of any obliquity or partiality in the conduct of it: But having been accustomed to feed on the Churches Bread, and to have the poor Clergy obnoxious to them, they could with no patience entertain the thoughts of relinquishing their former dyet, or suffer a deserving Clergy to enjoy their own. Nothing more feared, than that the Clergy by this means would grow too rich; They who conceived two thousand pound of yearly Rent not enough for an Alderman, think one hundred pound *per annum* (as was affirmed by one of that number) to be too much for a Minister. And should the Clergy once grow rich, they would become more absolute, and independent, not so obsequious to them as they had been formerly, and consequently more apt to cross them in their opposition or neglect of establisht Orders. And in this state the business stood when *Juxon* the Bishop of *London* was advanced to the Treasurers Staff in the end of *March* 1635. which much encreast the hopes of the one, and the fears of the other. Some of the Clergy had the hap to better their condition, and improve their Benefices by the appearing of so many powerful persons in their behalf; and possible enough it is that some expedient would have been resolved on by the Referrees to the general content of both parties (his Grace of *Canterbury* being very sollicitous in behalf of the Clergy) if the troubles which brake out soon after in *Scotland*, and the preparations for the War, which ensued upon it, had not put the business to a stand, and perswaded both the King and Council to an unprofitable compliance with that stubborn City, from which he reapt nothing in conclusion but neglect and scorn. So frequently have the best designs been overthrown, not so much by the puissance and might of the adverse party, as through defect of Constancy and Resolution to go through with them.

Mention was made in the Narrative of our Archbishops late proceeding against the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch*, of somewhat which was done in order to it, in the *Metropoliticvl* Visitation of the Province of *Canterbury*. Concerning which we are to know, that in the beginning of the year 1634. he resolved upon that Visitation. And having some distrust of *Brent* his Vicar General, he prepared one of his Confidents to be a joynt Commissioner with him, that he might do no hurt, if he did no good. But afterwards, being more assured of

Brent

Brent than before he was, he reſolved to truſt him with himſelf, and not to fetter him with any ſuch conſtant Over-ſeer to attend his actings. The Articles for his Viſitation, Printed for the uſe of Church-wardens and Sides-men in their ſeveral Pariſhes had little in them more than *ordinary*. But he had given directions to his Vicar General to enquire into the obſervation of his Majeſties Inſtructions of the year 1629. to command the ſaid Church-wardens to place the Communion Table under the Eaſtern Wall of the Chancel, where formerly the Altar ſtood; to ſet a decent Raild before it to avoid profaneneſs; and at the Rail the Communicants to receive the bleſſed Sacrament. It had been ſignified to the Archbiſhop, that a Dog in one place or other (but I remember not the name) had run away with the Bread appointed for the whole Communion; and that the Communion Wine had been brought unto the Table in many places, in Pint-pots and Bottles, and ſo diſtributed to the People. The placing of a Rail before the Table would prevent all infamies of the firſt ſort, and he hoped the Miniſters would take order to reform abuſes of the laſt. *Williams*, at that time Biſhop of *Lincoln*, had placed the Table of his own Chappel in the ſtate of an *Altar*, and furniſhed it with Plate and other coſtly Utenſils beyond moſt others in the Kingdom. The Table ſtood in the ſame poſture in the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, of which he was both Biſhop and Reſidentiary; and in the *Collegiate* Church of *Weſtminſter*, whereof he was Dean. The Chancel of St. *Martins* Church in the Town of *Leiceſter* had been made a Library, which he when he was in his good humours perſwaded the people to remove, to trim and prepare the ſaid Choire with Railes and ſuch other Ornaments as were fitting for it, and then to place therein their Communion Table, all which they accordingly performed. But underſtanding of the Order of the third of *November*, made by his Majeſty and the Lords of his Council in the Caſe of St. *Gregories*, he untwiſteth all this Line again. For a Certificate being preſented to him by the Vicar, Church-wardens, and ſome others of the Pariſh, *That the place where the Table ſtood before, was far more fit, by reaſon of the more capacity to receive the Communicants, and the more audibleneſs of the Miniſters voice, and the Proximity of it to the place where Morning and Evening Prayer had been appointed to be read, than the Chaucel was; he gave them leave to remove the Communion Table to the place where it formerly ſtood, eſpecially at ſuch times as they received the Communion.* All which by his Letters of the nineteenth of *December* 1633. he ſignifies to *Burden*, one of *Lamb* Surrogates in the *Archdeaconry* of *Leiceſter*, *requiring him not to be troubleſome or moleſtful to the ſaid parties in any thing concerning the Premiſes.* Which Letter *Burden* ſends to *Lamb*, and *Lamb* communicates to his *Grace* of *Canterbury*; who thereupon reſolves to make that Dioceſs the Scene of his firſt Viſitation.

The Dioceſs of *Lincoln* was anciently larger than it is, the Biſhoprick of *Ely* being taken out of it in the Reign of King *Henry* the Firſt, *Anno* 1109. and thoſe of *Oxon.* and *Peterborough* by King *Henry* the Eighth, *Anno* 1541. But as it is, it is the largeſt of the Kingdom, both

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1634. for the quantity of ground, and the number of Pariſhes, containing in it the whole Counties of *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter*, *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, and that part of *Hertfordſhire* which belonged to the Kingdom of *Mercia*. In which Counties are contained 1255 Pariſhes divided (though not equally) between ſix Archdeacons, that is to ſay, the Archdeacons of *Lincoln*, *How*, *Lieceſter*, *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Huntingdon*; each of them having his ſeveral *Commiſſaries*, and every *Commiſſary* one or more *Surrogates*, to officiate under him in times of neceſſary abſence. Within this great Dioceſs he begins, firſt laying a Suſpenſion on the Biſhop and the ſix Archdeacons, by which they were inhibited from the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction, as long as that Viſitation laſted. And after ſending out a Citation to all the Miniſters and Church-wardens of that Dioceſs, he required them to appear at certain times and places before his Vicar General and the reſt of the Commiſſioners authorized for the ſeveral Archdeaconries of the ſame. But the Biſhop was too ſtout to yield at the firſt aſſault, pretending an exemption from ſuch Viſitations by old *Papal Bulls*. The Archbiſhop being herewith ſtartled, was not long after very well ſatisfied in that particular, by a Paper which was tendred to him, aſſerting his Metropolitan Right againſt thoſe Pretences, collected out of Hiſtories and old Records. Which being compared with the Originals, and found to contain nothing but undoubted truths, the Biſhop is commanded to appear before the Lords of the Council, where his *Papal Bulls* were ſo well baited by the Archbiſhop and his Council, that not being able to hold any long play, they ran out of the Field, leaving the Biſhop to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could. This Bar removed, the *Vicar-General* proceeds to the Viſitation, and in all places gives command to the Church-wardens, not only to return their Preſentments, according to the Articles of the Viſitation; but to tranſpoſe the Communion Table to the Eaſt end of the Chancel, and to fence it with a decent Rail to avoid prophaneneſs, according unto ſuch Directions as he had received from the Lord Archbiſhop. He further ſignifyed, That they were to take eſpecial care of certifying the names of all the *Lecturers* in their ſeveral and reſpective Pariſhes; as alſo, Whether the ſaid *Lecturers*, and all other Preaching Miniſters within that Dioceſs, did carefully obſerve his Majeſties Inſtructions publiſhed in the year 1629. Their knowledge in which Particulars, with a Certificate of their doings about the removing of the *Communion Table*, together with their Preſentments to the ſeveral Articles which were given them in charge, to be returned unto him by a time appointed. Which Charge thus given, and the Viſitation carried to another Dioceſs, he leaves the proſecution of it (as afterwards in all other places) to the care of the Biſhop. But the Biſhop having other deſigns of his own, was no ſooner diſcharged of that Suſpenſion which was laid upon him, but he reſolves to viſit his Dioceſs in Perſon, to ſhew himſelf to thoſe of his Clergy, and gain the good affections of thoſe eſpecially who adhered to *Calvin* and *Geneva:* Inſomuch that meeting in the Archdeaconry of *Buckingham* with one Doctor *Bret*, a very grave and reverend man, but one who was ſuppoſed to incline that way,

way, he embraced him in his Epiſcopal Arms with theſe words of St. *Auguſtine, viz. Quamvis Epiſcopus major eſt Presbytero, Auguſtinus tamen minor eſt Hieronymo:* Intimating thereby, to the great commendation of his modeſty amongſt thoſe of that Faction, That the ſaid *Bret* was as much greater than *Williams*, as the Biſhop was above a Prieſt And in compliance with that Party, he gave command for Railing in the Communion-Table (as appears by the Extract of his proceedings in the Archdeaconry of *Leiceſter*) not placed at the Eaſt end of the Chancel, with a Rail before it: but in the middle thereof, as it ſtood before, with a Rail about it. And by that kind of half-compliance, as he retracted nothing from his own Opinion, in his Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*; ſo he conceived, That he had finely fruſtrated the deſign of his Metropolitan, and yet not openly proceeded againſt his Injunction.

The Viſitation thus begun, was carried on from year to year, till it had gone over all the Dioceſſes in the Province of *Canterbury*. In the proſecution whereof, the *Vicar-General* having given the Charge, and allowed time to the Church-wardens to return a Certificate of their doings in purſuance of it, the further execution of it was left to the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes; in which it went forwards more or leſs, as the Biſhops were of ſpirit and affection to advance the Work, either in reference to the tranſpoſing of the *Table*, or the obſervation of his Majeſties *Inſtructions* above-mentioned, which had not the leaſt place in the buſineſs of this Viſitation. *Wright* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* having given order by his Chancellor for the tranſpoſing of the Tables in moſt parts of his Dioceſs, began at laſt to caſt his eyes on the Churches of the *Holy Trinity* and St. *Michael* the *Archangel* in the City of *Coventry*; concerning which he preſcribed theſe Orders: 1. *That the Ground at the upper end of the Chancels be handſomely raiſed by three ſteps, that the Celebration of the Sacrament may be conſpicuous to all the Church.* 2. *That the Ground ſo raiſed at both Churches, the Communion-Table ſhould be removed cloſe to the Eaſt-wall of the Chancels.* 3. *That in both Churches all new Additions of Seats in the Chancels be taken away, and the Pews there reduced as near as may be to the ancient form.* But the Citizens of *Coventry* found a way to take off his edge, notwithſtanding that he had received not only his Majeſties Command, but encouragements alſo in purſuance of it (his Majeſty ſpending at the leaſt a fortnight in that Dioceſs, in the year 1636. at ſuch time as the Biſhop came to wait upon him in *Tutbury* Caſtle): For they ſo far prevailed upon him at his being in *Coventry*, that in the preſence of the Mayor and ſome others of the Fraternity, he appointed, That the Communion-Table ſhould be removed from its aſcent of three Steps unto the Body of the Chancel, during the Adminiſtration of the Bleſſed Sacrament, commanding *Bird*, who had the Officiality of the place, not to trouble them in it. *Bird* not being well pleaſed with ſo much levity in the Biſhop, gives notice of it unto *Latham* the Biſhops Regiſter in *Lichfield*, by whom it was ſignified to *Lamb*, by *Lamb* to the Archbiſhop, and by him to the King; from whom it is to be ſuppoſed that the Biſhop could receive ſmall

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thanks for his disobedience. In *Essex* the business met with a greater difficulty. *Aylet* Official there under the Chancellor of *London*, had caused many of the Communion Tables within the verge of his Jurisdiction to be transposed and railed in, and the People to come up and kneel and receive at the Rail. Opposed at first in some of the greater Towns, because they found it otherwise in the Churches of *London*, whose example they conceived might be a sufficient warrant for them in that particular: But much more were they moved to stand out against him, upon sight of one of the Articles for the Metropolitical Visitation, by which they conceived that they had leave to remove their Table at the time of Celebration, and place it as it might be most convenient for the Parishioners to come about it and receive the Sacrament. *Aylet* complains of this to *Lamb*, finding himself thereby under an imputation of crossing the Article delivered by his Graces *Visitors*, and following after his own inventions, without any Authority. For remedy whereof, and to save all that he had done from returning back again to the same estate in which he found it, he desires to know his Graces Pleasure and *Lambs* Directions. More constantly, and with better fortune, is the business carried on by *Pierce* in his Dioceſs of *Bath* and *Wells*. No sooner had his Majesty signified his Pleasure in the Case of St. *Gregories*, but he issueth out a Commission to some of his Clergy, to inquire into the State of all the Parish Churches within that Dioceſs; and on the return of their Account, gives Order for the rectifying of such things as they found amiss, especially in the posture of the Holy Table. And that it might be seen, that his Commands were not only countenanced by Power, but backed by Reason, he prepares certain Motives and Considerations to perswade Conformity; as, *viz.* 1. *That it was ordered by the Queens* Injunctions, That the Communion Table should stand where the Altar did. 2. *That there should be some difference between the placing of the* Lords Table *in the Church, and the placing of a* Mans Table *in his House.* 3. *That it was not fit the People should sit above Gods Table, or be above the Priest when he Consecrateth.* 4. *That when the Communion Table stands thus, the Chancel would be the fairer, and so there would be more room for the Communicants.* 5. *That the Table standing thus, the face of the Minister would be better seen, and his voice more audibly and distinctly heard, than if it stood upon a Level in the midst of the Chancel. And* 6. *That it was expedient that the Daughters should be like their Mother, and that the* Parochial *Churches should conform themselves in that particular to their own* Cathedrals. But that which seemed to be the most popular Argument to perswade Obedience, was the avoiding of those Prophanations which formerly the Holy Table had been subject to; *For should it be permitted to stand as before it did, Church-wardens would keep their Accounts on it, Parishioners would dispatch the Parish business at it, School-masters will teach their Boys to write upon it, The Boys will lay their Hats, Sachels, and Books upon it, Many will sit and lean irreverently against it in Sermontime, The Dogs will piss upon it and defile it, and Glaziers would knock it full of Nail-holes.* By which means he prevailed so far, that of 469 Parishes which were in that Dioceſs, 140 had

had conformed to his Order in it, before the end of the *Chriſtmas* Holydays in this preſent year, *Anno* 1635. without any great reluctancy in Prieſt or People. The firſt ſtrong Oppoſition which he found in the buſineſs, came from a great and populous Pariſh called *Beckington*, where *Hewiſh* Incumbent of the place, was willing of himſelf to have obeyed his Directions in it: but the Church-wardens of the Pariſh were determined otherwiſe. For this being ſent for by the Biſhop, he gave them Order by word of mouth, to remove the Table to the Eaſt end of the Chancel, and to place a decent Rail before it: Which they refuſing to perform, were cited to appear in the Biſhops Court, before *Duck* the Chancellor of that Dioceſs, on the ninth of *June*, by whom they were commanded to remove ſuch Seats as were above the Communion Table, to obey the Biſhops former Directions, and to return a Certificate of all that they had done therein by the ſixth of *October* then next following: and for default thereof, were on the ſame day Excommunicated by the Biſhop in perſon. But the Church-wardens being rich, well-backed, and diſaffected to the Service, appealed from their Dioceſan to the Dean of the *Arches*; at whoſe requeſt, upon ſome hope given of their Conformity, they were abſolved for a month, and admoniſh'd to ſubmit to that which had been enjoined them. Continuing in their obſtinacy, he Excommunicates them again, and they again appeal to the Dean of the *Arches*; where finding no Relief, they preſented a Petition to the Archbiſhop, with no leſs than a hundred hands unto it, and afterwards to the King himſelf, but with like ſucceſs. *Pierce* had done nothing in that caſe, but what he had been warranted to do by their Authority, and therefore was by their Authority to be countenanced in it. There is an ancient Priviledge belonging to the Church of *England*, *That he who ſtandeth obſtinately Excommunicated for forty days, upon Certificate thereof into the Court of* Chancery, *ſhall be attached with a Writ* De excommunicato capiendo, *directed to the Sheriff, for his Apprehenſion, by him to be committed to Priſon without Bail or Mainprize* (as our Lawyers call it) *till he conform himſelf, and ſeek Abſolution.* By virtue of this Writ theſe obſtinate perſons were laid up in the Common Gaol, after they had remained Excommunicate above a twelvemonth; which ſhews with how great patience they had been forborn. And then at laſt, perceiving what ill counſel they had followed, and into what perplexities they had caſt themſelves, they made their ſubmiſſion to their Biſhop, by whom they were enjoined to do Penance for their Contempt, and obſtinate ſtanding out againſt the Sentence of the Court, in a form preſcribed: The Penance to be done in the great Church of *Bath*, their own Pariſh Church at *Beckington*, and in the Pariſh Church of *Frome-Selwood* the next Market-Town adjoining to it; and thereupon the Parties to be Abſolved. Which Oppoſition thus ſuppreſſed, prepared the People in moſt other places of that Dioceſs for a more ready conformity, than otherwiſe the *Dioceſan* might have found amongſt them: So true is that of the Hiſtorian, *That the Reſiſtances of the Subject being once ſuppreſſed, adde ſtrength to that Authority which they thought to cruſh.* How he behaved himſelf in reference

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rence to his Majesties *Instructions*, we shall see hereafter, when he is brought upon the stage on that occasion; and we shall see hereafter also, how much or how little was done in order to the purpose of this *Visitation*, by the rest of the Bishops.

Nor was there only care taken for rectifying such things as were found amiss in *Parochial* Churches: but to enquire also into the State and Actions of the Mother *Cathedrals*, by which all other Churches which depended on them, were to be regulated and directed. And they found work enough in many of them; especially in those wherein there was a want of Statutes for the Common Government. There are in *England* twenty six *Cathedral* or Episcopal Sees, of which thirteen are reckoned of the old foundation, and the other moyety of the new; those of the old foundation such as anciently had been founded in *Secular Canons*, as they still continue. Of which sort are the Churches of St. *Paul* in *London*, together with those of *Chichester*, *Salisbury*, *Wells*, *Exeter*, *Lincoln*, *Lichfield*, *Hereford*, and the four *Welsh* Bishopricks, in the Province of *Canterbury*, and none but the Metropolitical See of *York* in the other Province, all of which had their ancient Statutes, and required no alteration in them except *Hereford* only. Those of the new foundation (as they commonly called them) were such as had been founded on *Monastick* Orders, which being dissolved by King *Henry* the Eighth, he founded them a new in a Dean and Chapter of *Secular* Priests, of which sort were the Churches of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Rochester*, *Norwich*, and the four new Bishopricks by him founded in the Abbeys of *Oxon*. *Peterborough*, *Gloucester*, and *Bristol*, together with those of *Durham*, *Carlisle*, and *Chester*, (this last of his foundation also) in the other *Province*. For each of which Churches there was made a draught of Statutes, but never perfected or confirmed; and therefore either kept or broken at the *Deans* discretion, as it conduced most to his advantage from time to time; which proved the unavoidable occasion of many differences between the *Deans* and *Prebendaries* of those several Churches; the *Deans* affecting an arbitrary and absolute Government, and the *Prebends* looking on themselves as Brethren, not as Subjects to him. The perfecting of these Statutes to serve as a standing Rule to both for the times succeeding, took up much of his thoughts, and certainly he had effected it for all those Churches in convenient time, if the disturbances which hapned in *Scotland* first, and in *England* afterwards, had not diverted and disabled him from that performance,

Cant. Doom. P. 79.

He began first with *Canterbury* his own *Cathedral*, where he found the Table placed at the East end of the Choire by the *Dean* and *Chapter*, and Adoration used toward it by their appointment; as was attested upon Oath by Dr. *Elechinden* one of the *Prebends* of that Church at the time of his Trial. Which having found in so good order, he recommended to them the providing of *Candlesticks*, *Basons*, *Carpet*, and other Furniture for the adorning of the *Altar*, and the more solemn celebrating of the blessed Sacrament. And that these things might be perpetual to succeeding Ages, he composed a new body of Statutes

Statutes for the Government of that Cathedral, which was ſent thither under the Great Seal, with his own hand ſubſcribed to every leaf. In which there was this Statute amongſt the reſt, (which the *Deans, Prebends*, and Officers there were bound by Oath to obſerve) *That at their coming in and going out of the Choire, and all approaches to the* Altar, *they ſhould by bowing toward it, make due reverence to Almighty God.* The like he did at *Winton* alſo, in this preſent year, where he required them by *Brent* his Vicar-General, *to provide four Copes, to rail in the Communion Table and place it Altarwiſe, to bow towards it, and dayly to read the Epiſtles & Goſpels at it*; the ſaid Epiſtles and Goſpels to be read by none but ſuch as were in holy Orders, contrary to the late practice of that Church, where the ſaid Office was performed by their Lay Vicars at the will and pleaſure of the *Dean.* To bind them to it for the preſent, certain *Injunctions* were left with them by *Brent* under the Seal of his Office. And that they might not fall again to their old confuſions, a Book of *Statutes* was compoſed alſo to the uſe of that Church, for the rectifying of ſuch diſorders as had grown therein under the Government of *Abbot, Morton*, and *Young* the preſent *Dean* thereof, a *Scot* by Nation, and one that never rightly underſtood the Conſtitution of the Church of *England.* The like *Injunctions* given by *Brent* to the Church of *Chicheſter*, to provide Copes by one a year for Gods publick Service, till they were ſufficiently furniſhed with them; with the like Adorations toward the Communion Table, as before at *Wincheſter.* The Statutes of *Hereford* being imperfect, he cauſed to be caſt in a new mold, and ſent them thither under the Broad Seal for their future Reglement, to be there ſworn to and obſerved. In which it was required, Firſt, *That every* Reſidentiary *ſhould officiate twice every year under the pain of paying forty ſhillings to be laid out on Ornaments of the Church.* Secondly, *That they ſhould officiate on Sundaies and Holidaies in their Copes.* Thirdly, *That they ſhould ſtand up at the Creeds and Goſpel, and* Doxologies, *and to bow ſo often as the name of* Jeſus *was mentioned, and that no man ſhould be covered in the Church.* Fourthly, *That every one ſhould bow toward the Altar.* Fifthly, *That the Prayer afore their Sermons ſhould be made according to the* 55. *Canon, which as it ſhews to what diſorders they were grown in point of practice, and how they had deviated from the Rules of the Church; ſo may it ſerve to verifie that old Obſervation*, (*l*) "That many times corrupt manners and evil Cuſtoms do beget good Laws. At *Worceſter Manwaring*, who ſucceeded *Juxon* in that *Deanry*, prevented *Brent*, and acted many things of himſelf without any *Injunction*; for having erected a fair Table of Marble, ſtanding on four well-faſhioned Columns, he covered the Wall behind the ſame with hangings of Azure-coloured Stuff, having a white Silk Lace upon every Seam, and furniſhed it with Palls and Fronts, as he had obſerved in his Majeſties and ſome Biſhops Chappels; and ordered the Kings Scholars, being forty in number, who formerly uſed to throng tumultuouſly into the Choire to go in Rank, by two and two, and make their due obeiſances at their coming in. Such Copes as belonged anciently to that Church, which had been lent many times unto common *Actors*, or otherwiſe Sacrilegiouſly profaned,

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In many other Churches the *Deans* and *Prebends* had been contented to put that money into their Purſes, which might better have been expended on ſome publick Ornaments. And that he might proceed to a Reformation on the better grounds, he took order to be furniſhed with a juſt account of their preſent condition, what Veſtments, and Utenſils they had, and what they wanted. From *Lincoln* it was certified, *That the Communion Table was not very decent, and the Rail before it worſe; that the Organs were old and naught, and that the Copes and Veſtments were imbezeled, and none remained.* From *Norwich*, *That the Hangings of the Choires were old, and the Copes fair, but wanted mending.* From *Gloceſter*, *That there wanted Copes, and that many things were grown amiſs ſince he left that* Deanry. *From Lichfield*, *That the Furniture of the Altar was very mean, care therefore to be taken in it for more coſtly Ornaments.* The like account from other places, which drew on by degrees ſuch Reformation in Cathedral Churches, that they recovered once again their ancient ſplendour, and ſerved for an example to the Pariſh Churches which related to them. Nor did the Archbiſhop ſtand alone in point of judgment as to theſe particulars. He had therein the teſtimony and aſſent of two ſuch Biſhops than which there could be none more averſe from Popery, or any thing that tended to it. A difference hapning between the Miniſter and Church-wardens in a Pariſh of *Wilts*, about the placing of the Table, which the Miniſter deſired to tranſpoſe to the end of the Chancel, and the Church-wardens to keep it as it ſtood before, the buſineſs was referred to *Davenant*, then Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who on a full conſideration of the matter, declared in favour of the *Incumbent*, and by a Decree under his Epiſcopal Seal ſetled the Table in the place where the Altar ſtood, as the Miniſter deſired to have it. In which Decree there are theſe two paſſages to be obſerved; Firſt, *That by the Injunction of Queen* Elizabeth, *and by* Canon 32. *under King* James, *the Communion Tables ſhould ordinarily be ſet and ſtand with the ſide to the Eaſt Wall of the Chancel.* And ſecondly, *That it is ignorance to think that the ſtanding of the holy Table in that place doth reliſh of Popery.* This for the placing of the Table. And then as for the bowing and adoring toward it, we have this Authority from the Pen of *Morton*, then Biſhop of *Durham*, in a Book by him written of the *Romiſh Sacrifice*. *The like difference* (ſaith he) *may be diſcerned between their manner of Reverence in* bowing *towards the* Altar, *for adoration of the* Euchariſt *only, and ours in* bowing *as well when there is no* Euchariſt *on the Table as when there is, which is not to the Table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the Table, to teſtifie the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith, even as the People of God did in adoring him before the* Ark his footſtool, *Pſalm* 99. And here we alſo may obſerve, that though *Davenant* made not his Decree till the ſeventeenth of *May* 1637. when the buſineſs of the Table had been ſetled in moſt parts of the Kingdom, yet *Mortons* book came out this year, *Anno* 1635. at the firſt breaking out of thoſe oppoſitions which were made againſt it. Yet

Ibid. p. 81.

Archb. Sp. *June* 16. 1637.

Yet did not the Archbiſhop think he had done ſufficiently if he ſhould leave the caſe to be ruled only by Injunctions and Decrees, unleſs he added vigour to them by his own example. When he was Biſhop of St. *Davids*, he built a new Chappel to his Houſe of *Aberguilly*, and furniſhed both the Chappel and the Altar in it with *Hangings*, *Palls*, *Fronts*, *Plate*, and other Utenſils, to a very great value. According unto which beginning he continued till the end of his Race. When he came firſt to *Lambeth*-houſe, where he found the *Chappel lye ſo naſtily*, (as his own words are) the Windows ſo defaced, and all things in it ſo diſordered, *that he was much aſhamed to ſee it, and could not reſort unto it without diſdain*; the Images in the Windows being broken in many places, and moſt deformedly patcht up with ordinary Glaſs, he cauſed to be repaired, and beautified according to their former Figure, his Glaſiers Bill amounting to no leſs than 148 *li.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* With like care, but with far leſs Charges, he repaired the ruined Windows in the Chappel of his houſe in *Croyden*, where he ſpent the greateſt part of his Summers, and whither he retired at other times for his eaſe and privacy. And as for the Communion Table, which he found ſtanding in the middle of the Chappel, a very ſorry one in it ſelf, he ordered it to be removed to ſome other Room, and cauſed a new one to be made, placed where the Altar ſometimes ſtood, ſhadowed over-head with a very fair Frieze, and Fenced with a decent and coſtly Rail, the guilding of the one, and the curious workmanſhip of the other, together with the Table it ſelf, amounting to 33 pounds, and upwards; *Copes*, *Altar-cloaths*, *Plate*, and other neceſſaries which belonged to the adorning of it he had been Maſter of before in his other Chappels, and therefore was at the leſs charge in compleating this. He put himſelf to ſome coſt alſo in repairing and beautifying the Organs, which he found very much out of tune, and made great uſe of them in the celebrating of Divine Service on Sundays and Holydays, when his leiſure could permit him to be preſent at it; ſome Gentlemen of his Majeſties Chappel aſſiſting many times to make up the Conſort when the ſolemnity required it. According unto which example of their Lord, and Chancellor, the principal Colledges in *Oxon.* beautified their Chappels, tranſpoſed their Tables, fenced them with Rails, and furniſhed them with Hangings, Palls, Plate, and all other neceſſaries. Yet neither his own Example, nor the Authority of the ſaid two Biſhops, nor practice of the Deans and Chapters in ſo many Churches, or the Governours of thoſe principal Colledges, ſo ſtopt the mouths of divers railing *Rabſhakehs* of the *Puritan* Faction, as not to ſpit their venome and reproaches on them. Witneſs for all, that ſcurrilous paſſage of *H. B.* in his Seditious Sermon, called; *For God and the King*; *How then* (ſaith he) *will our new Maſters, our Innovators, make good the bringing in of theſe things afreſh into Cathedrals, and forcing all petty Churches to conform thereunto? Would the Prelates thus make the Mother Cathedrals* (*thus by themſelves made and adopted* Romes *daughters*) *their Concubines, whereon to beget a new baſtard Generation of ſacrificing, idolatrous Maſs-Prieſts throughout the Land, which our good Laws, and all our learned and pious Divines have proclaimed illegitimate?* So he.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

Cant. Doom, p. 462.

P. 66.

P. 163.

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More of this foul ſtuff might be found elſewhere, but that I hate the raking in ſuch dirty puddles.

The buſineſs of the Table going on in ſo good a way, that of the Declaration about Lawful Sports ſeemed to be at a ſtand. Such Miniſters as had readily obeyed the Mandates, and publiſhed the ſeveral Orders of the ſecular Judges in their ſeveral Churches, did obſtinately refuſe the publiſhing of this Declaration, when required to do it by their Biſhops; and that they might not be thought to ſtand out againſt them without ſome good ground, they alledged ſome reaſons for themſelves, which when they came to be examined, had no reaſon in them. Firſt, they alledged, That there was no expreſs order in the Declaration, that the Miniſter of the Pariſh ſhould be preſt to the publiſhing of it. But then withal they ſhould conſider, that the Biſhops were commanded to take order for the publiſhing of it in their ſeveral Pariſhes; and whom could they require to publiſh it in the Pariſh Churches but the Miniſters only? Bound to them by an Oath of *Canonical Obedience* at their admiſſion to their Cures. So that the Biſhops did no more than they were commanded in laying the publication of this *Declaration* on the back of the Miniſters; and the Miniſters by doing leſs than they were commanded infringed the Oath which they had taken, rendring themſelves thereby obnoxious to all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures as the Biſhops ſhould inflict upon them. It was alledged ſecondly, That the publiſhing of this Declaration was a work more proper for the Conſtable or Tything-man, or the Church-wardens at the leaſt, than it was for the Miniſters: But then it was to be conſidered, that the Conſtable or Tything-man were Lay-officers meerly, bound by the Law to execute the Warrants of the Judges and Juſtices, but not the Mandates of the Biſhops, ſo far from being *Proper Inſtruments* in ſuch a buſineſs, that none of the Judges thought it fit to command their Service in publiſhing their Orders againſt *Ales* and *Revels*. And though the Church-wardens had ſome relation to Church-matters, and conſequently to the Biſhop in the way of Preſentments; yet was he not bound to execute any ſuch Commands, becauſe not tyed by an Oath of Canonical obedience, as the Miniſters were. Or were it otherwiſe, yet doth it happen many times in Country Villages, that the Church-wardens cannot read, and therefore not to be imployed in publiſhing ſuch Declarations, which require a more knowing man than a ſilly Villager. And laſt of all it was alledged, that the Miniſters of all others were moſt unfit to hold the Candle for lighting and letting in ſuch a courſe of licentiouſneſs, as was indulged on the Lords day, by the ſaid Declaration. But then it was to have been proved, that any Sports of the allowed of in it, might have been brought within the compaſs of ſuch Licentiouſneſs, which neither the Word of God, nor the Canons of the Chriſtian Church, nor any Statutes of the Realm had before forbidden. Or had it been as they pretended, that the command was contrary to the Law of God, and could not be obeyed with a ſafe conſcience; yet this was only a pretence, their reading of the Book being no more an argument of their approbation of any thing therein contained, than when a common

mon Crier reads a Proclamation, the Contents whereof perhaps he likes not. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

The Buſineſs being at this ſtand, it was thought fit that the Biſhops ſhould firſt deal with the Refuſers in a Fatherly and gentle way, but adding menaces ſometimes to their perſwaſions if they ſaw cauſe for it; and that in the mean ſeaſon ſome diſcourſes ſhould be writ and publiſhed to bring them to a right underſtanding of the truth, and their ſeveral duties: which burden being held of too great weight for any one to undergo, and the neceſſity of the work requiring a quick diſpatch, it was held fit to divide the employment betwixt two. The Argumentative and Scholaſtical part referred to the right learned Dr. *White*, then Biſhop of *Ely*, who had given good proof of his ability in Polemical matters in ſeveral Books and Diſputations againſt the Papiſts. The Practical and Hiſtorical, by *Heylyn* of *Weſtminſter*, who had gained ſome reputation for his Studies in the antient Writers by *Aſſerting* the Hiſtory of St. *George*, maliciouſly impugned by thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party upon all occaſions. Both of them, being enjoyned their tasks, were required to be ready for the Preſs againſt *Michaelmas* Term; at the end whereof both books came out, The Biſhops under the Title of *A Treatiſe of the Sabbath day, containing a defence of the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of* England *againſt Sabbatarian Novelty*. The other called, *The Hiſtory of the Sabbath*, was divided into two Books or Parts; The firſt whereof began with the Creation of the World, and carried on the Story till the deſtruction of the Temple; The ſecond, beginning with our Saviour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, was drawn down to the year 1633. when the publiſhing of this Declaration was required. But going different ways to work they did not both encounter the like ſucceſs. The Biſhops Book had not been extant very long, when an Anſwer was returned unto it by *Byfield* of *Surrey*, which Anſwer occaſioned a *Reply*, and that *Reply* begat a *Rejoynder*. To *Heylyns* Book there was no Anſwer made at all, whether becauſe unanſwerable, or not worth the Anſwering, is to me unknown. And though it is not to be doubted, but that the Arguments of the one, and the Authorities of the other, prevailed with ſome to lay aſide their former obſtinacy and averſeneſs; yet did there ſtill remain too many, who ſtopp'd their ears, like the *deaf Adder* in the *Pſalmiſt, and would not hear the voice of the Charmers, charmed they never ſo ſweetly*. By which it did appear too plainly, That there was ſome *Aſſociation* had and made amongſt them, to ſtand it out to the laſt, and put ſome baffle or affront upon their Superiors, by whoſe Command the reading of the Book was impoſed upon them. And thereupon it was reſolved, That the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes ſhould go to work more roundly with them, and either bring them to Conformity, if it might be done; or otherwiſe, to proceed againſt them by *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*.

But whilſt theſe things were acting on the Stage of *England*, the Biſhops of *Scotland* were as active in drawing of a Book of *Canons*, and framing a Publick *Liturgie* for the uſe of that Church. Both Undertakings warranted by the Act of a *General Aſſembly* held at *Aberdeen*,

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Anno 1616. and the one brought to a good forwardneſs before the death of King *James*: But being diſcontinued by the Accidents and Debates before-remembred, it pleaſed his Majeſty at the laſt to yield unto the importunity of the *Scottiſh* Biſhops, in having a *Liturgie* of their *own*, differing in ſome things from that of the Church of *England*, to ſhew the independency and ſelf-ſubſiſtence of their *Kirk*; but agreeing with it in the main, to teſtifie the Conformity between the Churches: Which being thus condeſcended to, they were ordered to proceed with all ſpeed and diligence, which they did accordingly. But the Canons being the ſhorter work, were firſt brought to an end; for the compiling whereof, his Majeſty gives theſe Reaſons in his large Declaration. Firſt, *That he held it but exceeding neceſſary, that there ſhould be ſome Book extant to contain the Rules of the Eccleſiaſtical Government; ſo that as well the Clergie as the Laity might have one certain Rule, to regulate the Power of the one, the Obedience and Practice of the other.* Secondly, *That the Acts of General Aſſemblies were written only, and not Printed; and therefore could not come to the knowledge of many: So large and voluminous, that it was not eaſie to Tranſcribe them, inſomuch that few of the Presbyters themſelves could tell which of them were authentical, which not: So unſafely and uncertainly kept, that they knew not where to addreſs themſelves for conſulting with them: That by reducing theſe numerous Acts (and theſe not known unto themſelves) to ſuch a paucity of Canons, publiſhed and expoſed to the publick view, no man ſhould be inſnared by ignorance, or have juſt reaſon to complain of their multiplicity.* And finally, *That not one in all that Kingdom did either live under the Obedience of the Acts of thoſe* General Aſſemblies, *or did know what they were, or where to find them.* Upon which grounds, the Book of *Canons* being drawn up and preſented to him, he gave a Warrant under his Hand to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, requiring him, together with the Biſhop of *London*, to peruſe the ſame, to ſee that they were well fitted to the Church-Government, and as near as conveniently might be to the *Canons* of the Church of *England*; giving them, and either of them full power to alter any thing in the ſaid *Canons*, as they found moſt fitting. Which being done as he commanded, and the Book made ready for the Preſs, he paſs'd his Royal Confirmation of it, under the Great Seal of the Kingdom, in this manner following.

CHARLES REX.

WE out of Our Royal Care for the Maintenance of the preſent Eſtate and Government of the Church of Scotland, *have diligently and with great content conſidered all the* Canons *and* Conſtitutions *after following; and finding the ſame ſuch as We are perſwaded will be profitable, not only to our whole Clergie, but to the whole Church of that our Kingdom, if ſo they be well obſerved, Have for Us, Our Heirs, and Lawful Succeſſors, of Our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, given, and by theſe preſents do give Our Royal aſſent unto all the ſaid* Canons, Orders, *and* Conſtitutions, *and to all and every thing in them contained, as they are afterwards ſet down.* And

And further, We do not only by Our Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, Ratifie and Confirm by these Our Letters Patents, the said Canons, Orders *and* Constitutions, *and all and every thing in them contained: But likewise We command by Our Authority Royal, and by these* Letters Patents, *the same to be diligently observed and executed by all Our loving Subjects of that Our Kingdom both within the Province of St.* Andrews *and* Glascow; *in all points wherein they do or may concern every or any of them, according to this Our Will and Pleasure hereby expressed and declared. And for the better observation of them, We straightly Charge and Command all Our Archbishops, Bishops, and all others that exercise any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within that Our Realm, to see the same* Canons, Orders *and* Constitutions *to be in all points duly observed; not sparing to execute the Penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that shall willingly break or neglect to observe the same, as they tender the Honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and their Service and duty to Us their King and Soveraign.*

Given at Our Mannor of *Greenwich*, 23 *May* 1635.

These *Canons* when they came abroad, were presently quarrelled and disclaimed by the *Scottish Presbyters*: Quarrelled with in reference to the subject matter comprehended in them: Disclaimed, because imposed upon them without their own approbation and consent. The points most quarrelled at, were these. 1. *That whosoever should affirm, That the Kings Majesty had not the same Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, that the Godly Kings had among the* Jews, *or the Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church; or impugn in any part his Royal Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical, was to incur the Censure of Excommunication.* 2. *The like censure to be inflicted on those who should affirm, That the Worship contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments* (though at the making of these *Canons* there was no such Book of Common-Prayer recommended to them) *or, That the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, or the form of Making and Consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, &c. did contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or was corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful in the Service and Worship of God.* 3. *That the Ordinations were restrained to four times in the year; that is, the first Weeks of* March, June, September, *and* December. 4. *That every Ecclesiastical Person at his admission should take the Oath of Supremacy, according to the form required by Parliament; and the like Oath for avoiding* Simony, *required in the Book of Consecration.* 5. *That every Presbyter shall either by himself or by another Person lawfully called, read or cause Divine Service to be done, according to the form of the Book of that Common-Prayer, before all Sermons; and that he should officiate by the said Book of Common-Prayer, in all the Offices, Parts and Rubricks of it* (when as yet none of them had seen the said Book or Liturgie.) 6. *That no Preacher should impugn the Doctrine deliver'd by another in the same Church, or any near adjoining to it, without leave from the Bishop;* which they conceived to be the way to pin their whole Religion on the Bishops Sleeves. 7. *That no*

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no Presbyter *should hereafter become Surety or Cautioner for any Person whosoever, in Civil Bonds and Contracts, under pain of Suspension.* 8. *That whatsoever remained of the Bread and Wine prepared for the Communion, should be distributed to the poorer sort which receive that day, to be eaten and drunken of them before they go out of the Church.* 9. *That* Presbyters *are enjoyned to Minister the Sacrament of Baptism in private Houses, and upon every day alike, in case of infirmity; and that the People were required not to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper but upon their knees.* 10. *That in all Sentences of Separation* à Thoro & Mensa, *there shall be a Caution inserted (and given accordingly) That the Persons so separated should live continently and chastly, and not contract Marriage with any Person, during each others life* (which seemed to put the innocent Party into as bad a condition as the guilty, contrary to the Judgment of the Reformed Churches.) 11. *That no private Meeting be kept by* Presbyters, *or any other Persons whatsoever, for expounding Scripture, or for consulting upon matters Ecclesiastical: Such matters to be handled only in the Lawful* Synods *held by Bishops.* 12. *That under pain of Excommunication, no* Presbyter *or* Layman, *jointly or severally, make Rules, Orders, or Constitutions in Causes Ecclesiastical; or to adde or detract from any Rubricks or Articles, or other things now established, without the Authority of the King or his Successors.* 13. *That National or General Assemblies were to be called only by the Kings Authority; That the Decrees thereof should bind as well the Absent as the Present in Matters Ecclesiastical; and, That it should not be lawful for the Bishops themselves, in such* Assemblies, *or otherwise, to alter any Articles, Rubrick, Canon Doctrinal or Disciplinary whatsoever, without his Majesties leave first had and obtained.* 14. *That no man should cover his Head in time of Divine Service, except with a Cap or Night-coife in case of infirmity; and that all Persons should reverently kneel when the Confession and other Prayers were read, and should stand up at the saying of the Creed.* 15. *That no* Presbyter *or Reader be permitted to conceive Prayers* ex tempore, *or use any other form in the Publick* Liturgie *or Service, than is prescribed, under the pain of Deprivation from his Benefice or Cure.* 16. *That by this Prohibition the* Presbyters *seemed to be debarred from using their own Prayers before their Sermons, by reason that in* c. 3. num. 13. *it is required, That all* Presbyters *and Preachers should move the People to join with them in Prayer, using some few and convenient words, and should always conclude with the Lords Prayer (which in effect was to bind them to the form of bidding Prayer, prescribed in the* 55th. *Canon of the Church of* England.) 17. *That no man should Teach either in Publick School or Private House, but such as shall be allowed by the Archbishop of the Province, or Bishop of the Diocess, under their Hand and Seal; and those to Licence none but such as were of good Religion, and obedient to the Orders of the Church.* 18. *That none should be admitted to read in any Colledge or School, except they take first the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.* 19. *That nothing be hereafter Imprinted, except the same be seen and allowed by the Visitors appointed to that purpose; the Penalty thereof (as in all like Cases in which no Penalty is expressed) being left to the discretion of the Bishops.* 20. *That no Publick Fast should be appointed*

appointed upon Sundays (*as had been formerly accustomed*) *but on the Week-days only; and them to be appointed by none but His Majesty.* 21. *That for the Ministring of the Sacrament of Baptism, a Font should be prepared, and placed somewhat near the entry of the Church, as antiently it used to be, with a Cloth of fine Linnen, which shall likewise be kept all neatly.* 22. *That a comely and decent Table for Celebrating the Holy Communion should be provided, and placed at the upper end of the Chancel or Church, to be covered at the times of Divine Service with a Carpet of decent Stuff, and at the time of Ministration with a white Linnen cloth; And that Basons, Cups, or Chalices of some pure Metal shall be provided, to be set upon the Communion Table, and reserved to that only use.* 23. *That such Bishops and Presbyters as shall depart this life, having no Children, shall leave their Goods or a great part of them to the Church and Holy Uses; and that notwithstanding their having Children, they should leave some Testimony of their love to the Church and advancement of Religion.* 24. *That no Sentence of Excommunication should be pronounced, or Absolution given by any Presbyter, without the leave and approbation of the Bishop: And no Presbyter should reveal or make known what had been opened to him in confession, at any time, or to any Person whatsoever, except the crime be such as by the Laws of the Realm his own Life may be called in question for concealing the same.* 25. *And finally, That no Person should be received into Holy Orders, nor suffered to Preach, Catechise, Minister the Sacraments, or any other Ecclesiastical Function, unless he first subscribe to be obedient to these present Canons, Ratified and Approved by his Majesties Royal Warrant, and Ordained to be observed by the Clergie, and all others whom they concern.*

These were the matters chiefly quarrelled in this Book of Canons, visibly tending (as they would make the World believe) to subject that Kirk unto the Powdr of the King; the Clergy to the command of their Bishops; the whole Nation, to the Discipline of a Foreign Church, and all together by degrees, to the Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Pope of *Rome*. But justest cause they seemed to have for disclaiming the said Book of Canons, because not made nor imposed upon them by their own approbation and consent, contrary to the usage of the Church in all Times and Ages. Had his Majesty imposed these Orders on them by the name of Injunctions, according to the example of King *Henry* viii. *Anno* 1536. of King *Edward* vi. *Anno* 1547. and of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1559. he might perhaps have justified himself by that Supremacy which had been vested in him by the Laws of that Kingdom; which seems to have been the Judgment of King *James* in this very case. At his last being in *Scotland*, *Anno* 1617. he had prepared an Article to be passed in Parliament to this effect, *viz. That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the External Government of the* Church, *with the advice of the Archbishop, Bishops, and a competent number of the Ministry, should have the strength of a Law.* But understanding that a *Protestation* was prepared against it by some of the most Rigid *Presbyterians*, he commanded *Hay* the Clerk or Register, to pass by that Article, as a thing no way necessary; the Prerogative of his Crown giving him more Authority than was declared or desired by it.

History of Scot. Spotf. 531. 533.

But

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But as for Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical, if they concerned the whole Church, they were to be adviſed and framed by Biſhops, and other Learned men, aſſembled in a General Council, and teſtified by the Subſcription of ſuch Biſhops as were then aſſembled. Or if they did relate only unto National Churches, or particular Provinces, they were to be concluded and agreed upon by the Biſhops and Clergy; that is to ſay, ſo many of the Clergy as are choſen and impowred by all the reſt for that end and purpoſe, aſſembled in a National or Provincial *Synod*. No Canons nor Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical to be otherwiſe made; or if made otherwiſe, not to bind, without a voluntary and free ſubmiſſion of all Parties to them. And though it could not be denied, but that all Chriſtian Emperors, Kings, and Princes reſerved a Power unto themſelves of Ratifying and Confirming all ſuch Conſtitutions as by the Biſhops and Clergy were agreed on; yet ſtill the ſaid Canons and Conſtitutions were firſt agreed on by the Biſhops and Clergy, before they were tendred to the Sovereign Prince for his Ratification. The *Scottiſh Presbyters* had formerly diſclaimed the Kings Authority either in calling their *Aſſemblies*, or confirming the Reſults and Acts thereof: which they conceived to be good and valid of themſelves without any additional power of his to adde ſtrength unto them. And therefore now they muſt needs think themſelves reduced to a very great Vaſſalage in having a body of Canons ſo impoſed upon them, to the making whereof they were never called, and to the paſſing whereof they had never voted. But as they had broke the Rules of the Primitive Church in acting Soveraignty of themſelves without requiring the Kings approbation and conſent in the times foregoing; ſo were they now upon the point of having thoſe old Rules broken on them by the King, in making Canons, and putting Laws and Orders on them for their future Government, to which they never had conſented. And therefore though his Majeſty had taken ſo much care (as himſelf obſerved) for facilitating and conveniencing their obedience by furthering their knowledge in thoſe points which before they knew not; yet they did generally behold it, and exclaimed againſt it, as one of the moſt grievous burthens that ever had been laid upon them.

Bibl. Regia, p. 120.

More clamour, but on weaker grounds, was made againſt the Book of Common-Prayer when it firſt came out, which was not till the year 1637. and then we ſhall hear further of it. Mean while we will return to *England*, and ſee what our Archbiſhop doth, as a chief Counſellor and States-man in his Civil Actings. It was about four or five years ſince, *Anno* 1631. that he firſt diſcovered how ill his Majeſties Treaſury had been managed between ſome principal Officers of his Revenue, to the enriching of themſelves, to the impoveriſhing of their Maſter, and the no ſmall amazement of all good Subjects. But the abuſes being too great to be long concealed, his Majeſty is made acquainted with all particulars, who thereupon did much eſtrange his countenance from the principal of them.

For which good ſervice to the King none was ſo much ſuſpected by them as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, againſt whom they began to practiſe, endeavouring all they could to remove him from his Majeſties ear,

ear, or at the leaſt to leſſen the eſteem and reputation which his fidelity and upright dealing had procured of him. Factions are heightned in the Court. Private ends followed to the prejudice of Publick Service, and every mouth talkt openly againſt his proceedings. But ſtill he kept his ground, and prevailed at laſt, appointed by his Majeſty on the fifth of *February* 1634. to be one of the great Committee for Trade and the Kings Revenue; and ſeeing *Weſtons* Glories ſet under a cloud, within few weeks after, *Weſton* being dead, it pleaſed his Majeſty to commit the managing of the Treaſury by Letters Patents under the Broad Seal, bearing date on the fourteenth day of *March*, to the Lord Archbiſhop, *Cottington* Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Cooke* and *Windebanck*, principal Secretaries, and certain others; who with no ſmall envy looked upon him as if he had been ſet over them for a Superviſor. Within two daies after his being nominated for this Commiſſion, his Majeſty brought him alſo into the Foreign Committee, which rendred him as conſiderable abroad as he was at home. This as it added to his power, ſo it increaſed the ſtomach which was born againſt him. The year 1635. was but new began, when claſhing began to grow between him and *Cottington* about executing the Commiſſion for the Treaſury. And that his grief and trouble might be the greater, his old Friend *Windebank*, who had received his preferment from him, forſook him in the open field, and joyned himſelf with *Cottington* and the reſt of that Party. This could not chooſe but put him to the exerciſe of a great deal of Patience, conſidering how neceſſary a Friend he had loſt, in whoſe boſom he had lodged a great part of his Counſels, and on whoſe Activity he relied for the carrying on of his deſigns at the Council Table. But for all this he carries on the Commiſſion the whole year about, acquaints himſelf with the Myſteries and Secrets of it, the honeſt advantages which the Lord Treaſurers had for inriching themſelves (to the value of ſeven thouſand pound a year and upwards, as I have heard from his own mouth) without defrauding the King, or abuſing the Subject. He had obſerved, that divers Treaſurers of late years had raiſed themſelves from very mean and private Fortunes to the Titles and Eſtates of Earls, which he conceived could not be done without wrong to both; and therefore he reſolves to commend ſuch a man to his Majeſty for the next Lord Treaſurer, who having no Family to raiſe, no Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the Incomes of the *Treaſury* to the Kings advantage than they had been formerly. And who more like to come into his eye for that preferment than *Juxon*, his old and truſty Friend, then Biſhop of *London*; a man of ſuch a well tempered diſpoſition as gave exceeding great content both to Prince and People, and one whom he knew capable of as much inſtruction as by a whole years experience in the Commiſſion for the Treaſury he was able to give him.

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It was much wondred at, when firſt the Staff was put into this mans hand; in doing whereof the Archbiſhop was generally conceived neither to have conſulted his own preſent peace nor his future ſafety. Had he ſtudied his own preſent peace, he ſhould have given *Cotting-*

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ton leave to put in for it, who being Chancellor of the Exchequer pretended himself to be the next in that *Ascendent*, the Lord Treasurers Associate while he lived, and the presumptive heir to that office after his decease. And had he studied his own safety and preservation for the times to come, he might have made use of the power by recommending the Staff to the Earles of *Bedford*, *Hartford*, *Essex*, the Lord *Say*, or some such man of Popular Nobility; by whom he might have been reciprocated by their strength and interest with the People in the change of times. But he preferred his Majesties Advantages before his particular concernments, the safety of the Publick before his own. Nor did he want some seasonable considerations in it for the good of the Church. The peace and quiet of the Church depended much on the conformity of the City of *London*, and *London* did as much depend in their trade and payments upon the Love and Justice of the Lord *Treasurer* of *England*. This therefore was the more likely way to conform the Citizens to the directions of their Bishop, and the whole Kingdom unto them; No small encouragement being thereby given to the *London* Clergy for the improving of their Tythes. For with what confidence could any of the old Cheats adventure on a publick Examination in the Court of Exchequer (the proper Court for suits and grievances of that nature) when a Lord Bishop of *London* sate therein as the principal Judge? Upon these Counsels he proceeds, and obtains the Staff, which was delivered to the Bishop of *London* on Sunday *March* 6. sworn on the same day Privy Counsellor, and on the first of the next Term conducted in great state from *London* House to *Westminster* Hall, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* riding by him, and most of the Lords and Bishops about the Town, with many Gentlemen of chief note and quality, following by two and two to make up the Pomp. It was much feared by some, and hoped by others, that the new *Treasurer* would have sunk under the burden of that place, as *Williams* did under the custody of the Seal: but he deceived them both in that expectation, carrying himself with such an even and steady hand, that every one applauded, but none envied his preferment to it; insomuch as the then Lord *Faulkland*, in a bitter Speech against the Bishops about the beginning of the Long Parliament, could not chuse but give him this fair Testimony, *viz. That in an unexpected place and power he expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the* Crozier *or* White Staff.

The Queen about these times began to grow into a greater prevalency over his Majesties affections than formerly she had made shew of: But being too wise to make any open alteration of the conduct of affairs, she thought it best to take the Archbishop into such of her Counsels as might by him be carried on to her contentment, and with no dishonour to himself, of which he gives this intimation in the *Breviate* (a) on the thirtieth of *August* 1634. *viz. That the Queen sent for him to* Oatlands, *and gave him thanks for a business which she had trusted him withall, promising him to be his Friend, and that he should have immediate access to her when he had occasion.* This seconded with the like

(a) p. 19.

like intimation, given us *May* 18. 1635. of which he writes, that having brought his account to the Queen on *May* 18. *Whitſunday*, the Court then at *Greenwich*, it was put off till the Sunday after, at which time he preſented it to her, and received from her an aſſurance of all that was deſired by him. *Panzani's* coming unto *London* in the *Chriſtmas* holy-days makes it not improbable that the facilitating of his ſafe and favourable reception was the great buſineſs which the Queen had committed to the Archbiſhops truſt; and for his effecting of it with the King, had given him thoſe gracious promiſes of acceſs unto her, which the *Breviate* ſpake of. For though *Panzani* was ſent over from the Pope on no other pretence than to prevent a Schiſm which was then like to be made between the *Regulars* and the *Secular* Prieſts, to the great ſcandal of that Church; yet under that pretence were muffled many other deſigns which were not fit to be diſcovered unto Vulgar eyes. By many ſecret Artifices he works himſelf into the favour of *Cottington*, *Windebank*, and other great men about the Court, and at laſt grew to ſuch a confidence, as to move this queſtion to ſome Court-Biſhops, *viz.* *Whether his Majeſty would permit the reſiding of a Catholick Biſhop of the Engliſh Nation to be nominated by his Majeſty, and not to exerciſe his Function but as his Majeſty ſhould limit?* Upon which Propoſition, when thoſe Biſhops had made this *Quære* to him, *Whether the Pope would allow of ſuch a Biſhop of his Majeſties nominating as held the Oath of Allegiance lawful, and ſhould permit the taking of it by the Catholick Subjects*, he puts it off by pleading that he had no Commiſſion to declare therein one way or other. And thereupon he found ſome way to move the King for the permiſſion of an *Agent* from the Pope to be addreſſed to the Queen for the concernments of her Religion; which the King, with the Advice and Conſent of his Council, condeſcended to, upon condition that the party ſent ſhould be no Prieſt. This poſſibly might be the ſum of that account which the Archbiſhop tendred to the Queen at *Greenwich* on the *Whitſontide* after *Panzani's* coming, which as it ſeems was only to make way for *Con* (of whom more hereafter) though for the better colour of doing ſomewhat elſe that might bring him hither, he compoſed the Rupture between the *Seculars* and the *Regulars* abovementioned.

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I cannot tell whether I have hit right or not upon theſe particulars: But ſure I am, that he reſolved to ſerve the Queen no further in her deſires than might conſiſt both with the honour and ſafety of the Church of *England*; which as it was his greateſt charge, ſo did he lay out the chief parts of his cares and thoughts upon it. And yet he was not ſo unmindful of the Foreign Churches, as not to do them all good offices when it came in his way, eſpecially when the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church of *England* was not concerned in the ſame. For in the year 1634. having received Letters from the Queen of *Bohemia* (with whom he held a conſtant courſe of Correſpondence) about the furtherance of a Collection for the exiled Miniſters of the *Palatinate*; he moved the King ſo effectually in it, that his Majeſty granted his Letters Patents for the ſaid Collection to be made in all parts of the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1625. Kingdom; which Letters Patents being ſealed and brought unto him for his further Direction in proſecution of the ſame, he found a paſſage in it which gave him no ſmall cauſe of offence, and was this that followeth; *viz.* "Whoſe caſes are the more to be deplored, for that "this extremity is fallen upon them for their ſincerity and conſtancy "in the true Religion which we together with them profeſſed, and "which we are all bound in conſcience to maintain to the utmoſt of "our powers; whereas theſe Religious and Godly perſons being in-"volved amongſt other their Country-men might have enjoyed their "Eſtates and Fortunes, if with other backſliders in the times of Tri-"al they would have ſubmitted themſelves to the *Antichriſtian* Yoke, "and have renounced or diſſembled the Profeſſion of the true Reli-"gion. Upon the reading of which paſſage he obſerved two things: Firſt, That the Religion of the *Palatine* Churches was declared to be the ſame with ours. And ſecondly, That the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *Rome* is called an *Antichriſtian Yoke*; neither of which could be approved of in the ſame terms in which they were preſented to him. For firſt he was not to be told, that by the Religion of thoſe Churches all the *Calvinian* Rigors in the point of Predeſtination and the reſt depending thereupon were received as Orthodox; that they maintain a Parity of Miniſters directly contrary both to the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*; and that *Pareus*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*, (who was not to be thought to have delivered his own ſenſe only in that point) aſcribes a power to inferiour Magiſtrates to curb the power, control the perſons and reſiſt the Authority of Soveraign Princes, for which his Comment on the *Romans* had been publickly burnt by the appointment of King *James*, as before is ſaid. Which as it plainly proves, that the Religion of thoſe Churches is not altogether the ſame with that of ours, ſo he conceived it very unſafe that his Majeſty ſhould declare under the Great Seal of *England*, that both himſelf and all his Subjects were bound in conſcience to maintain the Religion of thoſe Churches with their utmoſt power. And as unto the other point he looked upon it as a great Controverſie, not only between ſome Proteſtant Divines and the Church of *Rome*, but between the Proteſtant Divines themſelves, hitherto not determined in any Council, nor poſitively defined by the Church of *England*; and therefore he conceived it as unſafe as the other, that ſuch a doubtful controverſie, as that of the *Popes* being *Antichriſt*, ſhould be determined Poſitively by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, of which there was great difference even amongſt the Learned, and not reſolved on in the Schools. With theſe objections againſt that paſſage he acquaints his Majeſty, who thereupon gave order that the ſaid Letters Patents ſhould be cancelled, and new ones to be drawn, in which that clauſe ſhould be corrected or expunged; and that being done, the ſaid Letters Patents to be new ſealed, and the ſaid Collection to proceed according to the Archbiſhops firſt deſires and propoſition made in that behalf.

Cant. Doom, P. 392.

P. 540.

But before this Collection was finiſhed, and the money returned,

Charles

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Charles Lodowick, Prince Elector *Palatine*, eldeſt ſurviving Son of the Queen of *Bohemia*, comes into *England* to beſtow a viſit on his Uncle, and to deſire his aid and counſel for the recovery of the Electoral Dignity and Eſtate which did of right belong unto him. On the twenty ſecond of *November* this preſent year 1635. he comes to *Whitehall*, graciouſly welcomed by the King, who aſſigned him for his quarters in the Court, the Lodgings properly belonging to the Prince his Son, where he continued whilſt he made his abode in *England*, except ſuch times as he attended his Majeſty in his Summers Progreſs. Knowing how forward the Archbiſhop had expreſſed himſelf in doing all ready Services for the Queen his Mother, and the good offices which he had done for her ſake to the diſtreſſed Miniſters of his Dominions, on the 30 day of the ſame Month he croſt over to *Lambeth*, and was preſent with the Archbiſhop at the Evening Prayer then very ſolemnly performed; and upon that day fortnight came unexpectedly upon him, and did him the honour to dine with him. And that he might the better endear himſelf to the Engliſh Nation by ſhewing his conformity and approbation of the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* here by Law eſtabliſhed, he did not only diligently frequent the Morning and Evening Service in his Majeſties Cloſet, but upon *Chriſtmas* day received the Communion alſo in the *Chappel Royal* of *Whitehall*. For whoſe accommodation, at the receiving of it, there was a Stool placed within the *Traverſe*, on the left hand of his Majeſty, on which he ſate while the Remainder of the Anthem was ſung, and at the Reading of the Epiſtle, with a lower Stool and a Velvet Cuſhion to kneel upon both in the preparatory Prayers, and the Act of Receiving, which he moſt reverently performed to the great content of all beholders. During his being in the Court he publiſhed two Books in Print by the advice of the King and Council, not only to declare his Wrongs, but aſſert his Rights. The firſt he called by the name of a *PROTESTATION*, againſt all the unlawful and violent proceedings and actions againſt him and his Electoral Family. The ſecond, called the *MANIFEST*, concerning the right of his Succeſſion in the Lands, Dignities, and Honours, of which his Father had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed by the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Second. After which Preparatory writings, which ſerved to no other effect than to juſtifie his own and the Kings proceedings in the eye of the world, he was put upon a courſe for being furniſhed both with men and mony to try his fortune in the Wars, in which he wanted not the beſt aſſiſtance which the Archbiſhop could afford him by his Power and Counſels. But as he laboured to advance his Intereſs in the recovery of his Patrimony and Eſtates in *Germany*, ſo he no leſs laboured to preſerve the Intereſs of the Church of *England* againſt all dangers and diſturbances which might come from thence. And therefore when ſome buſie heads, at the time of the Princes being here, had publiſhed the Book entituled, *A Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies of the* Palſgraves *Churches*; A courſe was took to call it in, for the ſame cauſe, and on the ſame prudential grounds on which the Letters Patents before mentioned, had been ſtopt and altered. The Prince was welcome, but the Book might better

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

better have ſtayed at home, brought hither in *Dutch*, and here tranſlated into Engliſh, Printed, and expoſed to the publick view, to let the vulgar Reader ſee how much we wanted of the Purity and ſimplicity of the *Palatine* Churches.

But we muſt now look back on ſome former Counſels in bringing ſuch refractory Miniſters to a juſt conformity in publiſhing his Majeſties *Declaration* about lawful Sports, as neither arguments and perſwaſions could prevail upon. And that the Suffragan Biſhops might receive the more countenance in it, the Archbiſhop means not to look on, but to act ſomewhat in his own Dioceſs which might be exemplary to the reſt, ſome troubleſom perſons there were in it, who publickly oppoſed all eſtabliſht orders, neither conforming to his Majeſties Inſtructions, nor the *Canons* of the Church, nor the Rubricks in the publick Liturgy. *Culmer* and *Player*, two men of the ſame affections, and ſuch as had declared their inconformity in former times, were preſt unto the publiſhing of this *Declaration*; *Brent* acting in it as Commiſſary to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, (not Vicar General to the Archbiſhop) of the Province of *Canterbury*. On their refuſal ſo to do, they were called into the Conſiſtory, and by him ſuſpended. Petitioning the Archbiſhop for a releaſe from that ſuſpenſion, they were anſwered by him, *That if they knew not how to obey, he knew as little how to grant.* He underſtood them to be men of *Factious ſpirits*, and was reſolved to bring them to a better temper, or elſe to keep them from diſturbing the publick peace. And they reſolving on the other ſide, not to yield obedience, continued under this ſuſpenſion till the coming in of the *Scottiſh* Army, not long before the beginning of the Long Parliament, *Anno* 1640. which wanted little of four years before they could get to be releaſed. *Wilſon*, another of the ſame Crew, was ſuſpended about the ſame time alſo, and afterwards ſeverely ſentenced in the *High Commiſſion*, the profits of his Living ſequeſtred, (as the others were) and liberal aſſignments made out of it for ſupplying the Cure. In which condition he remained for the ſpace of four years, and was then releaſed on a motion made by *Dering* in the Houſe of Commons, at the very opening, in manner, of the Long Parliament; that being the occaſion which was taken by them to bring the Archbiſhop on the Stage, as they after did. And though he ſuſpended, or gave order rather for ſuſpending of no more than theſe; yet being they were leading-men, and the chief ſticklers of the Faction in all his Dioceſs, it made as much noiſe as the great Perſecution did in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. By one of which firſt County we are told in general, "That being promoted to this dignity, he thought he was now "*Plenipotentiary* enough, and in full capacity to domineer as he liſted, "and to let his profeſt enemies feel the dint of his Spirit, but more "particularly, that he cauſed the Book of Sports to be publiſhed, "for no other reaſon than to gall and vex thoſe Godly Divines, "whoſe Conſciences would not vail to ſo much impiety, as to "promote the Work; and finally, That thereupon many of the "moſt ſound and orthodox Belief, were compelled to deſert their "Stations, and abandon their Livings, in which their livelihood con-

Cant. Doom. P. 149.

P. 4.

"conſiſted, rather then to ſubmit unto it. And here I had took my leave of *Kent*, but that I muſt firſt paſs thorow the Dioceſs of *Rocheſter*, where I find one *Snelling* to have been both Suſpended and Excommunicated on the ſame account (ſome other Inconformities (as not bowing at the Name of *JESUS*) being taken into the Reckoning) by *Wood* then Chancellor of that Dioceſs under Biſhop *Bowles*, and afterwards Sentenced to a Deprivation on the ninth of *February* 1637. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1636. (c 151.)

But as for that great Perſecution in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* (greater, if *Burton* were to be believed, than any which hapned to the Church in Queen *Maries* Days) we ſhall hear it thus Preached up in that ſeditious Sermon of his, which he was pleaſed to entitle *For God and the King*; in which he telleth us, *That in thoſe Counties they had made the greateſt havock of good Miniſters (and their Flocks now left deſolate and expoſed to the Wolves, as Sheep without their Shepherd) as our eyes had ever ſeen; That there were already threeſcore Miniſters in that one Dioceſs Suſpended, and between three and fourſcore more had time given them till Chriſts-tide, by which time they muſt either bid their good Conſciences farewell, or elſe their precious Miniſtry, and therewith their neceſſary Means: And finally, That in all Queen* Maries *Time there was not ſo great a havock made (in ſo ſhort a time) of the faithful Miniſters of God, in any part of, yea, in the whole Land.* *Wren* had not long before ſucceeded *Corbet* in the See of *Norwich*; a man who very well underſtood his Work, and reſolved to do it: but finding himſelf more deeply galled with theſe Reproaches, than he had deſerved, he cauſed his Regiſters to be ſearched, and the Acts of his Court to be examined, out of which we may take this ſhort Account of his Proceedings; that is to ſay, 1. *That the Clergie of that Dioceſs, comprehending all that are in Spiritual Dignity or Office, and all Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and School-Miſters (taking in the Lecturers withal) amount unto the number of* 1500, *or thereabouts.* 2. *That there were not above thirty of all ſorts involved in any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure of what kind ſoever, and not above ſixteen Suſpended.* 3. *That of thoſe ſixteen, eight were then Abſolved, for a time of further trial to be taken of them, and two did voluntarily reſign their Places; ſo that there were but ſix Suſpended abſolutely, and perſiſting ſo.* 4. *That of the Reſidue, one was deprived, after notorious Inconformity for twelve years together, and final Obſtinacy after ſeveral Admonitions; eight Excommunicated for not appearing at the Court, and four inhibited from Preaching; of which four, one by Trade had been a* Draper, *another a* Weaver, *and a third a* Tayler. 5. *That for the other number between ſixty and eighty, which were Suſpended upon day till Chriſtmas, upon the Examination of the Regiſter there appear but eight, and thoſe not all Suſpended neither, two being Excommunicated for not appearing in the Court.* And 6. *Taking it for granted, That ſixty of all ſorts had been Suſpended, as it was ſuggeſted in the Libel; yet ſixty in ſo great a number, comes to no more than four in one hundred, which would not have been looked upon as a Perſecution in Queen* Maries *days, nor in a time of better temper and more moderation than the* Libeller *deſerved to live in.* And yet the H.B. p. 65.

Miniſter

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636. Minister of *Lincoln* Diocess, in his *Holy Table* must needs fly out against this Bishop, *comparing him unto a* Wren *mounted on the wings of an* Eagle, and finding by the *Index* to the *Acts and Monuments*, That the Bishop of *Norwich* sent out Letters of Persecution.

And yet it was not thought sufficient to justifie themselves in matter of fact, unless they Advocated for themselves, and the King under whom they acted by strong Reasons also. And first, it was alledged in behalf of the King (who had commanded the said Declaration to be published by Order from the Bishops, in all the Churches of their several and respective Dioceses) That all the Commands of the King, which are not upon the first inference and illation contrary to a clear passage in the Word of God, or to an evident Sun-beam of the Law of Nature, are precisely to be obeyed. 2. That it was not enough to find a remote and possible Inconvenience that might ensue therefrom; for every good Subject is bound in conscience to rest assured, That his Prince, environed with such a Council, will be able to discover, and as ready to prevent any ill sequel that may come of it, as himself possibly can be. And 3. That we must not by disobeying our Prince, commit a certain Sin, in preventing a probable but contingent Inconveniency. And then it was alledged in behalf of themselves, That the Declaration was commanded to be published by Order from the Bishops in the Parish Churches; That there were none on whom the Bishops could impose the Publishing of it in the Churches of their several Dioceses, but the Ministers only; which was a sufficient warrant for them to enjoyn the Ministers to do it. And lastly, That though no Penalty was prescribed in it to such as should refuse to publish the same; yet that some Penalty was implyed, or otherwise the Command had been impertinent, and to no purpose and effect whatsoever. Finally, it was alledged, in respect of those who were enjoyned the publishing of it, That there was nothing contained in the said Declaration, which was either plainly contrary to the Word of God, or the Canons of the Church, or the Laws of the Land, or the Practice of the Protestant or Reformed Churches in all parts of the World; That if it should appear otherwise with some scrupulous men, yet even those scrupulous men were bound to obey their Superiors in making publication of it (*a*), for fear of dissolving by their disobedience the whole frame of Government; That if it should be lawful for particular Persons first to dispute, and afterwards to disobey the Commands of those higher Powers, to which the Lord had made them subject, the Subject would seem to be in a better condition, and more absolutely at his own disposing, than the Soveraign was; That by the Laws a Sheriff is bound to publish his Majesties Proclamations, though tending to the Apprehension of his dearest Friends, or otherwise containing matter of dangerous consequence to the Publick Interest; That a Presbyter or Minister without any sin, may safely pronounce an Excommunication, legally delivered unto him, though in his own private conscience he be convinced, that the Party is unjustly excommunicated; That when the *Jews* commanded by *Antiochus*, gave up the Divine Books to his Officers to be destroy-

(a) *Pereunte obsequio imperium etiam intercidit, Si ubi imperatur, quærere singulis liceat.* Tacit. Hist. l. 1.

deſtroyed, it was afterwards adjudged in favour of them by *Optatus* Biſhop of *Milevis*, a right godly man, to be (*a*) ſin rather in them that commanded, than of thoſe who with fear and ſorrow did obey their *Mandates*; That when the Emperour *Mauritius* had made an Edict, That no Souldier ſhould be admitted into any Monaſtery, and ſent it to be publiſhed by *Gregory* ſirnamed the Great, the Pope forthwith diſperſed it into all parts of the Chriſtian World, (*b*) becauſe he was ſubject to his command; though in his own judgment he conceived the ſaid Edict to be unlawful in it ſelf, and prejudicial unto many particular perſons, as well in reference to their ſpiritual as their temporal benefit; and finally, That it was reſolved by St. *Auguſtine*, in his Book againſt *Fauſtus* the *Manichee*, *cap.* 75. That a Chriſtian Souldier fighting under a Heathen Prince, may lawfully purſue the War, or exerciſe the Commands of his immediate or Superior Officers, in the courſe of his Service, though he be not abſolutely aſſured in the juſtice of the one, or the expedience of the other. Such were the Reaſons urged in behalf of all Parties concerned in this buſineſs; and ſuch the Defences which were made for ſome of them in matter of fact: but neither the one nor the other could allay that ſtorm which had been raiſed againſt him by the Tongues and Pens of unquiet Perſons; of which more anon.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

(a) *Peccatum imperantis & minantis; non populi, cum dolore & tremore ſecundantis.* Optat. lib. 7.

(b) *Quia erat ſubjectus ejus juſſionibus.* Greg. Mag. lib. 2. Ep. 61.

Nor was the Clamour leſs which was raiſed againſt ſuch of the Biſhops as either preſſed the uſe of his Majeſties Inſtructions, concerning Lecturers, and ſilencing the *Arminian* Controverſies; or urged the Miniſters of their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes, to uſe no other form of Prayer before their Sermons than that which was preſcribed *Canon* 55. It had been prudently obſerved, That by ſuffering ſuch long Prayers as had accuſtomably been uſed of late before the Sermons of moſt Preachers; the Publick Liturgie of the Church had been much neglected; That the *Puritan* Preachers for the moſt part had reduced all Gods Service in a manner to thoſe Pulpit-Prayers; That the People in many places had forborn to go into the Church till the Publick Liturgie was ended, and theſe Prayers begun; That by this means ſuch Preachers prayed both what they liſted, and how they liſted; ſome ſo ſeditiouſly, that their very Prayers were turned into Sin; others ſo ignorantly and impertinently, that they diſhonoured God and diſgraced Religion. For remedy whereof, it was thought convenient by the Archbiſhop, and ſome other Prelates, to reduce all to the form of Prayers appointed in the *Canon* above-mentioned, according to the like form preſcribed in the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth*, and before her time by King *Edward* the Sixth, and before his time alſo by King *Henry* the Eighth; practiſed accordingly in the times of their ſeveral Reigns, as appears by the Sermons of Biſhop *Latimer*, Biſhop *Gardiner*, Archbiſhop *Parker*, Biſhop *Jewell*, Biſhop *Andrews*, , and generally by all Divines of the Church of *England*, till by the artifices and endeavours of the *Puritan* Faction, theſe long Prayers of their own making had been taken up, to cry down the *Liturgie*. Which being in charge in the Viſitation, and afterwards in the Articles of ſeveral Biſhops, made as much noiſe amongſt ignorant

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and factious People, under colour of quenching the Spirit of God, expreſſed in ſuch extemporary Prayers of the Preachers conceiving, as ſilencing the Doctrines of *Predeſtination*, changing the afternoons Sermons into Catechiſings, and regulating the Extravagances of ſome of their Lecturers, under the colour of a Plot to ſuppreſs the Goſpel.

In which laſt Calumny, as moſt of the Biſhops had a ſhare, ſo did it fall as heavy on *Pierce* of *Bath* and *Wells*, as on any other, though he did nothing in that kind, but what he was required to do by the Kings Inſtructions. His crimes were, That he had commanded the Miniſters in his Dioceſs to turn their afternoons Sermons into *Catechiſings*, and thoſe *Catechiſings* to be made according to the Queſtions and Anſwers in the *Catechiſm* authoriſed by Law, and extant in the Book of Common Prayer; which ſome few abſolutely refuſing to conform unto; and others (contrary to the meaning of the ſaid Inſtructions) taking ſome Catechiſm-point for their Text, and making long Sermons on the ſame, were by him ſuſpended, and ſo continued till they found a greater readineſs in themſelves to obey their *Ordinary*. But the great Rock of Offences againſt which they ſtumbled, and ſtumbling filled all places with their Cries and Clamours, was, That he had ſuppreſſed the *Lecturers* in moſt parts of his Dioceſs; and ſome report, That he proceeded ſo far in it as to make his brag, (not without giving great Thanks to God for his good Succeſs) *That he had not left one Lecturer in all his Dioceſs, of what ſort ſoever, whether he Lectured for his Stipend, or by a voluntary combination of ſome Miniſters amongſt themſelves.* Which if it ſhould be true, (as I have ſome reaſon to believe it is not) ought to be rather attributed to ſome exiliency of humane frailty, (of which we are all guilty more or leſs) than to be charged amongſt his Sins. But for his Actings in this kind, as alſo for his vigorous proceedings in the Caſe of *Beckington*, he had as good Authority as the Inſtructions of the King, and the Directions of his Metropolitan could inveſt him in. And ſo far *Canterbury* juſtified him in the laſt particular, as to take the blame (if any thing were blame-worthy in it) upon himſelf, though then a Priſoner in the Tower, and under as much danger as the Power and Malice of his Enemies could lay upon him: For ſuch was his undaunted Spirit, that when *Aſh*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, demanded of him in the Tower, Whether the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* had received his Directions from him in the Caſe of *Beckington*? he anſwered roundly, That he had; and that the Biſhop had done nothing in it, but what became an obedient *Dioceſan* to his *Metropolitan*. So careful was he of preſerving thoſe who had acted under him, that he choſe rather to augment the number of his own misfortunes, then occaſion theirs. If all the Biſhops of that time had joined their hearts and hands together, for carrying on the work of Uniformity, as they were required, the Service might have gone more happily forwards, and the Envy would have been the leſs by being divided: but leaving the whole burden upon ſo few, and turning it over to their Chancellors and Under-Officers (if they did ſo much) they did not only, for as much

Cant. Doom. p. 100.

as much as in them was, destroy the business, but expose such as took care of it, to the publick hatred. For such was their desire to ingratiate themselves amongst the people, that some of them being required to return the names of such Ministers as refused the reading of the Book, made answer, That they would not turn *Informers* against their Brethren, there being enough besides themselves to perform that Office. Others conceived, that they had very well performed their duty, and consulted their own peace and safety also, by waving all Proceedings against them in their own *Consistories*, wherein they must appear as the principal Agents, and turning them over to be censured by the *High-Commission*, where their Names might never come in question. The like done also in transposing the Communion Table; in which it was believed by many, that they had well complied with all expectations, if they did not hinder it, but left the Ministers to proceed therein as best pleased themselves; or otherwise, to fight it out with the Church-wardens, if occasion were.

And yet the fortune of the Church had not been so wretched, if none of that Order had pulled down more with one hand, than many of the rest had built up with both. The *Metropolitical Visitation* being held in the Dioces of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1635. Order was given by *Brent*, as in other places, for Railing in the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel, and there to dispose of it under the Eastern Wall, with the ends of it North and South. In order whereunto, it was found necessary in many places to remove such Seats as had been built in that end of the Chancel, for the use and ease of private Persons. The Church-wardens of St. *Mary Towres* in the Borough of *Ipswich*, a Town of great Wealth and Trade in the County of *Suffolk*, refusing to remove such Seats, and advance the Table in their rooms, were Excommunicated for their obstinacy and contempt, by one of *Brent's* Surrogates for that *Visitation*. The Church-wardens, animated by some of the Town, who had better Purses than themselves, appeal unto the Dean of the *Arches*, and after exhibited a Bill in the *Star-Chamber* against the Surrogate: but without remedy from either. And on these terms the business stood, when *Wren* succeeded *Corbet* in the See of *Norwich*; and looking upon *Ipswich* as a place of great influence and example on the rest of the Dioces, took up his dwelling in the same. It was not long before he came to understand, that a great part of the opposition which was made as well against himself, as the Vicar-General, about the removing and railing in of the Holy Table, proceeded from a Letter written from the Bishop of *Lincoln* to the Vicar of *Grantham*; which though it was written some years since, and had long been dead; yet now it was revived again; and the Copies of it scattered in all parts of the Kingdom (the better to discourage or discountenance the Work in hand): but no where more than in the Dioces of *Norwich*, being next neighbour unto *Lincoln*, and under the inspection of a diligent and active Prelate. Some of them coming to his Hand, and an Advertisement withal, That they were ordinarily sold amongst the Booksellers in *Duck-lane* in written Copies, it was thought fit that an answer should be made unto it; in

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636. which the Sophistry, Mistakes, and Falshoods of that Letter, whosoever was the Writer of it, might be made apparent: Which Answer being made ready, approved, and licenced, was published about the middle of *May*, under the Title of *A COAL from the ALTAR, or, An Answer to a Letter not long since written to the Vicar of* Grantham, *against the placing of the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel*, &c. As it cooled the heat of some, so it inflamed the hearts of others, not with Zeal, but Anger; the Book occasioning much variety of Discourse on both sides, as men stood variously affected in the present Controversie: But long it will not be before we shall hear of a Reply unto it, a Rejoynder unto that Reply, and other Writings *pro* and *con*, by the Parties Interessed.

But it had been to little purpose to settle a Conformity in Parochial Churches, if Students in the Universities (the constant Seminaries of the Church) were not trained up to a good perswasion of the Publick Counsels: Upon which ground it had been prudently Ordained in the *Canons* of the year 1603. not only, *That the prescribed Form of Common Prayer should be used in all Colledges and Halls*; but, *That the Fellows and Scholars of the said Houses should wear the Surplice at those Prayers on the Sundays and Holy-days, the better to inure them to it, when they came to any Publick Ministry in their several Churches.* Many things had been done at *Cambridge* in some years last past, in order to the Work in hand; as beautifying their Chappels, furnishing them with Organs, advancing the Communion Table to the place of the Altar, adorning it with Plate and other Utensils for the Holy Sacrament, defending it with a decent Rail from all prophanations, and using lowly Reverence and Adorations, both in their coming to those Chappels, and their going out: But in most Colledges, all things stood as they had done formerly; in some there were no Chappels at all, or at the best, some places used for Chappels, but never Consecrated. In *Sidney* Colledge the old *Dormitory* of the *Franciscans* (on the *Site* of which *Friery* the said Colledge was built) was after some years trimmed and fitted, and without any formal Consecration converted to a *House of Prayer*; though formerly, in the opinion of those who allowed thereof, it had been no better nor worse than a *Den of Thieves*. The Chappel of *Emanuel* Colledge, though built at the same time with the rest of the House, was both irregular in the situation, and never Consecrated for Divine and Religious uses. And what less could this beget in the minds of the Students of those Houses, than an Opinion touching the indifferency of such Consecrations, whether used, or not? and at the last a positive Determination, *That the continued Series of DIVINE DUTIES in a place set apart to that purpose, doth sufficiently Consecrate the same?* And what can follow thereupon in some tract of time, but the executing of all Divine Offices in Private Houses, the Ruine and Decay of Churches, the selling of their Materials, and alienating their Glebe and Tythes to the next fair Chapman? It is therefore thought expedient to carry on the Visitation to that University, and put such things in order there, as were found in this. But against this the University opposed, pretending

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ing an exemption from his Jurisdiction, by their ancient Priviledges; and that they had no Visitor but his Majesty only. But *Canterbury*, who before had over-ruled the like Plea in the Bishop of *Lincoln*, would not give way to this of *Cambridge*, which caused the matter on both sides to be thorowly canvased: But neither yielding to the other, and the Earl of *Holland* stickling strongly for the University (of which he had the Honour to be chosen Chancellor on the death of the Duke) the deciding of the Controversie is referred to his Majesty. On *Tuesday June* 21. they both appear before the King at *Hampton-Court*, where the Counsel of both sides being heard, it pleased his Majesty to give Judgment for the Metropolitan, and to submit that University to his Visitation: But before any thing was done in it, the Troubles in *Scotland*, and the Disturbances at home, kept it off so long, that a greater Visitation fell upon the Visitor, than could have hapned unto them. Howsoever, the bare Reputation of it did prevail so far, that many who were slack or fearful in embellishing their Chappels and publick Places of Divine Worship, went on more confidently then before; insomuch that not only in the Chappels of some private Colleges, but in St. *Maries* Church it self, being the Publick Church of that University, the Table was railed in like an Altar, towards which many of the Doctors, Scholars, and others usually bowed.

LIB. IV *Anno Dom.* 1636.

In *Oxon.* where he was more absolute, he found less comptrol. Chancellor of the University by their own Election, Visitor of the Colledges of *All Souls* and *Merton* in the right of his See, and such a Patron to the rest, that he could hardly recommend that Affair unto them, which they did not expedite. In many of their Letters and Addresses to him, they gave him the Title of *His Holiness*, and *most Holy Father*; which though appropriated to the Pope in the darker Times, were generally communicated to all Christian Bishops in the clear Sun-shine of the Gospel. And on the other side, in his Missives and Dispatches to them, he recommends himself unto their Devotions, beseeching them, That as often as they made their approaches toward the Altar, they would remember him in their Prayers (a) to Almighty God. He had his breeding (as before was said) in that University, and could not chuse but know, That many of the old Statutes were grown out of use by the change of Religion; others, by long neglect and discontinuance; some never rightly understood; and all so mingled and confounded, that it was very hard to say which of them were in force, which not; and yet all Students bound to keep them under corporal Oaths, if not at their first Matriculations, yet at their taking of Degrees. For remedy whereof, with great pains and judgment, he digested a new Body of Statutes, to serve as a perpetual standing Rule for their future Government, as well in commanding as obeying: Which being first sent down unto them, advisedly considered of, explained, corrected, and accommodated to their best advantages, were afterward revised by him, and upon full deliberation engrossed in Vellum, fairly bound up, confirmed by his most Sacred Majesty, and so obtained the strength of Laws:

(a) *Inter cætera etiam sitis memores mei precatoris, &c.*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

Laws: Received and publiſhed for ſuch in the *Convocation*, on *Wedneſday June* 22, being the morrow after the Judgment had paſſed on his ſide at *Hampton-Court*, for the Viſitation at *Cambridge*. And in thoſe Statutes, he took care that the *Vice-Chancellor*, *Proctors*, and all *Proceeders*, year by year in their ſeveral *Faculties*, (*b*) ſhould make their Offerings with that due and accuſtomed Reverence at the Holy Table. He procured alſo from his Majeſty a Confirmation of their former Priviledges over the Town, and an enlargement of them alſo in reſpect of the *Londoners*: By which laſt they were enabled to Print all Books, which either his Majeſties Printers or the Company of *Stationers* had engroſſed to themſelves, as Bibles, Common-Prayer Books, Homilies, Grammars, *&c.* which brought them in a Compoſition of 200 *l. per Annum* for the times enſuing. Nor could his Care and Providence for the encouragement of Learning, be confin'd to this ſide of the Sea, the like courſe being taken by him ſhortly after, as well for reviſing and perfecting the broken Statutes of the Colledge near *Dublin*, as the enlarging of the Priviledges of that Univerſity.

(b) *Ad ſacram Euchariſtiæ Menſam cum debita reverentia oblationes faciant.*

And yet he could not hold his hand, till he had added Bounty and Munificence to his former Cares. The Univerſity of *Oxon.* was long ſince honoured with the Title of *Generale Studium* (*a*), conferred upon none elſe in the former times, but the Univerſities of *Paris* in *France*, *Bononia* in *Italy*, and *Salamanca* in *Spain*: In all which, by a Decree of Pope *Clement* the Fifth, in the Council of *Vienna* in *France*, *Anno* 1511. it was Ordained, *That there ſhould be Profeſſors of the* Hebrew, Greek, Arabick, *and* Chaldean *Languages*: But it was only ſo Ordained, no execution following on it till ſome Ages after. The *Arabick* Tongue was known in *Spain*, by reaſon of the great Command which the *Moors* had in that Country: but never entertained in any of the other three. And as for the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Chaldee*, thoſe times were ſo extremely ignorant of them, that the Study of the *Greek* Tongue was ſufficient to condemn a man of *Hereſie*; and a ſmall ſpattering in the *Hebrew*, made him ſubject unto ſome ſuſpicion of *Heretical Fancies*. And ſo it ſtood till *Reuchlin* and *Budæus* in *France*, *Eraſmus* and *Paulus Fagius* in *England*, reſtored again the *Greek* and *Hebrew* to thoſe ſeveral Nations. The *Greek* ſo coarſly entertained in this Univerſity, whilſt *Eraſmus* taught it quietly enough at *Cambridge*, that when a (*b*) Learned young man began publickly to read the *Greek* Tongue there, he was encountred preſently in a poor but popular declamation, with baſe and barbarous Revilings. But long it was not before Cardinal *Wolſey* took a courſe to put this Univerſity into a way of Nobler Studies, founding therein two Publick Lectures for the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, with a liberal Salary (according to the Standard of that time) of 40 *l. per Annum* to either of them; which afterwards being confirmed by King *Henry* viii. continued without further encouragement and augmentation, till ſuch time as *Laud* was come to his *Aſcendent*; when by the Power and Favour which he had with his Majeſty, a *Canonry* in *Chriſt-Church* was annexed perpetually to the Publick Profeſſor for the *Hebrew*, Doctor *John Morris* being the firſt who enjoyed the benefit of that Grant: By means whereof, the

(a) *Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Arabicæ, Græcæ, Linguæ Studium propagandæ Fidei ergo in nobiliſſimis quatuor Europæ Academiis inſtituitur, &c.* Ex Angel. Rocha, p. 214.

(b) *Hiſt. of Cambridg, f.* 88.

Hebrew

Hebrew and *Chaldaick* Tongues, which few in *Oxon.* understood when I first came thither, became to be so generally embraced, and so chearfully studied, that it received a wonderful proficiency, and that too, in a shorter time than a man can easily imagine: So great a Spur the hope of Honour and Preferments, gives to Arts and Languages. But all this while, the *Arabick* was utterly laid aside in these parts of *Europe*; till, in conformity to the said Decree of the Council holden at *Vienna*, it came into our Archbishops mind to establish a Publick Lecture in that Language also; which having [illegible] a long time taken up his thoughts, was at last effected: The first Lecture in that Language, read publickly on the tenth of *August* in this present year; a Revenue of 40 *l. per Annum* setled upon the University for the maintenance of it; his first Professor in that Tongue being *Edward Pocock*, Fellow of *Corpus Christi* Colledge, one who had spent much time in the Factory of *Aleppo*, and other places of the East, returning home well studied in all the Languages of those Countries. And that *Rhetorick* might thrive as well under his Encouragements, as Grammar and the Tongues were in a hopeful way to do, he obtained from his Majesty another *Canonry* in *Christ-Church*, to be annexed for ever to the Orators place, (whose yearly Pension till that time was but twenty Nobles.) Injoyned first by Dr. *William Strode*, admitted thereunto on the first of *July*, *Anno* 1638. and after his decease by Dr. *Henry Hammond*, *Anno* 1644.

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Such were the benefits which the University received from him in this present year. And that he might both do himself and the University some honour in the eye of the Kingdom, he invites the King, the Queen, the Prince *Elector*, and his Brother, to an Academical entertainment, on the twenty ninth day of *August* then next following, being the Anniversary day, on which the Presidentship of St. *Johns* Colledge was adjudged to him by King *James*. The time being come, and the University put into a posture for that Royal Visit, their Majesties were first received with an eloquent Speech as he passed by the house, being directly in his way betwixt *Woodstock* and *Christ-Church*, not without great honour to the Colledge, that the Lord Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and one of the Proctors should be at that time of the same Foundation. At *Christ-Church* his Majesty was entertained with another Oration by *Strode*, the University Oratour; the University presenting his Majesty with a fair and costly pair of Gloves (as their custom was) the *Queen* with a fair English Bible, the Prince *Elector* with *Hookers* Books of *Ecclesiastical Politie*, his Brother *Rupert* with *Cæsars* Commentaries in *English*, illustrated by the learned Explanations and Discourses of Sir *Clement Edmonds*. His Majesty was lodged in *Christ-Church*, in the great Hall whereof (one of the goodliest in the World) he was entertained, together with the Queen, the two Princes, and the rest of the Court, with an English *Comedy*, (but such as had more of the Philosopher than the Poet in it) called, *Passions Calmed*, or *the settling of the Floating Islands*. On the morrow morning, being *Tuesday*, he began with a Sermon, Preacht before him in that Cathedral on these words

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1636. words of St. *Luke*, viz. *Bleſſed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord, peace in heaven, and glory in the higheſt*, Luke 19.38. The Sermon being ended, the Archbiſhop, as Chancellor of the Univerſity, calls a Convocation, in which he admits the Prince *Elector*, his Brother Prince *Rupert*, and many of the chief Nobility to the degree of *Maſters of Art*; and that being done, attends the King and Queen to St. *Johns* Colledge. Where in the new Gallery of his own building, he entertains the King and Queen, the two Princes, with all the Lords and Ladies of the Court, [illegible] a ſtately and magnificent Dinner, the King and Queen ſitting at one Table at the South end of the Room; the two Princes, with the Lords and Ladies, at a long Table, reaching almoſt from one end to the other; at which all the Gallantry and beauties of the Kingdom ſeemed to meet. Nor did he make Proviſion only for thoſe two Tables, but every Office in the Court had their ſeveral diets, diſpoſed of in convenient places for their reception with great variety of *Acbates*, not only ſufficient for contentment, but for admiration. After dinner he entertains his principal Gueſts with a pleaſant Comedy, preſented in the publick Hall; and that being done, attends them back again to *Chriſt-Church*, where they were feaſted after Supper with another Comedy, called, *The Royal Slave*; the Enterludes repreſented with as much variety of Scenes and motions as the great wit of *Inigo Jones* (Surveyor General of his Majeſties Works, and excellently well skilled in ſetting out a Court-*Maſque* to the beſt advantage) could extend unto. It was the day of St. *Felix* (as himſelf obſerveth) *and all things went happily*. On *Wedneſday* the next morning the Court removed, his Majeſty going that ſame night to *Wincheſter*, and the Archbiſhop the ſame day, entertaining all the Heads of Houſes at a ſolemn Feaſt, order being given at his departure, that the three Comedies ſhould be acted again, for the content and ſatisfaction of the Univerſity, in the ſame manner as before, but only with the Alteration of the Prologues and Epilogues.

But to return unto the publick. On the ſame day in which the new Statutes were received at *Oxon.* he procured a Supplement to be added to the old Statutes of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, touching the letting of their Lands. Some Informations had been given, that the *Deans* and *Prebends* of thoſe Churches had enricht themſelves, their Wives and Children by taking great Fines, for turning leaſes of twenty one years into leaſes for lives, leaving their Succeſſors deſtitute of that growing means, which otherwiſe might come in to help them. This was the outſide of the buſineſs, but the chief motive to it was, that the Gentry and Yeomanry (and ſome of the Nobility alſo) holding Lands of thoſe Churches, might have a greater reſpect to the Church and Church-men, when they muſt depend upon them from time to time for renewing of their ſaid Eſtates at the end of every ten or twelve years at the moſt. For though it be alike lawful by the Law of the Land, 13. *Eliz. c.* 20. to make Leaſes of three lives, or one and twenty years, at the pleaſure of the Dean and Chapter; yet the difference is ſo great between them, that once a Tenant to my knowledge, after a Leaſe for three lives had continued 29 years in being, choſe rather

rather to give a Fine for the change of one life than to take a new Leaſe of 21 years without paying any thing. All which his Majeſty taking into his Princely conſideration, he cauſed Letters under his Royal Signature to be ſent to all the Deans and Chapters of this Kingdom reſpectively, "Calling and commanding them upon pain of his "utmoſt diſpleaſure, that they preſumed not to let any Leaſe belonging to their Church into lives, which was not in lives already; and "further that when any fair opportunity was offered (if any ſuch be) "they fail not to reduce ſuch as are in lives, into years; requiring "further that thoſe his Majeſties ſaid Letters ſhould be exemplified in "the Regiſter-books of the ſaid Churches, and preſerved in the Regiſteries of the Biſhops of their ſeveral Dioceſs, to the end that the "ſaid Biſhop might take notice of their doing therein, and give his "Majeſty and his Succeſſors notice thereof, if any preſumed to diſobey. And in regard that ſome of the Deans of the ſaid Cathedrals were a Corporation of themſelves, and held their Lands diſtinct from the reſt of their Chapters; a clauſe was added to thoſe Letters to preſerve thoſe Lands for the benefit of their Succeſſors, as formerly in his Majeſties Inſtructions for ordering and diſpoſing the Lands of Biſhops on the like occaſions. His Majeſty therefore firſt declares, *That he had taken order by his late* Inſtructions, *that no Biſhop ſhould let any Leaſe after they had been named to a better Biſhoprick, but had not therein named the* Deans, *as he therein intended. And therefore ſecondly, That no Dean ſhould preſume from thenceforth, after his being named to a Biſhoprick, or a better Deanry, to renew any Leaſe either into lives or years: His Majeſty having well obſerved, that at ſuch times of remove many men care not what or how they let their Eſtates, to the prejudice of the Church and their Succeſſors. Which Letters bear date at* Greenwich *in the twelfth year of his Reign,* June 27. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1636.

Nor was he leſs careful to preſerve the Parochial Clergy from being oppreſſed by their neighbours in rates and taxes than he had been in maintaining the Eſtates of Capitular bodies, for the greater honour of thoſe bodies at the preſent time, and the benefit of Succeſſion for the time to come. During the Remiſs Government of King *James*, his Majeſties late embroylments with *France* and *Spain*, and his entanglements at home, the *Hollanders* had invaded the Regality of the Narrow Seas, and queſtioned the property of his Dominion in the ſame; not only growing to ſuch an height of inſolency, as to diſpute their ſtriking Sail in paſſing by any of his Majeſties Ships: but publiſhing a Diſcourſe in Latine, called, *Mare Liberum*, in defence thereof. Theſe affronts occaſioned *Noy*, the Atturney-General, to put his Majeſty in mind of ſetting out a ſtrong power of Ships for the recovery of his Rights againſt all pretenders. And the better to enable him for it, adviſeth him to ſet on foot the *old Naval Aide*, required of the Subject by his Predeceſſors. He was a man extreamly well verſed in old *Records*, with which conſulting frequently in the courſe of his ſtudies, he had excerpted and laid by many notes and precedents for the Kings levying of ſuch Naval Aide upon the Subjects, by his own Authority, whenſoever the preſervation and ſafety of the Kingdom did

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require it of them, which Notes and Precedents he had taken as they came in his way, in ſmall pieces of Paper (moſt of them no bigger than ones hand) he kept in the Coffin of a Pye, which had been ſent him by his Mother, and kept there till the mouldineſs and corruptibleneſs had periſhed many of his Papers. And by theſe Notes it did appear, that many times in the ſame years, wherein the Kings had received Subſidies by way of Parliament, they levied this *Naval Aide* by their own ſole power. For if (as he diſcourſed it to me at his houſe near *Brentford*) the King wanted money, either to ſupport his own expences, or for the enlarging of his Dominions in Foreign Conqueſts, or otherwiſe to advance his honour in the eye of the World, good reaſon he ſhould be beholden for it to the love of his People. But if the Kingdom was in danger, and that the ſafety of the Subject was concerned in the buſineſs, he might, and did raiſe ſuch ſums of money as he thought expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publick ſafety of him and his Subjects. According to which precedents he prepares a Writ, by which his Majeſty commandeth the Maritime Counties to provide a certain number of Ships for defence of the Kingdom, preſcribing to each Ship its ſeveral burden, the number of Mariners, and great Pieces of Ordnance, with Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition thereunto proportioned. The Subject not daring at the firſt to diſpute the Command, collected money for the Service according to the ſeveral rates impoſed on them in their ſeveral Counties; but dealt ſo unmercifully with the Clergy in the levying of it, that they laid upon them generally the fifth or ſixth part of the ſum impoſed. The Ice thus broken, and his Majeſty finding that proviſion not ſufficient to effect his purpoſe, iſſued out his Writs in the next year after, *Anno* 1635. into all the Counties of the Kingdom for preparing of a Royal Fleet to be in readineſs againſt the beginning of this year, in which the Clergy were as like to ſuffer as before they did. But the beſt was, that they had not only a gracious Patron, but a very powerful Mediator, Upon whoſe humble deſire his Majeſty was pleaſed to direct his Letters to all the Sheriffs in *England* reſpectively, requiring them that no Tax ſhould be laid upon any Clergy-man, poſſeſt of a Parſonage, above the tenth part of the Land-rate of their ſeveral Pariſhes; and that conſideration ſhould be had of the poor Vicars in their ſeveral Pariſhes according to their ſmall revenue, compared with the Abilities of the Pariſhioners amongſt whom they lived. The whole Sum levied by this Tax amounted to 236000 *l.* or thereabouts, which comes not to 20000 *l.* a month; and being inſtead of all other payments, ſeemed to be no ſuch heavy burthen as it was generally made by the Popular Party, many of which quarrelled and refuſed it.

But his Majeſty was too juſt a Prince to exact any thing by power, when he had neither Law nor Reaſon to make it good. And therefore as he had the opinion of all his Judges ſubſcribed by their hands for juſtifying the Legality of this Naval Tax amongſt the Subjects; ſo he thought fit to publiſh ſome defence of his Dominion, Right, and Soveraignty in the Narrow Seas for the ſatisfaction of his Neighbours.

John

John Selden of the Inner Temple, a name that stands in need of no *Titles of honour*, had written a Discourse in the time of King *James*, which (in answer to that of *Grotius*, called, *Mare Liberum*) he intituled by the name of *Mare Clausum*. But stomaching the submission and acknowledgment which he was forced to make in the *High Commission* for publishing his book of Tythes, and sensible of the smart which he had found from the Pens of *Tillesly*, *Montague*, and *Nettles*, in their Answers to him, he did not only suppress the Book which he had written in the Kings defence, but carried an evil eye to the Court and Church for a long time after. But being a man of great parts, and eminent in the retired walks of Learning, he was worth the gaining, which *Canterbury* takes upon him, and at last effecteth. By his perswasion he not only perfected, but published that laborious piece, which he dedicated to his Majesty, whose cause he pleaded. By whom it was so well approved, that he sent it by Sir *William Beecher* (one of the Clerks of his Council) to the Barons of the Exchequer in open Court, by them to be laid up as a most inestimable Jewel amongst the choice Records, which concerned the Crowns. In this book, which came out this year, he first asserts the Soveraignty or Dominion of the Brittish Seas to the Crown of *England*. And that being cleared, he proved by constant and continual practice, that the Kings of *England* used to levy money from the Subjects (without help of Parliament) for the providing of Ships and other necessaries to maintain the Soveraignty which did of right belong unto them. This he brought down unto the times of King *Henry* the Second, and might have brought it nearer to his own times had he been so pleased, and thereby paved a plain way to the payment of *Ship-money*, as they commonly called it. But then he must have croft the proceedings of the House of Commons in the last Parliament, (wherein he was so great a stickler) voting down under a kind of *Anathema* the Kings pretensions of right to all help from the Subject, either in *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, or any other way whatsoever, the Parliament not cooperating and contributing towards it. Howsoever the Service was as grateful as the Author acceptable, from henceforth both a frequent and a welcom guest at *Lambeth* house, where he was grown into such esteem with the Archbishop, that he might have chose his own preferment in the Court (as it was then generally believed) had he not undervalued all other employments in respect of his Studies. But possibly there might be some other reason for his declining such imployments as the Court might offer. He had not yet forgotten the affronts which were put upon him about his History of Tythes, (for in the notion of affronts he beheld them alwaies) and therefore did but make fair weather for the time, till he could have an opportunity to revenge himself on the Church and Church-men, the King being took into the reckoning. For no sooner did the Bishop begin to sink in power and credit under the first pressures of the late Long Parliament, but he published a book in Greek and Latine by the name *Eutichius*, with some Notes upon it. In which he made it his chief business to prove, that Bishops did no otherwise differ from the rest of the *Presbyters* then doth a Master

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of a Colledge from the reſt of the Fellows, by conſequents, that they differed only in *degree*, not *order*. And afterwards, when his Majeſty began to decline in the love of the Parliament, and that the heats grew ſtrong between them, he was affirmed to have written the Anſwer to his Majeſties Declaration about the *Commiſſion* of *Array*: Which in effect proved a plain putting of the Sword into the hands of the People. So hard it is for any one to diſcern the hearts of men by their outward actions, but the God that made them.

Thus leaving *England* for a time we muſt go for *Scotland*, in which we find the Canons finiſhed, and the Biſhops buſie and intent on a publick Liturgie. It was his Majeſties firſt intent to introduce the *Engliſh* Liturgie amongſt them; and to that end, had ordered that it ſhould be daily read in his Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, as before was ſaid. But *Ballentine*, the Biſhop of *Dumblaine*, and Dean of the Chappel (to whom the care thereof had been recommended) was ſo negligent in it, that the Archbiſhop found it neceſſary to remove him to ſome other Biſhoprick on the next avoidance. The See of *Aberdeen* proving vacant, he procured his tranſlation thither, and preferred *Wederbourne*, a *Scot* by birth, but bred in *Cambridge*, beneficed in *Hampſhire*, and made one of the *Prebends* of *Ely* by the learned *Andrews*, to be his Succeſſor in thoſe places. By this new *Dean* his Majeſties deſign was followed with more care then ever; and poſſibly might have took effect, if the reſt of the *Scottiſh* Biſhops had been pleaſed therewith as well as this. But the *Scottiſh* Biſhops having prevailed with his Majeſty, as before was noted, to have a diſtinct Liturgie of their own, His Majeſty commanded the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to give them the beſt aſſiſtance he could in that way and work; which notwithſtanding he delayed as long as he could, in hope to bring them in the end to a better perſwaſion. But finding them ſo reſolved upon it, that they could not be altered, he contributes his aſſiſtance to it, humbly intreated ſo to do by ſome Letters brought unto him by *Maxwell* (not long before made Biſhop of *Roſs*) bearing date *April* 2. 1635. and ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſcow*, the Biſhops of *Murrey*, *Dumblaine*, and *Brechine*. The Book being firſt hammered and prepared in *Scotland*, and from thence tranſmitted to the Court, his Majeſty referred it to the conſideration of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Treaſurer Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, and *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich*: But the Lord *Treaſurer* being taken up with other imployments, the burden of the work remained on the other two. They found on the peruſal of it that *Wederbourne* had followed ſuch inſtructions as he had carried with him about the making of that Book (if it muſt be made) in keeping ſo much in it of the *Engliſh* Liturgie, and they found alſo certain notes which he had ſent together with it, to the end that as many of them as his Majeſty liked, might be made uſe of in that book. Thus authoriſed and inſtructed they proceed unto the making of ſuch Alterations as were offered to them, conſiſting for the moſt part in theſe Particulars: First, *That the* Magnificat *and the reſt of the* Hymns, *together with the* Epiſtles *and* Goſpels, *ſhould be Printed according to the*

the laſt Tranſlation in the time of King James; *conform therein to ſuch Directions as they had received for Printing the* Pſalms of David *in the laſt Tranſlation.* Secondly, *That for the better ſinging of thoſe* Pſalms *to the* Organ, *a* Colon *ſhould be made in the middle of every Verſe, as it was in the* Engliſh. Thirdly, *That they could not agree to any more Emendations in the Creed of Saint* Athanaſius, *than they had noted in that Book.* Fourthly, *That though the Biſhops there deſired ſome time to conſider further of the Holydays, yet it was never otherwiſe meant, but that the Office appointed for every of them, ſhould be kept in the* Liturgie; *the Practice and Obſervation of them being reſpited for a time to their further thoughts.* Fifthly, *That though they admitted of all the Sentences which they found in the* Offertory, *yet they wiſhed that ſome which were in the* Engliſh *Book, might be added alſo.* Sixthly, *That every Prayer or Action through the whole Communion, ſhould be named in the* Rubrick *before it, that it might be known to the People what it is; as they ſhould find done to their hands in the Prayer of Conſecration, and the Memorial of Oblation next after following.* Seventhly, *That the* Invitation, Confeſſion, Abſolution, Sentences, Prefaces, *and* Doxologie, *ſhould be retained in the ſame place and Order which they had in the* Liturgie *of* England; *and that the Prayer of humble Acceſs to the Holy Table, would ſtand very well (as they conceived) before the very Act of* Participation. Eighthly, and finally, *That in the Margin of the Prayer of Conſecration, they ſhould adde ſome Note, directing him that Celebrates, at what words he ſhould take the* Patin *with the Bread on it, and the* Chalice *with the Wine in it, into his hands, according to the Practice of the Church of* England.

Theſe Alterations being not only made by his Majeſties Warrant, and approved by him in a Memorial under his Hand, bearing date the nineteenth day of *April* in this preſent year; but confirmed alſo with the like Royal Signature as they ſtood in the Book: Of which Particulars, and ſome others, the Biſhop gives an account to *Wederbourne* by his Letters of the twentieth of *April*, being the morrow after his Majeſty had Signed the ſaid Memorial. It ſeems that *Wederbourne* had given our Archbiſhop notice of ſome defects which he had found in the Book of Conſecration of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* as it was then uſed amongſt the *Scots*, viz. 1. *That the Order of* Deacons *was made but a* Lay-Office *at the beſt, as by that Book might be underſtood.* And 2. *That in the Admiſſion to the* Prieſthood, *the very eſſential words of conferring Orders were left out.* With which the King being made acquainted, he gave command to the Archbiſhop to make known unto them, That he would have them either to admit the *Engliſh* Book, or elſe to rectifie their own in thoſe two great over-ſights. After which, taking the whole buſineſs of that Church into his conſideration; it pleaſed him to direct his *Further Inſtructions* to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of it, bearing date on the eighteenth of *October* following; In which he requires them to take care, "That the Proclamation "to be made for Authoriſing the *Service-Book*, ſhould not derogate "in any thing from his Royal Prerogative. 2. That in their *Kalendar* "they ſhould keep ſuch Catholick Saints as were in the *Engliſh*, ſuch of

"the

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"the Saints as were moſt peculiar to that Kingdom (eſpcially thoſe "which were of the Royal Blood, and ſome of the moſt holy Bi- "ſhops) being added to them: but that in no caſe St. *George* and St. "*Patrick* be omitted. 3. That in their Book of *Ordination*, in giving "*Orders* to *Presbyters*, they ſhould keep the words of the *Engliſh* Book "without change, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. 4. That they ſhould "inſert among the *Leſſons* ordinarily to be read in the *Service*, out of "the Book of *Wiſdom* the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth "Chapters; and out of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, the firſt, ſecond, "fifth, eighth, thirty fifth, and forty ninth Chapters. 5. That every "Biſhop within his Family twice a day cauſe the *Service* to be read; "and that all Archbiſhops and Biſhops make all Univerſities and Col- "ledges within their Dioceſſes, to uſe daily twice a day the *Service*. "6. That the Preface to the Book of *Common Prayer*, Signed by his "Majeſties Hand, and the Proclamation for Authoriſing the ſame, "ſhould be Printed, and inſerted in the Book of *Common Prayer*. According to which *Inſtructions*, and the Corrections above-mention- ed, this *Liturgie* at the laſt (after it had been twenty years in conſide- ration) was fully finiſhed and concluded; and being thus finiſhed and concluded, was Ratified and Confirmed by his Majeſties Royal Edict, as followeth, *viz.*

CHARLES *By the Grace of God King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To Our* Lovits

Meſſengers, Our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and ſeverally, ſpecially conſtitute, Greeting. Foraſmuch as We, ever ſince Our entry to the Imperial Crown of this Our ancient Kingdom of Scotland, *eſpecially ſince Our late being here in the ſame, have divers times recommended to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops there, the publiſhing of a Publick Form of Service in the Worſhip of God, which We would have uniformly obſerved therein, and the ſame being now condeſcended unto: Although We doubt not but all our Subjects, both Clergie and others, will receive the ſaid Publick Form of Service; yet thinking it neceſſary to make Our Pleaſure known, touching the Authority thereof, Our Will is, and We ſtraightly command, That incontinent theſe Our Letters ſeen, you paſs, and in Our Name and Authority command and charge all our Subjects both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, by open Proclamation at the Market-Croſſes of the Head Burroughs of this Our Kindom, and other Places needful, to conform themſelves to the ſaid Publick Form of Worſhip, which is the only Form which We (having taken the Counſel of Our Clergie) think fit to be uſed in Gods Publick Worſhip in this Our Kingdom: Commanding alſo all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and other Presbyters and Church-men, to take a ſpecial care that the ſame be duly obeyed and obſerved, and the Contraveners condignly cenſured and puniſhed; to have ſpecial care that every Pariſh betwixt this and* Paſche *next, procure unto themſelves two at the leaſt of the ſaid Books of* Common-Prayer, *for the uſe of the Pariſh; The which to do, We commit to you conjunctly and ſeverally Our full Power by theſe Our* Letters Patents, *delivering the ſame to be by*

you

you duly executed, and endorsed again to be delivered to the Bearer. LIB. IV.
Given under Our Signet at *Edenborough*, 20 *December*, in the *Anno Dom.*
Twelfth year of Our Reign, 1636. 1636.

Such was the form of Passing and Confirming the *Scottish Liturgie*, never presented to that *Kirk*, nor tendred to the Approbation of any *General Assembly*; as in the Restitution of Episcopal Government, and Introduction of the five Articles of *Perth*, had been done before. And this is that at which the *Scottish* Presbyters did seem to be most offended; sufficiently displeased with any *Liturgie* at all, but more in having such an one as either was so near the *English*, or so different from it. Which fault, if any fault it were, is rather to be charged upon the *Scottish* than the *English* Prelates. For when the way of introducing it was in agitation, our Archbishop ever advised them, as well in his Majesties presence, as elsewhere, "To look carefully to *Hidd. Works* "it, and to be sure to do nothing in it but what should be agreeable p. 155. "to the Laws of the Kingdom; and not to fail of taking the Advice "of the Lords of the Council, and governing themselves according "to it. But as it seems, those Bishops durst not trust their Clergy, or venture the reception or refusal of it to the Vote of a *General Assembly*, from which they could not promise themselves any good success. So that the Case seems to be much like that of King *Edward* vi. when the first *Liturgie* was Composed by some few of the Bishops, and other Learned men (not above thirteen in number) especially thereto Authorised: Or unto that of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the second *Liturgie* of that King was fitted and corrected by her appointment. Neither of which durst trust their Clergy, but acted Sovereignly therein of their own Authority, not venturing either of the said Books to their Convocations: but only giving them the strength of an Act of Parliament; and then the Point in issue will be briefly this, *viz. Whether the King, consulting with a lesser part of the Bishops and Clergie, and having their consent therein, may conclude any thing in the way of a* Reformation, *the residue and greatest part not advised withal, nor yielding their consent in a formal way?* Now for my Answer, that it may be built upon the surer grounds, it is to be considered, 1. Whether the *Reformation* be in corruption of Manners, or abuses in Government? Whether in matters *Practical*, or in points of *Doctrine*. 2. If in matters *Practical*, Whether such Practice have the Character of *Antiquity*, *Universality*, and *Consent* imprinted on it? or that it be the Practice of particular Churches, and of some *Times* only? And 3. If in points of *Doctrine*, Whether such Points have been determined of before in a *General Council*, or in *Particular Councils* universally received and countenanced? or are to be defined *de novo* on emergent Controversies?

And these Distinctions being thus laid, I shall Answer briefly. 1. If the things to be reformed be either Corruptions in Manners, or neglect of Publick Duties to Almighty God, Abuses either in Government, or the Parties governing; the King may do it of himself, by his sole Authority: The Clergy are beholden to him, if he takes any

of

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of them along with him when he goes about it. And if the Times should be so bad, that either the whole body of the Clergy, or any (though the greatest) part thereof, should oppose him in it, he may go forwards notwithstanding, punishing such as shall gainsay him in so good a Work, and compelling others. And this I look on as a Power annexed to the Regal Diadem, and so inseparably annexed, that Kings could be no longer Kings, if it were denied them. And on the other side, if the Reformation be in Points of Doctrine, and in such Points of Doctrine as have not been before defined, or not defined in form and manner as before laid down, the King only, with a few of his Bishops and Learned Clergy (though never so well studied in the Point disputed) can do nothing in it. That belongs only to the whole body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* rightly called and constituted; whose Acts being Ratified by the King, bind not alone the rest of the Clergy, in whose name they Voted: but all the residue of the Subjects of what sort soever, who are to acquiesce in their Resolutions. But if the thing to be *Reformed* be a matter *Practical*, we are to look into the usage of the *Primitive Times*: And if the *Practice* prove to have been both ancient, and universally received over all the Church, though intermitted for a *Time*, and by *Time* corrupted, the King, consulting with so many of his Bishops, and others of his most able Clergy, as he thinks fit to call unto him, and having their Consent and Direction in it, may in the case of *intermission* revive such *Practice*, and in the case of *corruption* and *degeneration*, restore it to its Primitive and Original Lustre. Now that there should be *Liturgies* for the use of the Church, and that those *Liturgies* should be Celebrated in a Language understood by the People, That in those *Liturgies* there should be some prescribed Forms, for Giving the Communion in both Kinds, for Baptizing Infants, for the reverent Celebration of Marriage, performing the last Office to the Sick, and the decent Burial of the Dead; as also, for set Fasts and appointed Festivals, hath been a thing of Primitive and General Practice in the best times of the Church: And being such, though *intermitted* and *corrupted* as before is said, the King advising with his Bishops and other Church-men (though not in a *Synodical* way) may cause the same to be *revised* and revived; and having fitted them to Edification and encrease of Piety, either commend them to the Church by his sole Authority, or else impose them on the People under certain Penalties by his Power in Parliament. (a) *The Kingdom of Heaven* (said the Reverend *Isidore* of *Sevil*) *doth many times receive increase from these Earthly Kingdoms; in nothing more, than by regulating and well ordering of Gods Publick Worship.* Add hereunto what was before alledged, for passing the *Canons* in the same way; and then we have the sum of that which was, and probably might have been pleaded in defence hereof.

(a) *Sæpe Cœleste Regnum per Terrenum proficit.*

The prosecution of this *Liturgie* on the one side, and the exaction of those Publick Orders on the other, kindled such fires in the breasts of some of the *Puritan* Faction, that presently they brake out into open Flames. For first the *Scots* scattered abroad a virulent and seditious Libel in the year 1634, wherein the King was not only charged with altering

altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very ſtrong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. The chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmerino*; for which he was Legally convicted, and condemned of Treaſon: but pardoned by the Kings great Goodneſs, and by that Pardon kept alive for the miſchiefs following. And as the *Engliſh* had *Scotized* in all their Practiſes (by railing, threatning, and ſtirring up of Sedition) for bringing in the *Genevian* Diſcipline in Queen *Elizabeths* Time; ſo they reſolve to follow their Example now. *Baſtwick* a Doctor of *Phyſick* (the ſecond part of *Leighton*) firſt leads the Dance, beginning with a Peſtilent Pamphlet called *Flagellum Epiſcoporum Latialium*, maliciouſly venomous againſt the Biſhops, their Function, Actions, and Proceedings. But this not being likely to do much hurt amongſt the People, becauſe writ in *Latine*, he ſeconds it with another, which he called his *Litany*, in the *Engliſh* Tongue: A Piece ſo ſilly and contemptible, that nothing but the Sin and Malice which appeared in every line thereof, could poſſibly have preſerved it from being ridiculous. *Prynne* follows next, and publiſheth two Books at once (or one immediately on the other) one of theſe called *The Quench-Coal*, in anſwer unto that called *A Coal from the Altar*, againſt placing the Communion-Table *Altarwiſe*: The other named *The Unbiſhoping of* Timothy *and* Titus, againſt the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of *Dioceſan Biſhops*. But that which was entituled to him by the name of a *Libel*, was, *The News from* Ipſwich; intended chiefly againſt *Wren* then Biſhop of *Norwich*, who had taken up his dwelling in that Town, as before is ſaid: but falling as ſcandalouſly foul on the Archbiſhop himſelf, and ſome of the other Biſhops alſo, and ſuch as acted under them in the preſent Service. For there he deſcants very trimly (as he conceived) on the Archbiſhop himſelf, with his *Arch-Piety*, *Arch-Charity*, *Arch-Agent for the Devil*; *that* Beelzebub *himſelf had been Archbiſhop, and the like to theſe, a moſt triumphant Arch indeed to adorn his victories*. With like reproach he falls on the Biſhops generally, calling them *Luciferian Lord Biſhops*, *execrable Traytors*, *devouring Wolves*, with many other odious names not fit to be uſed by a *Chriſtian*; and more particularly on *Wren*, telling us, *That in all Queen* Maries *time no ſuch havock was made in ſo ſhort a time of the Faithful Miniſters of God in any part, nay, in the whole Land, than had been made in his Dioceſi*. And then he adds with equal Charity and Truth, *That* Corbet, *Chancellor to this Biſhop, had threatned one or two godly Miniſters with Piſtolling, and Hanging*, and I know not what, *becauſe they had refuſed to read his Majeſties Declaration about lawful ſports*. More of this diſh I could have carved, but that this may ſerve ſufficiently for a taſte of the whole.

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But the great Maſter-piece of miſchief, was ſet out by *Burton* (ſo often mentioned before) who Preaching on the fifth of *November*, in his own Pariſh Church of *St. Matthews* in *Friday* Street, took for his Text thoſe words in the *Proverbs*, viz. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, Chap. 24. 22. In this *Sermon* (if I may wrong the Word ſo far as to give it to ſo

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lewd a Libel) he rails moſt bitterly againſt the Biſhops, accuſeth them of *Innovating* both in Doctrine and Worſhip, impeacheth them of exerciſing a Juriſdiction contrary to the Laws of the Land, 1. *Edw.* 6. *c.* 2. and for falſifying the Records of the Church by adding the firſt clauſe to the twentieth Article; arraigneth them for oppreſſing the Kings Liege people, contrary unto Law and Juſtice, exciting the people to riſe up againſt them; magnifying thoſe diſobedient Spirits, who hitherto have ſtood out in defiance of them; and ſeems content in caſe the Biſhops lives might be called in queſtion, to run the hazard of his own. For this being taken and impriſoned by a warrant from the *High Commiſſion*, he makes his appeal unto the King, juſtifies it by an Apology, and ſeconds that by an Addreſs to the Nobility: In which laſt he requires all ſorts of People, Noblemen, Judges, Courtiers, and thoſe of the inferiour ſort, to ſtand up ſtoutly for the Goſpel againſt the Biſhops. And finally Prints all together with an Epiſtle Dedicatory to the King himſelf; to the end that if his Majeſty ſhould vouchſafe the reading of it, he might be brought into an ill opinion of the Biſhops and their proceedings in the Church. Whoſe p. 74. actions tend only (as he telleth us) to corrupt the Kings good peoples hearts, By caſting into them fears and jealouſies, and ſiniſter opinions toward the King; as if he were the prime cauſe of all thoſe *Grievances*, which in his name they oppreſs the Kings good Subjects withal. Thus p. 75. alſo in another place, Theſe Factors of *Antichriſt* (ſaith he) practiſe to divide Kings from their Subjects, and Subjects from their Kings, that ſo between both they may fairly erect Antichriſts Throne again. For that indeed, that is to ſay, the new building of *Babel*, the ſetting up again of the Throne of *Antichriſt*, the bringing in of Popery to ſubvert the Goſpel, is made to be the chief deſign of the Prelates and Prelatical party; to which all innovations, uſurpations, and more dangerous practices, which are unjuſtly charged upon them, ſerved only as preparatives and ſubſervient helps.

Such being the matter in the *Libel*, let us next look upon the Ornaments and dreſſings thereof, conſiſting moſt eſpecially in thoſe infamous Attributes, which he aſcribes unto the Biſhops. *For* Fathers *he calls them* Step-fathers; Pillars, *for* Caterpillars; *their houſes haunted, and their Epiſcopal Chairs poyſoned, by the Spirit that bears rule in the Air. They are* (*ſaith he*) *the Limbs of the Beaſt, even of Antichriſt, taking his very courſes to bear and beat down the hearing of the Word of God, whereby men might be ſaved*, p. 12. *Their fear is more toward an* Altar *of their own invention, towards an Image or Crucifix, toward the ſound and ſyllables of* Jeſus, *then toward the Lord* Chriſt, p. 15. *He gives them the reproachful Titles of* Miſcreants, p. 28. *The trains and wiles of the Dragons dog-like flattering tail*, p. 30. *New* Babel Builders, p. 32. *Blind Watchmen, Dumb Dogs, Thieves and Robbers of Souls, Falſe Prophets, Ravening Wolves*, p. 48. *Factors for* Antichriſt, p. 75. Antichriſtian *Maſtrumps. And that it might be known what they chiefly aimed at, we ſhall hear him ſay that they cannot be quiet, till* (res novas moliendo) *they ſet up* Popery *again in her full Equipage*, p. 95. *Tooth and nail for ſetting up* Popery *again*, p. 96. *Trampling under feet* Chriſts

Chriſt's Kingdom, that they may ſet up Antichriſts *throne again*, p. 99. *According to the Spirit of* Rome *which breathes in them, by which they are ſo ſtrongly* biaſſed *to wheel about to their* Roman *Miſtreſs*, p. 108. *The* Prelates *confederate with the Prieſts and Jeſuites for rearing up of that Religion*, p. 140. *Calling them upon that account in his Apologie*, Jeſuited Polypragmaticks, *and Sons of* Belial. Having thus luſtily laid about him againſt all in general, he deſcends to ſome particulars of moſt note and eminence, *Reviling* White *of* Ely, *with railing and perverting, in fighting againſt the truth, which he makes to be his principal quality*, p. 127. *And* Mountague *of* Chicheſter *for a tryed Champion of* Rome, *and the devoted Votary to his Queen of Heaven*, p. 126. And ſo proceeding to the Archbiſhop (for of *Wren* he had ſpoken enough before) he tells us of him, *That he uſed to ſet his foot on the Kings Laws, as the Pope did on the Emperours neck*, p. 54. *That with his right hand he was able to ſweep down the third part of the Stars in Heaven*, p. 121. *And that he had a* Papal *infallibility of Spirit, whereby, as by a divine Oracle, all Queſtions in Religion are finally determined*, p. 132. Theſe are the principal flowers of Rhetorick which grew in the Garden of *H. B.* ſufficient queſtionleſs to ſhew how ſweet a Champion he was like to prove of the Church and Goſpel.

And yet this was not all the miſchief which the Church ſuffered at that time, for preſently on the neck of theſe came out another, entituled, *The holy Table, name and thing*, intended purpoſely for an Anſwer to the *Coal from the Altar*, but cunningly pretended by him to be written long ago by a Miniſter in *Lincolnſhire* againſt Dr. *Coale*, a judicious Divine in Queen *Maries* days; Printed for the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*; by the Biſhop whereof, under the name of *John Lincoln, Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, it was authorized for the Preſs. In managing whereof, the point in Controverſie was principally about the placing of the *Holy Table* according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the received Rules of the Church of *England* at the firſt *Reformation* of it. In proſecution of which point he makes himſelf an Adverſary of his he knows not whom; and then he uſeth him he cares not how, mangling the Authors words whom he would confute, that ſo he might be ſure of the eaſier conqueſt; and practiſing on thoſe Authors whom he was to uſe, that they may ſerve his turn the better to procure the victory. Of the compoſure of the whole we may take this Character from him who made the Anſwer to it, *viz.* "That he that con- Preface to *Antid. Lin.*
"jectured of the houſe by the trim or dreſs, would think it very
"richly furniſhed; the Walls whereof (that is the Margin) richly
"ſet out with *Antick* hangings, and whatſoever coſtly workmanſhip
"all nations of theſe times may be thought to brag of; and every
"part adorned with flouriſhes and pretty paſtimes, the gay devices
"of the Painter: Nor is there any want at all of *Ornaments* or *Uten-*
"*ſils* to ſet out the ſame, ſuch eſpecially as may ſerve for *oſtentation*,
"though of little uſe; many a fine and ſubtle *Carpet*, not a few idle
"couches for the credulous Reader, and every where a pillow for a
"*Puritans* elbow; all very pleaſing to the eye, but ſlight of ſubſtance;
"counterfeit ſtuff moſt of it, & wrought with ſo much fraud & falſhood,

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"that there is hardly one true ſtitch in all that work from the very "beginning to the end. Hardly one teſtimony or authority in the "whole Diſcourſe which is any way material to the point in hand: "but is as true and truly cited, as that the Book it ſelf was writ long "ago in anſwer unto D. *Coale* of Queen *Maries* days. The King he tacitely upbraids with the unfortunacies of his Reign by Deaths and Plagues, the Governours of the Church with carrying all things by ſtrong hand, rather by Canon-ſhot than by Canon-Law. The Biſhop of *Norwich* he compares (as before was noted) to a *Wren* mounted on the feathers of an Eagle, and falls upon his Adverſary with as foul a mouth as *Burton* doth upon the Prelates; the Parable betwixt him and *Burton* being very well fitted, as appears by the Preface to the *Miniſters* of *Lincoln* Dioceſs in the Anſwer to him. Obliquely and upon the by he hath ſome glancings againſt bowing at the name of *Jeſus*, *Adoring* toward the Eaſt, and Praying according to the Canon; and makes the tranſpoſing of the Table to the place where the *Altar* ſtood, to be an Introduction for uſhering in the whole body of Popery. Which *Eleuſinian* Doctrine (for ſo he calleth it) though theſe new *Reformers* (for fear of ſo many Laws and Canons) dare not apparently profeſs, yet (ſaith he) they prepare and lay grounds for it, that the out-works of Religion being taken in, they may in time have a bout with the Fort it ſelf.

Antid. Linc. p. 5.

To theſe two Books his *Majeſty* thought fit that ſome preſent Anſwer ſhould be made, appointing the ſame hand for both which had writ the Hiſtory of the *Sabbath*. The one being abſolutely deſtructive of the uniformity in placing the Communion-Table, which was then in hand; The other labouring to create a general hatred unto all the Biſhops, branding their perſons, blaſting their Counſels, and decrying the Function. And hard it was to ſay whether of the two would have proved more miſchievous if they were not ſeaſonably prevented. The Anſwer unto *Burton* was firſt commanded and prepared: That to the *Lincoln* Miniſter, though afterwards enjoyned, was the firſt that was publiſhed. This of the two, the ſubtler and more curious piece, exceedingly cried up when it firſt came out; the diſaffection of the times, and ſubject matter of the Book, and the Religious eſtimation which was had of the Author, concurring altogether to advance the Reputation of it to the very higheſt, ſold for four ſhillings at the firſt, when conceived unanſwerable; but within one month after the coming out of the Anſwer (which was upon the twentieth of *May*) brought to leſs than one. The Anſwer publiſhed by the name of *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*, with reference to the *Licenſer* and *Author* of the *Holy Table*. The publiſhing of the other was delayed upon this occaſion: A Reſolution had been taken by command of his Majeſty to proceed againſt the *Triumvirate* of Libellers (as one ſtily calls them) to a publick Cenſure, which was like to make much noiſe amongſt the ignorant People. It was thought fit by the Prudent Council of Queen *Elizabeth* upon the execution of ſome Prieſts and Jeſuits, that an Apology ſhould be publiſhed, by the name of *Juſtitia Britannica*, to vindicate the publick Juſtice of the State from ſuch aſperſions, as by

Hiſt. K. C. p. 151.

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the Tongues and Pens of malicious persons should be laid upon it. And on the like prudential grounds it was thought expedient, that an answer should be made to the Book which seemed most material; and being so made, should be kept in readiness till the execution of the Sentence; to the end that the people might be satisfied, as well in the greatness of the Crimes, as the necessity and justice of the Punishment, inflicted upon one of the Principals, by whom a judgment might be made of all the rest. But the Censure being deferred from *Easter* until *Midsomer* Term, the Answer lay dormant all the while at *Lambeth* in the hands of the *Licenser*, and was then published by the name of *A brief and moderate Answer to the seditious and scandalous challenges of H. B.* &c. Two other Books were also published about that time, the one about the name and situation of the Communion-Table, which was called, *Altare Christianum*, writ by one *Pocklington*, then beneficed in *Bedfordshire*, and seconded by a *Chappel Determination* of the well studied *Joseph Mede*; The other against *Burton* by name, published *Dow* of *Bosell* in *Sussex*, under the Title of *Innovations unjustly charged*, &c. And so much for the Pen Combates, managed on both sides in the present Controversies.

But whilst these things were in agitation, there hapned toward the end of this year, such an Alteration in the Court, as began to make no less noise then the rest before. It had been an antient custom in the Court of *England* to have three Sermons every week in the time of *Lent*. Two of them Preached on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, the third in the open Preaching place near the Council Chamber on *Sundays* in the Afternoon. And so it continued till King *James* came to this Crown. Who having upon *Tuesday* the fifth of *August* escapt the hands and treasons of the Earl of *Gowrie*, took up a pious resolution, not only of keeping the Anniversary of that day for a publick Festival in all his Dominions, but of having a Sermon, and other divine Offices every *Tuesday* throughout the year. This custom he began in *Scotland*, and brought it with him into the Court of *England*; and thereupon translated one of the Lent Sermons from *Wednesday* to *Tuesday*. This Innovation in the Court, where before there were no Sermons (out of *Lent*) but on *Sundays* only, came in short time to have a very strong Influence upon the Country, giving example and defence to such Lectures and Sermons on the working days, as frequently were appointed and continued in most Corporations, and many other Market Towns in all parts of the Kingdom. In which respect it was upon the point of being laid aside at the Court on the death of that King, in reference to whose particular concernments it was taken up, and therefore his Successor not obliged to the observation. But then withal it was considered, that the new King had married with a Lady of the *Roman* Religion; that he was ingaged in a War with *Spain*, which could not be carried on without help from the Parliament, wherein the *Puritan* Party had appeared to be very powerful. The discontinuing of that Sermon in this conjuncture, might have been looked on in the King as the want of zeal toward the Preaching of the Gospel, and a strong tendency in him to the Religi-

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on of the Church of *Rome*, and a betraying of the Court to Ignorance and Superſtition by depriving them of ſuch neceſſary means of their Inſtruction. Upon theſe grounds it ſtood as before it did, as well in the holy time of *Lent* as in other Weeks. But now *Laud* being Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Wren* Dean of the Chappel, it was reſolved to move his Majeſty, that the *Lent* Sermons might be preached on *Wedneſdaies* as they had been Anciently. To which his Majeſty condeſcending, and the Bill of Lent-Preachers being drawn accordingly, it was firſt muttered ſecretly, and afterwards made a publick clamour, that this was one of the Archbiſhops Artifices, a trick deviſed for putting down the *Tueſday* Sermons, of which you ſhould never hear more, when this *Lent* was over: Which Cry growing lowder and lowder, as the *Lent* continued, was ſuddenly huſh'd and ſtilled again on the *Eaſter Tueſday*, when they ſaw the Preacher in the Pulpit, as at other times. So uſual is it with ſome men to be afraid of their own ſhadows, and terrified with fears of their own deviſing.

This Interruption thus paſt over, I ſhall unwillingly reſume my former Argument concerning *Baſtwick* and the reſt of his fellow-Criminals, who being called unto their Anſwer, uſed ſo many delays, that the Caſe could not come to Sentence before *Midſomer* Term. Some Anſwers they had drawn: but they were ſo Libellous and full of Scandal, that no Counſellor could be found to put his hand to them, according to the courſe of that Court; Inſtead whereof, they exhibited a croſs Bill againſt *Canterbury* and his Confederates, (as they called them,) charging them with the greateſt part of thoſe Reproaches, which had been made the ſubject-matter of their former *Libels*; which being ſigned by no hands but their own, and tendred ſo to the Lord Keeper, was by him rejected, and themſelves taken *pro confeſſis*, their obſtinacy in not anſwering in due form of Law, being generally looked on by the Court as a ſelf-conviction. On the fourteenth of *June* they received their Sentence, which briefly was to this effect: *Prynne* to be Fined 5000*l.* to the King, to loſe the remainder of his ears in the Pillory, to be branded on both cheeks with the Letters *S. L.* for a *Schiſmatical Libeller*, and to be perpetually impriſoned in *Carnarvan* Caſtle: *Baſtwick* and *Burton* condemned in the like Fine of 5000*l.* to be Pilloried, and loſe their Ears; the firſt to be impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Lanceſton* in *Cornwal*, and the ſecond in the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*. On the thirtieth of the ſame Month, *Burton* being firſt degraded of his Miniſtry in the *High-Commiſſion*, they were brought into the Palace-yard of *Weſtminſter* to receive their puniſhment, not executed on them with ſuch great ſeverity as was injuriouſly given out: But being executed howſoever, it was a great trouble to the ſpirits of many very moderate and well-meaning men, to ſee the three moſt Eminent Profeſſions in all the World (*Divinity*, *Law*, and *Phyſick*,) to be ſo wretchedly diſhonoured in the Perſons of the Malefactors, as was obſerved by the Archbiſhop himſelf in his Epiſtle to the King. Which part of the Puniſhment being inflicted, they were conveyed with care and ſafety to their ſeveral Priſons, the People either fooliſhly or factiouſly reſorting to them as they paſſed, and ſeeming to bemoan their Sufferings

L'eſtrange's Hiſt. King *Charles.* p. 151.

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ings as *unjustly Rigorous*. And such a haunt there was to the several Castles, to which they were condemned of purpose for preventing all intelligence and Correspondence to be held between them, that the State found it necessary to remove them further; *Prynne* to the Castle of *Mont Orgueil* in the Isle of *Jersey*, *Burton* to *Castle-Cornet* in the Road of *Guernsey*, and *Bastwick* to Saint *Maries* Castle in the Isle of *Silly*; Which last remembreth me of the like Confinement, to which *Instantius* a professed *Priscilianist* (a very near Kinsman of the *English Puritan*) had been condemned by the Justice of the *Primitive* Times.

Ad Sillinam Insulam ultrà Britanniam deportatus. Sulp. Sever. l. 2.

At the pronouncing of this Sentence the Archbishop made a long and elaborate Speech, in vindication of himself and the rest of the Bishops from any Design to bring in *Popery*, or innovating in the Government and Forms of Worship, here by Law established. "He "made his Introduction to it in a brief Discourse touching the nature "of the Crime, shewing how odious a thing it was to think of defend-"ing Religion in the way of *Libels*; a thing not used by any of the "Primitive Christians, in the greatest heats of Persecution; and then "professing for his own part, That he had done nothing as a Bishop, "but with a sincere intention for the good Government and Honour "of the Church of *England*, and the maintenance of the *Orthodox* "Truth and Religion professed and established in it; adding withal, "That nothing but his Care of reducing the Church into *Order* in the "External Worship of God, and the setling of it on the Rules of its "first *Reformation*, had raised this Storm against himself and the rest "of the Bishops, for which alone they stood accused of *Innovations*, "by those which were the greatest *Innovators* in the Christian world. "He spake next touching the *Calling* of Bishops, which he maintain-"ed to be *Jure Divino*, though not all the *Adjuncts* of that *Calling*; "averring further, That from the time of the Apostles, to the days of "*Calvin*, the Government of the Church was by Bishops only, *Lay-*"*Elders* being never heard of; which Claim by *Divine Right* dero-"gateth not from the King either in Right or Power (as the *Libellers* "made it), no more then the *Calling* of the *Presbyters* by the same "*Right*, could be thought to do; in regard they exercised not any "*Jurisdiction* in the Kings Dominions, but with his License for so do-"ing: Or were it otherwise, yet that the Bishops stood in *England* in "as good a case as the present Laws could make them; and therefore "they that *Libelled* against them, *Libelled* against the King and State, "by the Laws whereof they were established; and consequently, "could aim at no other end, than the stirring of Sedition amongst the "People. As touching the design of bringing in *Popery* (by which Ar-"tifice they chiefly hoped to inflame the People), he first acquitted "the King of it, by shewing his *sincerity* and constancy in his *Religion*, "exemplified by his Carriage in *Spain*, where he wanted no tempta-"tions to draw him from it; and his Deportment since in *England*, "in which he had so often declared a setled Resolution, to maintain "the same: Or were it otherwise, and that the King had any mind to "change Religion, he must seek for other Instruments than himself to

"effect

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"effect that purpoſe; moſt humbly thanking God, That as yet he knew "not how to ſerve any Man, againſt the Truth of Chriſt; ſo he hoped "he ſhould never learn: profeſſing further, for the ſatisfaction of all "which heard him: That he knew of no plot nor purpoſe of altering "the Religion here eſtabliſhed; and that for his own part he had ever "been far from attempting any thing which might be truly ſaid to tend "that way, in the leaſt degree; to both which he was ready to take "his *Oath*. Which ſaid in general, he briefly touch'd on thoſe *Inno-* "*vations* which in thoſe *Libels*, had been charged on him and the reſt "of the Biſhops, in order unto that Deſign.

"To the firſt *Innovation*, touching the ſuppreſſing of Sermons "(during the time of the late *Faſt*) in infected places, contrary to the "Orders in former times, he anſwered, Firſt, That *after-Ages* might "without *offence* learn to avoid any viſible *inconvenience* obſerved in "the former: And ſecondly, That the ſuppreſſing of thoſe Sermons "was no *Act* of the Biſhops, but a Command proceeding (on a full "debate) from the Lords of the Council, the better to avoid the "ſpreading of the Contagion: And thirdly, That as Sermons on the "Faſt-days had been uſed of late, they were ſo far from *humbling* "*men in the ſight of God*, that they were fitter for other operations, as "the raiſing of Sedition amongſt the People; of which there could "not be a clearer inſtance, than in that of *Burton*. To the ſecond, "That by appointing the Weekly Faſts to be on *Wedneſdays*, and "thoſe Faſts to be kept without any Sermons, there was a plot for "ſuppreſſing all *Wedneſday Lectures* for ever after: It was anſwered, "That *Wedneſday* was the uſual day for ſuch Publick Faſts; That it "was named by the *Lord Keeper*, no great Friend to *Popery*; and that "thoſe men had lived to ſee the Faſt ended, and the *Wedneſday Le-* "*ctures* ſtill continued. To the third, That the Prayer for *Seaſonable* "*Weather* was left out of the laſt Book; and that the leaving of it out, "was one cauſe of the Shipwracks and Tempeſtuous Weather which "followed after: He anſwered *generally*, firſt, That all *Faſt-Books* "are made by the command of the King (who alone had Power to "call ſuch *Faſts*); and that the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who had "the ordering of thoſe Books, had alſo Power under the King, of "putting in and leaving out of thoſe Books, whatſoever they think "fit for the preſent occaſion. Secondly, as to this particular, That "when the *Faſt-Book* was made, the Weather was very Seaſonable, "and the Harveſt in; and that it was not the Cuſtom of the Church to "pray for Seaſonable Weather when they had it, but when it was "wanting. Thirdly, That it was very boldly done, to aſcribe the "cauſe of thoſe Tempeſts to the leaving out of that Prayer, which "God had never *revealed* unto them, and they could not otherwiſe "know but by *Revelation*. To the fourth, touching a clauſe omitted "in the firſt Collect, in which Thanks had been given to God for de-"livering us from *Popiſh Superſtition*; He anſwered, That though "our Fore-fathers had been delivered from ſuch *Superſtitions*, yet "(God be bleſſed) that for our parts, we were never in them, and "therefore could not properly be ſaid to have been delivered. To the "fifth,

"fifth, touching the leaving out of a passage in one of the *Orders* for "the *Fast*, concerning the abuse thereof in relation to *Merit*. He an- "swered, That it was left out, because in this Age and Kingdom there "was little opinion of *Merit* by *Fasting*; insomuch that all *Fasts* were "contemned and scorned (both at *Lent*, and all other set times) ex- "cept such as some humerous men called for of themselves, to pro- "mote their ends. The sixth *Innovation* charged upon them, was "the leaving of the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Children, out of one of "the *Collects*: And the seventh, That out of the same *Collect*, the "words, *Father of thine Elect, and of their Seed*, was expunged also: "To which it was answered, That the said *Collect* was not in the "*Common-Prayer-Book* confirmed by Law, neither King *Edward* vi. "nor Queen *Elizabeth* having any Children. Secondly, That it was "added to the Book at the coming in of King *James*, who brought a "Princely Issue with him; and left out again in the beginning of the "Reign of King *Charles*, who at that time, and for four years after, "had no Issue neither. Thirdly, That as the Lady *Elizabeth* and her "Children were put into the *Collect* when the King had no Issue of his "own; so when the King had Issue of his own, there was much as reason "to leave them out. Fourthly, For the leaving out of that Clause, "*Father of thine Elect*, &c. it was done by his Predecessor; and that "the leaving out of the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Issue, was done by the "Command of the King. The eighth *Innovation* charged upon them, "was bowing *at* the Name of JESUS, and altering to that end the "words in the *Epistle* on the *Sunday* next before *Easter*, by changing "*IN the Name of Jesus*, to *AT the Name of Jesus*. And it was an- "swered unto this, That *bowing* at the Name of JESUS, was no "*Innovation* made by the Prelates of this Age, but required by the "*Injunction* of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the very first beginning of the "*Reformation*: And secondly, Though it be *IN the Name of Jesus*, "in the old Editions of the *Liturgie*; yet it is *AT the Name of Jesus*, "in the Translation of *Geneva*, Printed in the year 1567. and in the "New Translation Authorised by King *James*. The ninth relates "to the Alteration of two Passages in the Form of Prayer set forth by "Act of Parliament, for the Fifth of *November*; in which Form it is "thus expressed, *Root out the* Babylonish *Sect, which say of* Jerusalem, "*Down with it, &c.* And in the other place, *Cut off those Workers of* "*Iniquity, whose* RELIGION *is* REBELLION: Which are "thus altered in the Books which came out last, *viz. Root out that* Ba- "bylonish *and* Antichristian *Sect (of them) which say, &c.* And in "the other, *Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, who turn* RELIGION "*into* REBELLION, *&c.* To which it was replyed, That the "Book of Prayer appointed for the Fifth of *November*, was neither "made, set forth, or commanded to be read by Act of Parliament: "but only made and appointed to be read by the Kings Authority. "Secondly, That being made and appointed to be read by no "other Authority than the *Kings*, the King might alter in it what he "thought convenient; and that he had the Kings hand for those Al- "terations. (What Reasons there might be to move his Majesty to it,

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"we may enquire into hereafter on another occasion) To the tenth, "for the leaving out the Prayer for the *Navy*, he answered, that the "King had then no Fleet at Sea, nor any known enemy to assault, as "he had when that Prayer was first put in; and that howsoever, if there "had been any design to bring in *Popery* (to which these *Innovations* "must be made subservient) they should rather have kept in that "Prayer than have left it out.

Concerning the *Communion Table* there were three *Innovations* urged, the placing of it *Altarwise*, reading the second Service at it, and bowing towards or before it. For answer to the first, "It was prov-"ed to have been no *Innovation* in regard of Practice, because it "had so stood in his Majesties Chappels, and divers Cathedrals of "this Kingdom since the first *Reformation*. Which posture if it be "decent and conveient for the Service of God, either in the Kings "Chappels or Cathedrals, it may be used also in other Churches: but "if it served to bring in Popery it was not to be used in them. Nor "was it any *Innovation* in regard of Law, the holy Table being ap-"pointed to be placed where the Altar stood by the Queens Injuncti-"ons, *Anno* 1559. and that position justified by an order of Dr. *Da-"venant* Bishop of *Sarum* (of which we have already spoken) whom "the *Libellers* themselves were not like to accuse for a man that pur-"posed the *ushering in* or *advancing of Popery*. The setting of a Raile "before it, or about it, howsoever placed, was only for avoiding of "Prophanation, and for that cause justifiable. As for the reading of "the *Second* (or *Communion*) *Service* at the holy Table, it was no "more than what had formerly been used in many places to his own re-"membrance; first altered in those Churches where the *Emissaries* of "that Faction came to preach, and therefore the *Innovation* to be laid "on them. Secondly, That it is not only fit and proper for that part "of the Divine Service to be read at the Communion Table, but that "it is required so to be by the Rules and *Rubricks* of the Church: It "being said in the first Rubrick after the Communion, that on the "Holy Days (if there be no Communion) all shall be read which is "appointed at the Communion; and in the last *Rubrick* before the "*Communion*, that the Minister standing at the North side of the ho-"ly Table, shall say the Lords Prayer with that which follows. And "finally, as to that of *bowing* towards it at their first entrance in the "Church, or approaches to it, it is answered, that it was agreeable "to the Practice of *Moses*, *David*, *Hezekiah*, recorded in the holy "Scriptures, and that *Venite Adoremus*, *O come let us worship and fall "down*, &c. was used constantly in the beginning of the Ancient "Liturgies, and preserved in the beginning of ours in *England*; and "therefore that the people may as well refuse to come, as at their "*coming* not to *Worship*: he added, that by the Statutes of the noble "Order of St. *George*, called the Garter, the Knights whereof were "bound to do their Reverence *versus Altare*, toward the *Altar*; that "it had so continued ever since the time of King *Henry* the fifth; that "if there were any Idolatry in it, neither Queen *Elizabeth* (who "drove out *Popery*) nor King *James* (who kept out *Popery*) would "have

"have ſuffered it to remain in Practice; and in a word, that if it "were *Gods Worſhip* and not *Idolatry*, he ought to do it as well as "they: but if it were Idolatry, and no Worſhip of God, they "ought to do it no more than he. But the fourteenth and laſt charge "which moſt concerned him and the reſt of the Biſhops to make "anſwer to, was the *forging* of a new Article of Religion brought "from *Rome* (to juſtifie their proceedings and Innovations) and "foyſting it to the beginning of the twentieth Article. The Clauſe "pretended to be added, is, *That the Church hath power to decree "Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith*, be-"cauſe not found (ſay they) in the Latine or Engliſh Articles of "King *Edward* the ſixth, or Queen *Elizabeth*, ratified by Parlia-"ment; adding, that if to forge a Will or Writing be cenſurable in "the Star-Chamber, though it be but a wrong to a Private man: "how much more ſhould the forgery of an Article of Religion be "cenſured there, which is a wrong to the whole Church? And unto "this he anſwered, that the Articles made in the time of King *Ed-"ward* the ſixth were not now in force, and therefore not material "whether that Clauſe be in or out; that in the Articles as they paſſed "in Queen *Elizabeths* time this Clauſe was to be found in the Engliſh "Edition of the year 1612. of the year 1605. of the year 1593. and "in Latine in the year 1563. being one of the firſt Printed Copies "after the Articles had been agreed on in the Convocation; that it "was to be found in the ſame terms in the Records of Convocation, "*Anno* 1562. as he proved by a Certificate under the hand of a pub-"lick Notary; and therefore finally, that no ſuch forgery in adding "that Clauſe unto that Article had been committed by the Prelates "to ſerve their *own turns* by gaining any power to the Church: but "that the ſaid Clauſe had been razed out by ſome of thoſe men, or ſome "of that Faction to weaken juſt the power of the Church, and to ſerve "their own.

Theſe *Innovations* thus paſſed over and diſcharged, he ſignifies un-to their Lordſhips, "That ſome other Charges were remaining in "matter of Doctrine; that they ſhould preſently be anſwered, *juſto "volumine*, to ſatisfie all well-minded people; and that when *Burtons* "Book was anſwered, (his *Book* he ſaid, but not his *raylings*) none "of the reſt ſhould be anſwered either by him or by his care; leav-"ing that Court to find a way for ſtopping the mouths of ſuch *Libel-"lers*, or elſe for him, they ſhould rail on as long as they liſted. And "thus beginning to draw toward and end, he declares himſelf to be "in the ſame caſe with Saint *Cyprian*, then Biſhop of *Carthage*, bitterly "railed upon by a pack of *Schiſmaticks*, and yet conceiving himſelf "bound (which he made his own Reſolution alſo) not to anſwer "them with the like *Levites* or *Revilings*, but to write and ſpeak only "as becomes a *Prieſt* of God; that by Gods grace the Reproaches "of ſuch men ſhould not make him faint or ſtart aſide, either from "the right way in matter of Practice, or *à certa Regula*, from the cer-"tain rule of Faith. Which ſaid, and craving pardon of their Lordſhips "for his neceſſary length, he thanks them for their juſt and honour-

Non oportet me paria cum illis facere.

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Thus I have acted *Phocion's* part in cutting ſhort the long and well-ſtudied Speech of this grave and Eloquent *Demoſthenes*; which I have been the more willing to reduce to ſo brief an Abſtract, that the Reader may perceive, without the leaſt loſs of time and labour, on what weak grounds the *Puritan* Faction raiſed their *outcry* againſt *Innovations*, and what poor *trifles* many of thoſe *Innovations* were, againſt which they clamoured and cryed out. But for the Speech in its full length, as it gave great ſatisfaction unto all that heard it: ſo by his Majeſties Command it was afterwards Printed, for giving the like ſatisfaction to all thoſe who ſhould pleaſe to read it. In obedience unto which Command he cauſed the ſaid Speech to be Printed and Publiſhed, although he was *not ignorant* (as he declares in his Epiſtle to the King) *that many things while they are ſpoken, and paſs by the ears but once, give great content, which when they come to the eyes of men, and their open ſcanning, may lie open to ſome exceptions.* And ſo it proved in the event; for though the Speech was highly magnified as it came from his mouth: yet it had not been long publiſhed in Print, when it was encountred with a baſe and *Libellous* Anſwer, without the name of any *Author*, *Place*, or *Printer*, or any *Book-ſeller* (according to the uſual Cuſtom) where, and of whom it might be bought. I ſhall not trouble my ſelf any more about it than by a *Tranſcript* of the *Title*, which was this that followeth: *viz. DIVINE and POLITICK OBSERVATIONS newly tranſlated out of the Dutch Language, wherein they were lately divulged, upon ſome lines in the Speech of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *pronounced in the STAR-CHAMBER the fourteenth of* June, 1637. *VERY expedient for preventing all prejudice which as well through ignorance, as through malice and flattery, may be incident to the judgment which men make thereby, either of his* Graces *power over the Church, and with the King: or of the Equity, Juſtice and Wiſdom of his ENDS in his ſaid Speech; and of the reaſons uſed by him for attaining to his ſaid ENDS.* And though he took great care and pains concerning that ſuppoſed *additional* clauſe to the 20th Article, ſo much as might ſatisfie any man, not extremely partial; yet find I a late Writer ſo unſatisfied in it, *that he leaves it to the State-Arithmeticians to decide the Controverſie, whether the Biſhops were more faulty in the* addition, *than the oppoſites in their* ſubſtraction *of it.*

One other Charge there was, and a great one too, which I find not touched at in this Speech; and that is, that the Prelates neither had, nor ſought to have *the Kings Letters Patents under the Great Seal of* England *for their keeping Courts and Viſitations*, &c. *but did all in their own Names, and under their own Seals, contrary to the Law in that behalf.* Concerning which we are to know, that by a Statute made in the firſt year of King *Edward* the Sixth, it was Enacted, "That all Summons, "Citations, and other Proceſs Eccleſiaſtical in all Suits and cauſes "of Inſtance, and all cauſes of Correction, and all cauſes of Baſtardy,

Burt. Serm. p. 69.

1 *Edw.* 6. c. 2.

or

"or Bigamy, or *De jure Patronatus*, Probates of Testaments, and "Commissions of Administrations of persons deceased, be made in "the name, and with the Style of the King, as it is in Writs *Original* "or *Judicial* at the Common Law, *&c.* As also that no manner of "person or persons who hath the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdicti-"on, use any other Seal of Jurisdiction but wherein his Majesties "Arms be engraven, *&c.* on pain of incurring his Majesties indigna-"tion, and suffering imprisonment at his will and pleasure. Which Statute, and every branch thereof, being repealed by Queen *Mary*, and not revived by Queen *Elizabeth* in all her Reign, the Bishops of her time were safe enough from any danger of that side. But in the first Parliament of King *James* there passed an *Act, for continuing and reviving of divers Statutes, and for repealing of some others*, 1 *Jac.* c. 25. Into the Body whereof a Clause was cunningly conveyed (his Majesties *Council* learned, not considering, or fraudulently conniving at it) for the repealing of that Statute of the Reign of Queen *Mary*, by which King *Edwards* stood repealed; of which no notice being taken for some while by those whom it chiefly did concern, it was now discovered, and made use of as a Rod to affright the Prelates from exercising their Jurisdiction over obstinate and incorrigible Non-conformists, as formerly they had been accustomed. For remedy whereof, and for encouraging the Bishops to perform their duties, it was declared by the Judges with an unanimous consent, and so delivered by the Lords Chief Justices in the *Star-Chamber*, the fourteenth of *May* in this present year, That the said Act of Repeal, 1 of Queen *Mary*, did still stand in force as unto that particular Statute by them so much pressed. This was sufficient for the present, but the Archbishop would not trust to it for the time to come; and thereupon in his Epistle to the King, before remembred, *He humbly desired his Majesty in the Churches name, That it might be resolved by all the Reverend Judges of* England, *and then published by his Majesty, that the Bishops keeping of their Courts, and issuing Processes in their own names, and the like exceptions formerly taken, and now renewed, were not against the Laws of this Realm, that so the Church Governours might go on chearfully in their duty, and the peoples minds be quieted by this assurance, that neither their Law, nor their Liberty, as Subjects, was thereby infringed.* A motion favourably heard, and graciously granted; his Majesty issuing out his Royal Proclamation, on the eighteenth day of *August* then next following, For *declaring that the proceedings of his Ecclesiastical Courts and Ministers were according to Law.* The Tenour of which Proclamation or Declaration was as followeth:

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By the KING.

WHereas in some of the Libellous Books and Pamphlets lately published in the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Lord Archbishops and Bishops of the Realm are said to have usurped upon his Majesties Prerogative Royal, *and to have proceeded in the* High Commission, *and other* Ecclesiastical *Courts contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm:*

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Realm: It was Ordered by his Majesties High Court of Star-Chamber, *the twelfth of* June *last, that the Opinion of the two Lords* Chief Justices, *the Lord Chief* Baron, *and the rest of the* Judges, *and Barons should be had and certified in these particulars,* viz. *Whether Processes may not issue out of the* Ecclesiastical Courts *in the names of the Bishops? Whether a Patent under the Great Seal be necessary for the keeping of the* Ecclesiastical Courts, *and enabling Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church? And whether the Citations ought to be in the Kings Name, and under his Seal of Arms; and the like for* Institutions *and* Inductions *to Benefices, and correction of Ecclesiastical offences? And whether Bishops Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical persons may or ought to keep any* Visitation *at any time, unless they have express Commission or* Patent *under the great Seal of* England *to do it; and that as his Majesty* Visitors *only, and in his* name *and* right alone.

Whereupon his Majesties said Judges having taken the same into their serious consideration, did unanimously agree and concur in opinion, and the first day of *July* last certified under their hands as followeth: *That Processes may issue out of* Ecclesiastical *Courts in the name of the Bishops, and that a Patent under the Great Seal is not necessary for the keeping of the said* Ecclesiastical *Courts, or for the enabling of Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church. And that it is not necessary that Summons, Citations, or other* Processes Ecclesiastical *in the said Courts, or* Institutions, *and* Inductions *to benefices, or correction of* Ecclesiastical *offences by Censure in those Courts be in the Kings name, or with the Style of the King, or with the Kings Seal, or the Seals of the Office have in them the Kings Arms; And that the Statute,* 1 Edw. 6. c. 2. *which enacted the contrary, is not now in force; And that the Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and other* Ecclesiastical *persons, may keep their Visitations, as usually they have done, without Commission under the Great Seal so to do.* Which opinions and resolutions being declared under the hands of all his Majesties said Judges, and so certified into his Court of *Star-Chamber*, were there recorded: And it was by that Court further ordered the fourth of the said *July*, *That the said Certificate should be enrolled in all other his Majesties Courts at* Westminster, *and in the* High Commission *and other* Ecclesiastical *Courts for the satisfaction of all men; That the proceedings in the* High Commission *and other* Ecclesiastical *Courts are agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.*

And his Royal Majesty hath thought fit, with the Advice of his Council, that a publick Declaration of these the Opinions of his reverend and learned Judges, being agreeable to the Judgment and Resolution of former times, should be made known to all his Subjects, as well to vindicate the Legal Proceedings of his Ecclesiastical *Courts and Ministers from the unjust and scandalous imputation of invading or intrenching on his Royal* Prerogative, *as to settle the minds and stop the mouths of all unquiet Spirits, that for the future they presume not to censure his* Ecclesiastical *Courts, or Ministers in these their just and warranted proceedings. And her* [illegible] *his*

his Majeſty admoniſheth all his Subjects to take warning as they will anſwer the contrary at their Peril.

Given at the Court at *Lindhurſt* the 13 day of *Auguſt* in the 13th year of his Reign, 1637.

Having carried on this buſineſs as far as we can without breaking the rule of time in too groſs a manner, we muſt go back to the *Star-Chamber*, where we left the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ready to put in his Anſwer after many delays. In which eſtate the buſineſs ſtood, when *Kilvert*, a *Proctor* in the Arches, who had been formerly imployed in hunting *Bennet*, a corrupt Judge of the Prerogative Court, to his final Sentence, was entertained to proſecute this Biſhop to the like coufuſion; who having found by diligent enquiry, and ſubtle practices, that the Biſhops purgation depended moſt upon the teſtimony of one *Prigeon*, the Regiſter of the Court of *Lincoln*, he made it his chief work, by diſcrediting the Witneſs, to invalidate and make void his evidence, he lays a Baſtard to his charge, and there appeared ſufficient ground to indict him for it. The Biſhop apprehending himſelf neceſſitated to weight up *Prigeon* his repute, engaged himſelf more zealouſly therein than was conſiſtent with the gravity of ſo great a Prelate for ſo inconſiderable a perſon. The Fathering of this *Baſtard* is bandied betwixt *Prigeon* and one *Boone* from Seſſions to Seſſions, and from one year unto another, till the Mother of the Child was found to have been tampered with by ſome of the Biſhops Creatures to charge it wholly upon *Boone*. On the diſcovery of which practice *Kilvert* lets go his former hold, and exhibits a new Bill againſt the Biſhop for *ſubornation* of Witneſſes, a crime moſt proper for that Court. The Biſhop now finds himſelf at a loſs, and endeavours a Compoſition with his Majeſty, being willing to lay down a good Sum of Money, for the purchaſing of his own Peace and his Majeſties Favour; which afterwards was urged againſt him, to prove him conſcious of the Crime which he ſtood accuſed for. On *Tueſday* the eleventh of *July* he received his Doom, which was to pay 8000 *l.* unto the King, to be Suſpended *à Beneficiis & Officiis*, and ſtand committed unto Priſon at his Majeſties Pleaſure. To this Sentence the Archbiſhop conſented amongſt the reſt, *aggravating* the fault of *Subordination* of *Perjury*, with a pathetical Speech of almoſt an hour long, ſhewing how the World was above three thouſand years old, before it was ripe enough to commit ſo great a Wickedneſs; That *Jezabel* was the firſt in Scripture, which had been branded with that Infamy, whoſe Witneſſes could find no other name in Scripture than the Sons of *Belial*: And therefore, That conſidering the greatneſs of the offence, though before he had been five times on his knees before his Majeſty in the Biſhops behalf, yet now he could not but agree to the heavieſt Cenſure. To which Sentence the whole Court concurred, his beſt Friends amongſt them, who gave themſelves not a little hope, that the rigour of it (eſpecially as unto the Fine) might receive mitigation; though in the end, his Majeſty looking on him, both as adjudged to be guilty, and well known to be ſolvent, it was no wonder if the utmoſt penny of it were exacted.

Ch. Hiſt. lib. 11. p. 157.

He

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637. He had not lain long under this Suſpenſion and Impriſonment, but he began to find how dreadful a thing it was to fall into a Kings diſpleaſure; and thereupon made uſe of all his Friends at Court, for the re-obtaining of his own Liberty, and his Majeſties Favour: And to that end, he made means by the Queen to be admitted to a Reconciliation with him, offering both his Biſhoprick, and Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, in confidence that the King would ſo provide for him, that he ſhould not go much leſs than he was. The King, upon the Queens deſire, ſent the Earl of *Dorſet* (from whoſe mouth I had it) to accept the Biſhops Offer on the one ſide; and on the other ſide, to promiſe him in his Majeſties Name, the next good Biſhoprick which ſhould fall in *Ireland*. Which Propoſition being made, the Biſhop abſolutely refuſed to hearken to it, telling the Earl of *Dorſet*, That he had made a ſhift, by the Power and Mediation of his Friends, to hold out againſt his Enemies here for ſeven years together: but if they ſhould ſend him into *Ireland*, he ſhould there fall into the hands of a man, who once in ſeven Months would find out ſome old Statute or other to cut off his head. Which double dealing did ſo cool the Affections of his Friends in Court, that for three years and more there were no further Endeavours uſed for his Enlargement: During which time, he never went unto the Chappel of the *Tower*, where he was Impriſoned, to attend the *Divine Service* of the Church, or hear the *Sermon* there, or receive the *Sacrament*, as all other *Proteſtant* Priſoners had been uſed to do: but kept himſelf only to his Private Devotions, to which his neareſt Servants were not often admitted: Which whether it gave the greater ſcandal to the *Proteſtants*, *Puritans*, or *Papiſts*, it is hard to ſay.

But great Perſons muſt not fall alone. Three of his Servants which had been moſt active in the buſineſs, were cenſured at the ſame time alſo; *Walker* his Secretary, fined at 300 *l.* *Powell* an Officer of his Houſhold, fined no more than he: But *Laud*, who left his Buſineſs in the Court of *Lincoln* to attend his Suit, at 1000 Marks. All of them cenſured to Impriſonment, which none ſuffered but he, and that but for a ſhort time neither. Nor were their Fines exacted of them, which (as the Biſhop after found to his coſt) were in ſhort time to be commuted into ſuch other Offices as they were to do for *Kilvert* againſt their Maſter: The Story whereof, deſireth the Readers further patience, though it come ſomewhat out of time and is briefly this. *Osbeſton* the late Schoolmaſter, and then *Prebend* of *Weſtminſter*, a profeſs'd Creature of the Biſhops, and much imployed by him in his greateſt buſineſſes, had written a Letter to him about *Chriſtmaſs*, in the year 1635. touching ſome Heats which hapned in that cold Seaſon, betwixt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*: *Osbeſton* conceiving this to be a fit opportunity for the Biſhop to cloſe in with *Weſton*, and by his means to extricate himſelf out of thoſe Perplexities, in which this *Star-Chamber* Suit had ſo long intangled him. This Intelligence he diſguiſed in theſe expreſſions, *viz.* *The little Vermin, the Urchin and* Hocus Pocus, *is this ſtormy* Chriſtmas *at true and real variance with the great Leviathan.* And this conceit the Biſhop

ſhop out of too much jollity makes known to others, by whom at laſt it came to *Kilvert*; who laying hold on the advantage, exhibits a new Bill againſt him, for divulging Scandalous Libels againſt Privy Counſellors; there being good proof to be produced, That by the names of *Little Vermin*, *Urchin*, and *Hocus Pocus*, the writer of that Letter deſigned no other than the Archbiſhop, and the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* by the *Great Leviathan*. Both being made Parties to the Bill, *Osbeſton* anſwers for himſelf, That by *Leviathan*, he intended Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*; and *Spicer* a Doctor of Laws, by the other *Character*: The differing ſtatures of the men, ſeeming to make good this *Conſtruction*, which the *Grammar* of the Text might bear, as well as the other. The Biſhop pleaded for his part, That he remembred not the receiving of any ſuch Letter; and that if any ſuch Letter had come unto him, it could not be brought within the compaſs of a *Libel*, becauſe not written in ſuch plain and ſignificant terms as might apparently decypher and ſet forth the Perſon intended in it. But all this proved to be but ſhifts on either ſide; for *Kilvert* had a Letter ready (which *Walker* was ſuppoſed to have put into his hands) to make ſure work of it; a Letter which the Biſhop had writ to the ſaid *Walker*, being then his Secretary, at the time of that falling out betwixt *Laud* and *Weſton*. *Here is a ſtrange thing* (ſaith that Letter) *Mr.* Osbeſton *importunes me to contribute to my Lord Treaſurers uſe, ſome Charges upon the Little Great Man, and aſſures me they are mortally out. I have utterly refuſed to meddle in this buſineſs; and I pray you learn from Mr.* S. *and Mr.* H. *if any ſuch falling out be, or whether ſomebody hath not gulled the Schoolmaſter in theſe three laſt Letters; and keep it unto your ſelf, what I write unto you. If my Lord Treaſurer would be ſerved by me, he muſt uſe a more neer, ſolid, and truſty Meſſenger, and free me from the Bonds of the* Star-Chamber; *elſe let them fight it out for me.*

This ſecret thus diſcovered, and the Myſtery opened, it was not long before the Cauſe was brought to Cenſure: For the two Letters being compared with the Time and Circumſtances, it was no hard matter to the Lords (who had their own concernment in it) to conclude both of them to be guilty of the Crime called *Scandalum Magnatum*, a Libelling and defaming the Great men of the Realm, prohibited and puniſhable by the Laws of the Land. So that no Bucklet being found to bear off the Blow, a Fine of another 8000 *l.* was impoſed on the Biſhop, *Osbeſton* fined 5000 *l.* to be deprived of his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, his Ears to be tack'd to the Pillory in the Palace-yard, and Dammages or Coſts of Suit to be paid by both to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. A Cenſure greater than the Crime (as moſt men conceived) in reſpect of *Osbeſton*, whoſe Indiſcretion might have been corrected with far leſs ſeverity; and leſs ſeverity was intended, then the Sentence intimated; For though *Osbeſton* at that time conceived the Archbiſhop to be his greateſt Enemy, yet the Archbiſhop was reſolved to ſhew himſelf his greateſt Friend, aſſuring the Author of this Hiſtory (before any thing was known of his ſuppoſed flight) that he would caſt himſelf at the Kings feet, for obtaining a diſcharge

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637. of that corporal punishment unto which he was Sentenced. Which may obtain the greater credit, first, in regard that no course was taken to stop his flight, no search made after him, nor any thing done in order to his Apprehension. And secondly, by *Osbestons* readiness to do the Archbishop all good Offices in the time of his Troubles, upon the knowledge which was given him (at his coming back) of such good intentions: For *Osbeston* not hoping for so much favour, and fearing more the shame of the Punishment, than the loss of Preferment had seasonably withdrawn himself to a Friends House in *London*, where he lay concealed, causing a noise to be spread abroad of his going beyond Sea, and signifying by a Paper which he left in his Study, *That he was gone beyond* Canterbury. But this hapned not till the latter end of the year next following though I have laid it here together, because of the coherence which it hath with the former Story.

To look back therefore where we left; The Bishop of *Lincoln* was no sooner Suspended by the *High-Commission* (that part of the Sentence being executed *July* 24) but all the Profits of his Preferments in the Church, were Sequestred to the use of the King: A Privy Seal is sent to the *Sub-Dean* and *Prebends* of the Church of *Westminster*, requiring them to set apart all the Profits, certain and uncertain, which of right accrued unto that *Dean*, and to pay the same from time to time into the Receipt of the Exchequer. And that his Majesties Profits might not suffer any diminution, nor the *Prebends* of that Church be punished for the fault of their *Dean*, a Commission was issued under the Great Seal of *England*, inabling them to Let and Set, to Renew Leases, keep Courts and make Grants of Offices; and finally, to act and do all manner of things which concerned the Government of that Church, in as ample manner as if the *Dean* himself had been present at the doing of them. The like course also taken, in gathering in the Profits of his other Promotions; those of the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, naturally flowing into the Exchequer as in times of Vacancy. And as for his *Episcopal Jurisdiction*, that fell as naturally to the Archbishop of the *Province*, as the Temporal Revenue to the King; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* exercising all kind of *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* throughout the Dioces of *Lincoln*, not only as *Ordinary* of that Dioces, but as *Visitor* of all those Colledges which had any dependence on that See. Amongst which Colledges, as that of *Eaton* was the chief, so there was somewhat in it which was thought to want a present Remedy; some Information being given, That they had diminished the number of their Fellows from Ten to Seven. This being a matter easily to be prooved, they were required to make up their number, according to their first Foundation by King *Henry* vi. But against this, the Fellows pleaded, That out of an hatred to their Founder a great part of their Lands had been taken from them by King *Edward* iv. conferred by him upon the *Abby* of *Westminster* and the Church of *Windsor*, and by them enjoyed untill this day; and that they hoped his Grace would not tye them to maintain the whole number of their Fellows, with little more then half their Lands. To which so reasonable

able a desire, upon full proof made of the Suggestion, his Grace did readily consent, and left them in the same state in which he found them. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

The noise of these Proceedings in *England*, in the *June* and *July* of this year, being quickly posted to the *Scots*, became a principal Incentive of those Combustions, which not long after inflamed that Kingdom; for it could be no hard matter for the *Presbyterians* there, to possess the People with the sense of the like smart Sufferings, by the Pride and Tyranny of their Bishops, if they permitted them to grow great and powerful, and did not cast about in time to prevent the mischief. And to exasperate them the more, the Superstitions of the *Liturgie*, now at the point of being put in execution, were presented to them; which if once setled amongst them, as was then intended, would in short time reduce them under the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*. They could not but confess, That many things were found fault with in the English *Liturgie*, were in this altered unto the better, the name of *Priest* (so odious unto them of the *Puritan* Faction) changed to that of *Presbyter*; no fewer than sixty Chapters, or thereabouts, taken out of the *Apocrypha*, appointed to be read by the Church in the English Book, reduced to two, and those two to be read only on the Feast of *All-Saints*; The new Translation Authorised by King *James*, being used in the *Psalms*, *Epistles*, *Gospels*, *Hymns*, and *Sentences*, instead of the old Translation so much complained of in their Books and Conferences. But what was this compared with those Superstitions, those horrible Corruptions, and Idolatries, now ready to be thrust upon them, in which this Liturgy as much exceeded that of *England*, as that of *England* had departed from the simplicity and purity of the holier Churches? Now therefore somewhat must be done to oppose the entrance of the Popish Superstitious Service-Book, either now or never: But the *Presbyterian* Ministers, who had gone thus far, did not alone bring fewel to feed this flame, to which some men of all degrees and qualities did contribute with them. The Lords and Gentry of the Realm, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of *Surrendries* above mentioned, laid hold on this occasion also; and they being seconded by some male-contented Spirits of that Nation, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his bounties to them as his Father had been before, endeavoured to possess them with Feats and Jealousies, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the Form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was. The like done also by some Lords of Secret Counsel, who before had governed as they listed, and thought their power diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them to direct in Chief. So that the People generally being fooled into this opinion, that both their Christian and Civil Liberty was no small danger, became capable of any impression which the Presbyterian Faction could imprint upon them; nor did they want incouragements from the Faction in *England*, to whom the Publication of the Book for *Sports*, the transposing of the holy Table, the suppressing of so many Lecturers, and Afternoon Sermons, and the inhibiting of Preaching, Writing, Printing, in defence of *Calvinism*, were as

PART II. distasteful and offensive, as the new *Liturgie* with all the supposed superstitions of it, was to those of *Scotland*.

Anno Dom. 1637. This Combination made, and the ground thus laid, it is no wonder if the people brake out into those distempers, which soon after followed. *Sunday* the 23. of *July* was the day appointed for the first reading of the New *Liturgie* in all the Churches of that Kingdom; and how it sped at *Edenburgh* (which was to be exemplary to all the rest) shall be told by another, who hath done it to my hand already, "*July* 23. "being *Sunday*, the *Dean* of *Edenburgh* began to read the Book in St. "*Giles* his Church (the chief of that City) but he had no sooner "entred on it than the inferiour multitude began in a tumultuous "manner to fill the Church with uprore, whereupon the Bishop of "*Edenburgh* stept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by "minding them of the Sanctity of the place, they were the more en-"raged, throwing at him Cudgels, Stools, and what was in the way "of Fury, unto the very endangering of his life. Upon this the Arch-"bishop of St. *Andrews*, Lord Chancellor, was enforced to call down "from the Gallery the *Provost*, *Bailiffs*, and other Magistrates of the "City to their assistance, who, with much ado, at length thrust the un-"ruly Rabble out of the Church, and made fast the doors. This "done, the Dean proceeded in reading the Book, the multitude in "the mean while rapping at the doors, pelting the Windows with "stones, and endeavouring what in them lay to disturb the Sacred Ex-"ercise: but notwithstanding all this clamour the Service was ended, "but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishops retiring to his "Lodging, so assaulted him, as had he not been rescued by a strong "hand, he had probably perisht by their violence. Nor was Saint "*Giles* his Church thus only pestered and profaned, but in other "Churches also (though not in so high a measure) the peoples disor-"ders were agreeable. The morning thus past, the Lord Chancellor "and Council assembled to prevent the like darings in the Afternoon, "which they so effected as the Liturgie was read without any distur-"bance: Only the Bishop of *Edenburgh* was in his return to his Lodg-"ing rudely treated by the people, the Earl of *Roxboroughs* Coach, "in which he passed, serving for no protection to him; though *Rox-*"*borough* himself was highly favoured of the People, and not with-"out some cause suspected to have had a hand in the Commotions of "that day.

Hist. K. C. p. 153.

The business, having thus miscarried in *Edenborough*, stood at a stand in all other Churches of that Kingdom; and therefore it will not be amiss to enquire in this place into the causes and occasions of it: it seeming very strange to all knowing and discerning men, that the Child that had so long lain in the Womb, perfectly formed, and now made ready for the birth, should not have strength enough to be delivered. Amongst which causes, if disposed into rank and order, that which appears first is the confidence which *Canterbury* had in the Earl of *Traquaire*, whom he had raised from the condition of a private Laird to be a Peer of that Realm, made him first *Treasurer Deputy* (*Chancellor* of the Exchequer we should call upon him in *England*) afterwards Lord

Lord *Treasurer* and Privy Counsellor of that Kingdom. This man he wrought himself so far into *Lauds* good liking, when he was Bishop of *London* only, that he looked upon him as the fittest Minister to promote the Service of that Church, taking him into his nearest thoughts, communicating to him all his Counsels, committed to his care the conduct of the whole Affair, and giving order to the Archbishops and Bishops of *Scotland* not to do any thing without his privity and direction. But being an *Hamiltonian Scot* (either originally such, or brought over at last) he treacherously betrayed the cause, communicated his Instructions to the opposite Faction from one time to another, and conscious of the plot for the next days tumult, withdrew himself to the Earl of *Mortons* house of *Dalkeith*, to expect the issue. And possible it is, that by his advice, the executing of the Liturgy was put off from *Easter*; at what time the reading of it was designed by his Majesty, as appears by the Proclamation of *December* 20. which confirmed the Book. By which improvident delay he gave the *Presbyterian* Faction the longer time to confederate themselves against it, and to possess the people with Fears and Jealousies, that by admitting of that book they should lose the Purity of their Religion, and be brought back unto the Superstitions and Idolatries of the Church of *Rome*. And by this means the People were inflamed into that Sedition, which probably might have been prevented by a quicker prosecution of the Cause at the time appointed, there being nothing more destructive of all publick Counsels than to let them take wind amongst the People, cooled by delays, and finally blown up (like a strong Fortress undermined) by some subtle practice. And there were some miscarriages also amongst the Prelates of the Kirk in not communicating the design with the Lords of the Council, and other great men of the Realm, whose Countenance both in Court and Country might have sped the business. *Canterbury* had directed the contrary in his Letters to them, when the first draughts of the Liturgy were in preparation, and seems not well pleased in another of his to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, bearing date *September* 4. that his advice in it was not followed, nor the whole body of the Council made acquainted with their Resolutions, or their advice taken, or their power called in for their assistance till it was too late. It was complained of also by some of the Bishops, that they were made strangers to the business, who in all Reason ought to have been trusted with the knowledge of that intention, which could not otherwise than by their diligence and endeavours amongst their Clergy, be brought to a happy execution. Not was there any care taken to adulce the Ministers, to gain them the Cause by fair hopes and promises, and thereby to take off the edge of such Leading men as had an influence on the rest; as if the work were able to carry on it self, or have so much Divine assistance as countervailed the wants of all helps from man. And which perhaps conduced as much to the destruction of the Service as all the rest, a publick intimation must be made in all their Churches on the *Sunday* before, that the *Liturgie* should be read on the Lords day following, of purpose, as it were, to unite all such as were not well affected to it, to disturb the same.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1637.

Cant. to *Traquaire.* Sept. 11. *Hidd. Works*, p. 168.

And

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1637. And there were ſome miſcarriages alſo, which may be looked on as *Acceſſories* after the Fact, by which the miſchief grew remedileſs, and the malady almoſt incurable. *For firſt, The Archbiſhops and Biſhops moſt concerned in it, when they ſaw what hapned, conſulted by themſelves apart, and ſent up to the King without calling a Council, or joyning the* Lay *Lords with them; whereas all had been little enough in a buſineſs of that nature, and ſo much oppoſed by ſuch Factious perſons as gathered themſelves on purpoſe together at* Edenborough *to diſturb the Service. A particular in which the Lay Lords could not be engaged too far; if they had been treated as they ought. But having run upon this error they committed a worſe in leaving* Edenborough *to it ſelf, and retiring every one to his own Dioceſs, except thoſe of* Galloway *and* Dumblaine, *For certainly they muſt needs think (as* Canterbury *writes in one of his Letters to* Traquaire) *that the Adverſe party would make uſe of the preſent time to put further difficulties upon the work; and therefore that they ſhould have been as careful to uphold it, the Biſhop of* Roſs *eſpecially, whoſe hand had been as much in it as the moſt.* But poſſibly the Biſhops might conceive the place to be unſecure, and therefore could not ſtay with ſafety, neither the Lords of the Council, nor the Magiſtrates of the City having taken any courſe to bring the chief Ringleaders of the Tumult to the Bar of Juſtice: which muſt needs animate all diſaffected and ſeditious perſons, and almoſt break the hearts of thoſe who were well inclined. And ſuch indeed was the neglect of the Civil Magiſtrate that we hear of no man puniſhed, ſcarce ſo much as queſtioned, for ſo great a Riot, as was not to be expiated but by the death, or ſome proportionable puniſhment of the chief offenders. Which had it been inflicted on ſome three or four for a terror to others, it might have kept that City quiet, and the whole Kingdom in obedience for the time to come, to the ſaving of the lives of many thouſands (ſome hundreds of thouſands at the leaſt in all the three Kingdoms) moſt miſerably loſt in thoſe long and cruel Wars, which enſued upon it. But the Lords of *Scotland* were ſo far from looking before them, that they took care only for the preſent, and inſtead of executing Juſtice on the Malefactors, *ſuſpended* the *Liturgie* it ſelf as the cauſe of the Tumult, conceiving it a ſafer way to calm the differences than to encreaſe the ſtorm by a more rigorous and ſtrict proceeding. All that they did in order to his Majeſties Service, or the Churches peace, was the calling in of a ſcandalous Pamphlet, intituled, *A diſpute againſt the Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies obtruded on the Kirk of* Scotland; which not being done till *October* 20 following, rather declared their willingneſs to ſuffer the ſaid Book to be firſt diſperſed and ſet abroad, then to be called in and ſuppreſſed.

Nor ſeemed the buſineſs to be much taken to heart in the Court of *England*, from whom the *Scots* expected to receive Directions: Nor Order given them for unſheathing the Sword of Juſtice, to cut off ſuch unſound and putrified Members, which might have ſaved the whole Body from a *Gangreen*: the drawing of ſome Blood in the Body Politick, by the puniſhment of Malefactors, being like letting Blood in the Body Natural, which in ſome ſtrong Diſtempers doth preſerve

the

the whole. Or granting that the Tumult had been grown so high, and so strongly backed, that Justice could not safely have been done upon them; a way might have been found to have cooled the Fever, without loss of Blood, by bringing the whole Corporation under the danger of a forfeiture of their Lands and Liberties in a Legal way; which course proved so successful unto King *JAMES* on the like occasion, *Anno* 1597. Or finally, supposing that the Cause admitted not such a long delay, if then his Majesty had but sent a Squadron of the Royal Navy which he had at Sea, to block up their Haven, he had soon brought the *Edenburghers* unto his devotion, and consequently kept all the rest of the Kingdom in a safe Obedience. This was the way to keep them under; and of this course the People of the City were more afraid, than of any other. Somewhat they are to do, which might make his Majesty hope bettter of them than they had deserved; and nothing they could do which might better please him, than to express their chearfulness in admitting the *Liturgie*. To this end they addressed their Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as more concerned in this Affair than any other of the Lords which were near his Majesty, expressing in the same their great dislike of the late Tumult; for their Innocency therein, they refer themselves to his Majesties Council in that Kingdom, declaring further their concurrence with the Bishops which remained in the City, and the Ministry of the same, for settling the *Service-Book*; and offering Means above their Power, to such as should undertake the Reading of it; and finally, desiring his Grace to make known to his Majesty, how ready they were at all points to advance the Service, which they promised to accept as an accumulation of his Graces Favours unto them and their City. And that this Letter of theirs, which bears date the nineteenth of *August*, might bear the greater credit with him, they did not only seem industrious for the apprehending of some, and the inquiring after others of the Principal Actors; but bound themselves by an Obligatory Act of the Common-Council, both for the Indempnity and Maintenance of such as should read the Book, the Ministers of *Edenborough* refusing to do their parts in it, without such Encouragements. But the danger was no sooner over, by the coming home of the Fleet, but they Petitioned the Lords of the Council to put them into the same condition with the rest of the Subjects; and that the *Service-Book* should be no further pressed on them, than it had been in all the other parts of the Kingdom: To which they were encouraged by a general confluence of all sorts of People, such most especially, as had most shewn their disaffection to the work in hand.

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Hist. K. C. by H. L. P. 154.

For the Harvest was no sooner in, and the People at more leisure than before to pursue that Quarrel: but the City swarmed with throngs of People from all parts, even to a formidable number, which moved the Lords to publish two Proclamations on the seventeenth of *October*; the first commanding all of them to repair to their Dwellings, except such as should shew sufficient reason for their stay and continuance there: The second, for Adjourning the Sessions from *Endenborough*, to the Town of *Linlithgow*. But this served rather like the powring

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powring on of Oyl, to encreaſe the Flame; than of Water to quench it: For the next day the Biſhop of *Galloway* being to Sit with the Lord Chief Juſtice upon ſome eſpecial Buſineſs in the Council-Houſe, he was purſued all along the Street with bitter Railings to the very Door; and being drawn in from the rage of the People, they immediately beſet the Houſe, demanding the delivery of him, and threatning his deſtruction. The Earl of *Traquair* being advertiſed of the Biſhops danger (who formerly had been his Tutor) came to his Relief, and with much ado forced an Entrance thorow the Preſs: But being got in, he was in no better plight than the Biſhop, the Clamour ſtill increaſing more and more, and encompaſſing the Council-Houſe, with terrible Menaces. Hereupon the *Provoſt* and City-Council was called to raiſe the Siege: but they returned anſwer, That their condition was the ſame; for they were ſurrounded with the like Multitude, who had enforced them, for fear of their Lives, to ſign a Paper importing, Firſt, *That they ſhould adhere to them, in oppoſition to the Service-Book:* Secondly, *To reſtore to their places* Ramſey *and* Rollock *two Silenced Miniſters, and one* Henderſon *a Silenced Reader.* No better anſwer being returned, the Lord *Treaſurer*, with the Earl of *Wigton*, went in Perſon to the Town-Council-Houſe where they found the heat of the fury ſomewhat abated, becauſe the Migiſtrates had ſigned the Paper; and returned with ſome hope that the Magiſtrates would calm the Diſorders about the Council-Houſe, ſo as the Biſhop might be preſerved: But they no ſooner preſented themſelves to the Great Street, than they were moſt boyterouſly aſſaulted, the Throng being ſo furious, as they pulled down the Lord *Treaſurer*, took away his Hat, Cloak, and White Staff, and ſo haled him to the Council-Houſe. The Lords ſeeing themſelves in ſo great danger, at length pitch upon the beſt expedient for their ſafety, and ſent to ſome of the Noblemen and Gentry, who were diſ-affected to the *Service-Book*, to come to their Aid. Theſe Lords and Gentlemen came, as was deſired, and offered both their Perſons and Power to protect them; which the Lords and the Council-Houſe readily embraced, and ſo were quietly guarded to *Holy-Rood*-Houſe, and the Biſhop to his Lodging. The Lords of the Council not thinking themſelves to be ſecure, publiſhed a Proclamation the ſame day in the afternoon, for repreſſing ſuch Diſorders for the time to come: But they found ſlender Obedience yielded to it, Commiſſioners being ſent unto them from the Citizens, in an inſolent manner, for demanding the Reſtitution of their Miniſters to their Place and Function, and performing all ſuch Matters as had been agreed on at the *Pacification*.

Theſe Riots and Seditions might have ſerved ſufficiently in another Reign, to have drawn a preſent War upon them, before they were provided in the leaſt degree to make any reſiſtance: But the *Edenburghers* knew well enough what they were to do, what Friends they had about the King, and what a Party they had got among the Lords of his Council, which Governed the Affairs of that Kingdom: And they were apt enough to hope, by the unpuniſhing of the firſt Tumult on *July* 23. That the King might rather have *patience* enough to bear ſuch

such Indignities, than *Resolution* to revenge them; so that he came at last to that perplexity, which a good Author speaks of, (a) That he must either *out-go* his Nature, or *fore-go* his Authority. For instead of using his just Power to correct their Insolencies, he courts them with his Gracious Proclamation of the seventh of *December*, in which he lets them know, *How unwilling he was that his Loyal and Faithful Subjects should be possessed with groundless and unnecessary doubts and fears touching their Religion; and therefore was pleased to declare, That as he abhorreth all Superstitions of* Popery, *so he would be most careful that nothing should be allowed within his Dominions, but that which should most tend to the Advancement of the true Religion, as it was presently professed within his Ancient Kingdom of* Scotland; *and that nothing was nor should be done therein, against the laudable Laws of that his Native Kingdom.* The Rioters perceived by this Proclamation, that the King was more afraid than hurt: And seeing him begin to shrink, they resolved to put so many fears upon him one after another, as in the end might fashion him to their desires. First therefore they began with a new Petition, not of a rude Multitude but of Noblemen, Barons, Ministers, Burgesses and Commons (the very Flower of the whole Nation) against the *Liturgie* and *Canons*. This Petition being sent to the Court, could do no less (and it did no more) than produce another Proclamation in Reply to the Substance of it, some Menaces being intermingled: but sweetned in the close, to give them the better relish. His Majesty first lets them know the Piety of his intent in appointing the *Liturgie*, assuring them, "That he had no other end in "it, than the maintenance of the true Religion there already professed, "and the beating down of all Superstition; That nothing passed in "the said Book, but what was seen and approved by himself, before "the same was either divulged or Printed; and that he was assured, "That the Book it self would be a very ready means to preserve the "Religion there professed, of which he doubted not to give them satis-"faction in his own time. Which said, he lets them know, That such as "had Assembled for subscribing the said Petition, had made themselves "liable to his highest Censures, both in Life and Fortune; That not-"withstanding, he was pleased to dispence with the errour (upon a "confidence that it proceeded rather from a preposterous Zeal, than "a disaffection to Soveraignty) on condition that they retired themselves upon notice hereof, as became good and dutiful Subjects. He "interdicted also the like Concourse as had been lately made at *Edenborough*, upon pain of Treason; commanding that none of them "should repair to *Starling* (to which the Term was then Adjourned) "or any other place of Counsel and Session, without Warrant from "the Lords of the Council; and that all such, of what sort soever (not "being Lords of the Council or Session) which were not Inhabitants "of the Town, should within six hours after publication thereof, depart the same, except they were so Licensed and Warranted as before "is said, under pain of *Treason*: And finally, he concludes with this, "he would not shut his ears against any Petition, upon this or any other subject, which they should hereafter tender to him; provided

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(a) *Cum vel excidenda sit natura, vel minuenda dignitas.* Vell. Paterc. *Hist.* L. D. *Bib. Reg.* p. 1 & 144.

Ibid. p. 114.

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"that the matter and form thereof be not prejudicial to his Regal "Authority.

Had his Majesty followed at the heels of this Proclamation, with a powerful Army, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, Kings of *England*, it might have done some good upon them. But Proclamations of Grace and Favour, if not backed by Arms, are but like Canons charged with Powder, without Ball or Bullet, making more noise than execution; and serve for nothing in effect, but to make the Rebel insolent, and the Prince contemptible, as it proved in this: For on the very day, and immediately after the reading of it, it was encountred with a Protestation, published by the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindsey*, and others, justifying themselves in their Proceedings, disclaiming all his Majesties Offers of Grace and Pardon, and positively declaring their Resolution to go on as they had begun, till they had brought the business to the end intended. And in pursuance hereof, they erected a new Form of Government amongst themselves, despotical enough in respect of those who adhered unto them, and unaccountable to his Majesty for their Acts and Orders. This Government consisted of four Tables, for the four Orders of the State, that is to say, the Noblemen, Barons, Burgesses, and Ministers: each Order consulting at his own Table, of such things as were necessary for the carrying on of the Design; which being reduced into Form, were offered, debated, and concluded at the General Table, consisting of a choice number of Commissioners out of all the rest. And that this new Government might be looked on with the greater reverence, they fixed themselves in *Edenborough*, the Regal City, leaving the Lords of Council and Session to make merry at *Sterling*, where they had little else to do than to follow their Pleasures. The Tables were no sooner formed, but they resolved upon renewing of the Ancient *Confession* of that *Kirk*, with a Band thereunto subjoined, but fitted and accommodated to the present occasion, which had been signed by King *James* on the 28th of *January*, *Anno* 1580. after there Account, and generally subscribed by all the Nation. And by this Band they entred Covenant for Maintenance of their Religion then professed, and his Majesties Person: but aiming at the destruction of both; as appeareth both by the Bandit self, and their Gloss upon it: For by the one they had bound themselves to defend each other against all Persons whatsoever, the King himself not being excepted; and by the other they declared, That under the general Names of *Popery*, *Heresie*, and *Superstition*, which were there expressed, they had abjured (and required all others so to do) not only the *Liturgie* and *Canons* lately recommended to them, but the *Episcopal Government*, and the *five Articles* of *Perth*, though confirmed by Parliament. And to this Covenant, in this sense, they required an Oath of all the Subjects, which was as great an Usurpation of the Regal Power, as they could take upon themselves, for confirming their own Authority and the Peoples Obedience, in any Project whatsoever which should afterwards issue from those Tables.

In

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In this Estate we leave the *Scots*, and return to *England*, where we shall find all things in a better condition, at least as to the outward appearance, whatsoever secret workings were in agitation amongst the Grandees and chief Leaders of the *Puritan* Faction. Little or no noise raised about the publishing of the Book for Sports, or silencing the *Calvinian* Doctrines, according to his Majesties Declaration before the Articles: No clamour touching the transposing of the Holy Table, which went on leisurely in most places, vigorously in many, and in some stood still. The *Metropolitical Visitation*, and the Care of the Bishops had setled these Particulars in so good a way, that mens Passions began to calm, and their thoughts to come to some repose, when the Commands had been more seriously considered of, than at first they were. And now the Visitation having been carried into all parts of the Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, his *Grace* began to cast his eye upon the Islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, two Islands lying on the Coast of *Normandy*, to the Dukedom whereof they once belonged, and in the Right of that Dukedom to the Crown of *England*. *Jersey*, the bigger of the two, more populous, and of richer soil: but of no great Trading. *Guernsey* the lesser, the more barren: but nourishing a wealthier People, Masters of many stout Barques, and managing a rich Trade with the neighbouring Nations. Attempted often by the *French*, since they seised on *Normandy*: but always with repulse and loss, the People being very affectionate to the *English* Government, under which they enjoy very ample Priviledges, which from the *French* they could not hope for. As parts of *Normandy*, they were subject in Ecclesiastical Matters to the Bishops of *Constance* in that Dukedom, and so continued till the Reformation of Religion here in *England*, and were then added to the Dioces and Jurisdiction of the Bishops of *Winchester*. But the *Genevian* Discipline being more agreeable to such Preachers as came to them from *France*, they obtained the Exercise thereof in the eighth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1565. The whole Government distinguished into two *Classes* or Colonies; that of *Jersey* of it self being one, and that of *Guernsey*, with the Islands of *Sark* and *Alderney*, making up the other; both *Classes* meeting in a *Synod* every second or third year, according to the Order of their Book of Discipline, digested by *Snape* and *Cartwright*, (the two great Ring-leaders of that *Faction* here in *England*) in a *Synod* held at *Guernsey*, *June* 28. 1576. And this manner they continued till the time of King *James*, when the Churches in the Isle of *Jersey* falling into some disorder, and being under an immediate Governour who was no great Friend to *Calvin*'s Plat-form, they were necessitated, for avoiding of a great mischief, to cast themselves into the Arms of the Church of *England*. The principal Ecclesiastical Officer, whilst they were under the Bishops of *Constance*, had the Title of *Dean*; for each Island one; the several Powers both of the *Chancellor* and *Archdeacon*, being united in his Person. This Office is restored again, his Jurisdiction marked out, his Fees appointed, his Revenue setled: but made accountable for his Administration, to the Bishops of *Winchester*. The *English Liturgie* is Translated also into

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French, to be read in their Churches; *Inſtructions* firſt, and afterwards a body of *Canons* framed, for Regulating both the Miniſters and People in their ſeveral Duties; thoſe *Canons* bearing date the laſt of *June*, in the one and twentieth year of that King.

For the confirming of this Iſland in their Conformity to the Government and Forms of Worſhip there eſtabliſhed, and the reducing of the others to the like condition, it was reſolved, That the *Metropolitical Viſitation* ſhould be held in each of them, at the next opening of the Spring. And that it might be carried on with the greater aſſurance, the Archbiſhop had deſigned a Perſon for his Principal *Viſitor*, who had ſpent ſome time in either Iſland, and was well acquainted with the Bayliffs, Miniſters, and men of ſpecial note amongſt them: But the Affairs of *Scotland* growing from bad to worſe, this Counſel was diſcontinued for the preſent, and at laſt laid by for all together.

But theſe Iſlands were not out of his mind, though they were out of ſight, his care extending further than his Viſitation. The Iſlanders did uſe to breed ſuch of their Sons as they deſigned for the Miniſtry either at *Saumur* or *Geneva*, from whence they returned well ſeaſoned with the Leaven of *Calviniſm*. No better way to purge that old Leaven out of the Iſlands than to allure the people to ſend their Children to *Oxon* or *Cambridge*; nor any better expedient to effect the ſame than to provide ſome preferments for them in our Univerſities. It hapned, that while he was intent on theſe conſiderations, that one *Hubbard*, the Heir of Sir *Miles Hubbard*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, departed this Life; to whom, upon an inquiſition taken after his death in due form of Law, no Heir was found which could lay claim to his Eſtate. Which falling to the Crown in ſuch an unexpected manner, and being a fair Eſtate withal, it was no hard matter for the Archbiſhop to perſwade his Majeſty to beſtow ſome ſmall part thereof upon pious uſes. To which his Majeſty conſenting, there was ſo much allotted out of it, as for the preſent ſerved ſufficiently to endow three Fellowſhips for the perpetual Education of ſo many of the Natives of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*; not without ſome probable hope of doubling the number, as the old Leaſes of it ſhould expire. Theſe Fellowſhips to be founded in *Exeter*, *Jeſus*, and *Pembroke* Colledges; that being diſperſt in ſeveral Houſes, there might be an increaſe both of Fellows, and Revenues of the ſaid foundations. By means whereof he did both piouſly and prudently provide for thoſe Iſlands, and the advancement of Conformity amongſt them in the times to come. For what could elſe enſue upon it: but that the breeding of ſome Scholars out of thoſe Iſlands in that Univerſity, where they might throughly acquaint themſelves with the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip eſtabliſht in the Church of *England*, they might afterwards at their return to their native Countries, reduce the Natives by degrees to conform unto it; which doubtleſs in a ſhort time would have done the work with as much honour to the King, and content to himſelf, as ſatisfaction to thoſe People.

It is not to be thought that the Papiſts were all this while aſleep, and that neither the diſquiets in *England*, nor the tumults in *Scotland* were

were husbanded to the beſt advantage of the Catholick Cauſe. *Panzani*, as before is ſaid, had laid the foundation of an Agency or conſtant correſpondence between the Queens Court and the Popes; and having ſo done, left the purſuit of the deſign to *Con* a *Scot*, by birth, but of a very buſie and pragmatical head. Arriving in *England* about the middle of Summer, *Anno* 1636. he brought with him many pretended reliques of Saints, Medals and Pieces of Gold with the Popes Picture ſtamped on them, to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe of that Party, but principally amongſt the Ladies of the Court and Country, to whom he made the greateſt part of his applications. He found the King and Queen at *Holdenby* Houſe, and by the Queen was very graciouſly entertained, and took up his chief Lodgings in a houſe near the new Exchange. As ſoon as the Court was returned to *Whitehall*, he applyed himſelf diligently to his work, practiſing upon ſome of the principal Lords, and making himſelf very plauſible with the King himſelf, who hoped he might make ſome uſe of him in the Court of *Rome* for facilitating the reſtitution of the Prince *Elector*. And finding that the Kings Councils were much directed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he uſed his beſt endeavours to be brought into his acquaintance. But *Canterbury* neither liked the man, nor the Meſſage which he came about, and therefore kept himſelf at a diſtance, neither admitting him to Complement, nor Communication. Howſoever by the Kings Connivence, and the Queens Indulgence, the *Popiſh* Faction gathered not only ſtrength, but confidence; multiplying in ſome numbers about the Court, and reſorting in more open manner to the Maſſes at *Somerſet*-houſe, where the *Capuchins* had obtained both a *Chappel* and *Convent*. Of this none bears the blame but *Laud*, who is traduced in Libels and common talk for the principal Architect in the Plot, and the Contriver of the miſchief.

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On this account, and the proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, before remembred, one Libel is dropt at the *South* Gate of St. *Pauls*, on *Auguſt* 23. declaring that the Devil had left that houſe to him for the ſaying of Maſs, and other abominations of the Church of *Rome*; another two days after faſtned to the *North* Gate of it, ſignifying that the Church of *England was like a Candle in a Snuff, going out in a ſtench*. His Speech in the *Star-Chamber* put into a kind of *Billary*, and hanged up at the Standard in *Cheapſide*; and another ſhort Libel made againſt him in Verſe four days after that. Awakened by ſo many Alarms he had good cauſe to look about him, but more at the great noiſe, not long after raiſed, about the ſeducing of the Counteſs of *Newport*, a Kinſwoman of the late Duke of *Buckingham*, to the Church of *Rome*; effected by the Practices of *Walter Mountague*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the importunities of *Toby Matthews*, an undeſerving Son of a worthy Father) *Con* interpoſing in it as he found occaſion. The Archbiſhop had long ſtomackt at the Inſolencies of *Matthews*, and *Mountague*, and had forborn the taking of any publick notice of them, till he had almoſt loſt himſelf in the ſight of the people. But laying hold on this opportunity, he paſſionately declares himſelf at the Council-Table, on *October* 22. in a full and free Speech to the King,

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King, concerning the increaſe of the *Roman* Party, the frequent reſort of Papiſts to *Somerſet*-houſe, the unſufferable miſdemeanors of *Matthews*, and *Mountague*, in practiſing upon his Subjects, and chiefly upon thoſe which lived within the verge of the Court, and were neareſt to him, humbly beſeeching him to put ſome ſtrong reſtraint upon them, whereby they either might be barred from coming into the Court at all, or to give no offence and ſcandal by their misbehaviours. Of this the Queen had notice that very night, who ſeemed much diſpleaſed at the matter, and let him ſee it in her Countenance, whenſoever he had any cauſe of coming where ſhe was. But the Pill was given in a very good hour, and wrought ſo effectually with the King, that *Mountague* and *Matthews* was purged out of the Court; the one betaking himſelf to his Country practice, the other for a time to his former travels in *France* and *Italy*. Which the Queen finding to be paſt remedy, and knowing how neceſſary a Servant the Archbiſhop was to his *Great Maſter*, and how uſeful he might be to her in her own affairs, ſhe admitted him to her ſpeech again in *December* following; and after ſome expoſtulations concerning *Mountague*, ſhe began to clear her Countenance, and to part fair with him.

Follow this buſineſs into the next year, and we ſhall find him moving for a Proclamation, about the calling in of a Popiſh Book, written in *French* by *Francis Sales* Biſhop of *Geneva*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed by the name of an *Introduction to a devout life*, which Book being brought to *Haywood*, the Archbiſhops Chaplain, and by him purged of divers unſound paſſages apparently tending unto Popery before it was licenſed to the Preſs, was notwithſtanding publiſhed as it came to his hands, without alteration, the Tranſlator inſerting the ſame paſſages into it again, and the Printer conniving at the ſame. The Printer was thereupon apprehended, and the Tranſlator diligently ſought for to be brought to Juſtice; his Majeſties care for maintaining the Religion profeſſed in the Church of *England* in its natural purity, being ſo remarkable that he cauſed the ſaid Book to be called in, and as many as could be ſeiſed on, to be publickly burned. But that which did moſt generally vindicate his Reputation, was the enlarging and reprinting of his *Conference* with *Fiſher* the *Jeſuite*, to which he had been moved by ſome of his private friends (none of them knowing that any other but himſelf had made the motion) when the Libellers were moſt fierce againſt him, and afterwards adviſed to it by the King himſelf at the Council-Table. The former Propoſitions had diſpoſed him to it, and this deſire of the Kings ſerved for a command to confirm him in it: But multiplicity of buſineſs gave him ſo little leiſure to attend his Studies, that the year was almoſt ended before the Book could be made ready for the publick view. But at the laſt it came from the Preſs, and was preſented to his Majeſty on *Sunday* the tenth of *February*, and the next day expoſed unto open ſale. A Piece ſo ſolidly compacted, that one of our Hiſtorians (who ſhews himſelf to be none of his greateſt Friends) gives it the commendation of being *the exacteſt Maſter-piece of* Polemique *Divinity of* any *extent* at that time; further affirming, That *he declared himſelf therein to be ſo little theirs* (he means

Bibl. Regia, part. 1. p. 39

Epiſt. to the King. p. 8.

Hiſt. K. C. p. 178.

means the *Papists*) *as he had for ever disabled them from being so much their own as before they were.* And *DERING*, his most professed Adversary, in the Preface to his Book of Speeches, could not but confess, but that in his Book, especially the last half of it, *he had muzzled the Jesuite, and should strike the Papist under the fifth Rib, when he was dead and gone. And being dead, that wheresoever his grave should be,* Pauls *would be his perpetual* Monument, *and his own Book his* Epitaph. *Collection of Speeches. p. 5.*

But such was his unhappy Fate, that many obstinate and malicious *Puritans* would not be otherwise perswaded of him, than before they were; which they spared not to express upon this occasion: One of his Majesties Chaplains in *Ordinary* had Preached two Sermons in *January* foregoing on *Mat.* 13. 26. which being brought into discourse at such time as the Archbishops Book was newly published, it was affirmed by some moderate men, that the Doctor in those two Sermons had pulled up Popery by the very roots; one of the company replying thereunto, That the Archbishop might Print, and the Doctor might Preach what they pleased against Popery, but that he should never think them, or either of them to be the less Papists for all that. A Censure of so strange a nature, and so little savouring of Christianity, that I believe it is not easie to be paralelled in the worst of times. And when no Priest nor Jesuite could be found so confident as to venture on an Answer to it, one of the *Presbyterian Scots* (for such he was then generally affirmed to be) published an unlicensed Piece against him, under the Title of *A Reply to a Relation of the Conference betwixt* William Laud *and Mr.* Fisher *the Jesuite*, said to be writ *by a Witness of Jesus Christ.* In the whole course whereof the Author, whosoever he was, most miserably perverts his words, and mistakes his meaning, wresting the most Orthodox and innocent truths to his wicked ends, and putting his own corrupt Gloss and sense upon them. And which is yet most strange of all, with an unparalelled impudence he dedicates it to his Sacred Majesty, calling upon him, "To send out his Royal Edict for the taking down of all "Altars, (which where ever they stand, are by him said to stand in "open defiance of Christ;) Another for calling in the Book for "Sports on the Lords day; A third, for calling in his Declaration be"fore the Articles of Religion; A fourth for calling in of all Orders "for the Restraint of Preaching; A fifth, for restoring to their place "and Ministry all those who out of Conscience of their duty to God "had by the Prelates been thrust out of all for refusing to read the said "Book: And finally, for releasing and setting at liberty the three poor "banished prisoners, the loud cry of whose oppressions might other"wise provoke the thunderbolt of Divine Revenge to blast the beauty "of his State.

Now as he laboured by these means to preserve the Church of *England* from the growth of *Popery*, so he took care for preventing the subversion of it, by the spreading of the *Socinian* Heresies. He had before took care for suppressing all Books of that nature which had been imported into *England* out of other Countries, and had received thanks for it from the Pen of a Jesuit: But *Burton* chargeth it upon him among his

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638. his Crimes, reproaching him for suppressing those books for no other reason but because they magnified the Authority of the holy Scriptures; and by the late Decree for Printing (of which more anon) he had took such order, that no Eggs of that pestiferous Brood should be laid in *England*, or if they were, should ever peep out of the Shell, or appear in sight. There had been published a Discourse, called, *Disquisitio Brevis*, in which some of the principal *Socinian* Tenants were cunningly inserted, pretending them for the best Expedients to appease some Controversies betwixt us and *Rome*: The Book ascribed in common Speech to *Hales* of *Eaton*; a man of infinite reading, and no less ingenuity; free of Discourse, and as communicative of his knowledge as the Cœlestial Bodies of their light and influences. There past also up and down a Discourse of *Schism*, not Printed, but transmitted from hand to hand in written Copies (like the Bishop of *Lincolns* Letter to the *Vicar* of *Grantham*) intended chiefly for the encouragement of some of our great Masters of Wit and Reason, to despise the Authority of the Church. Which being dispersed about this time, gave the Archbishop occasion to send for him to *Lambeth*, in hope that he might gain the man, whose abilities he was well acquainted with when he lived in *Oxon*. An excellent *Grecian* in those days, and one whom *Savil* made great use in his *Greek* Edition of St. *Chrysostoms* Works. About nine of the Clock in the Morning he came to know his Graces pleasure, who took him along with him into his Garden, commanding that none of his Servants should come at him upon any occasion. There they continued in discourse till the Bell rang to Prayers, and after Prayers were ended, till the Dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of the Lord *Conway* and some other Persons of honour, put a necessity upon some of his Servants to give him notice how the time had passed away. So in they came, high coloured, and almost panting for want of breath; enough to shew, that there had been some heats between them, not then fully cooled. It was my chance to be there that day, either to know his Graces pleasure, or to render an account of some former commands, but I know not which; and I found *Hales* very glad to see me in that place, as being himself a meer stranger to it, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards, That he found the Archbishop (whom he knew before for a nimble Disputant) to be as well versed in books as business; That he had been ferretted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further shelter; That he was now resolved to be Orthodox, and to declare himself a true Son of the Church of *England*, both for Doctrine and Discipline; That to this end he had obtained leave to call himself his *Graces* Chaplain, that naming him in his Publick Prayers for his Lord and Patron, the greater notice might be taken of the Alteration. Thus was *Hales* gained unto the Church, and gained a good preferment in it; promoted not long after by the Archbishops Commendation to be Prebend of *Windsor*, and so hold the same by special dispensation, with his place in *Eaton*.

Nor was the Archbishop less intent upon all Advantages for keeping down the *Genevian* Party, and hindring them from Printing and Publishing

lishing any thing which might disturb the Churches Peace, or corrupt her Doctrine. To this end he procured a Decree to be pass'd in the *Star-Chamber*, on *July* 11. *Anno* 1637. to Regulate the Trade of *Printing*, and prevent all Abuses of that Excellent Art, to the disturbance of the Church. By which Decree it had been Ordered, *That the Master-Printers from thenceforth should be reduced to a certain number; and that if any other should secretly or openly pursue that Trade, he should be set in the Pillory, or whipped through the Streets, and suffer such other Punishment as that Court should inflict upon him; That none of the said Master-Printers should from thenceforth Print any Book or Books of Divinity, Law, Physick, Philosophy, or Poetry, till the said Books, together with the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Tables, or Commendatory Verses, shall be lawfully Licensed, either by the Archbishop of* Canterbury, *or the Bishop of* London *for the time being, or by some of their Chaplains, or by the Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors of either of the two Universities, upon pain of loosing the Exercise of his Art, and being proceeded against in the* Star-Chamber, *or the* High-Commission *Court respectively; That no Person or Persons do hereafter Re-print, or cause to be Re-printed, any Book or Books whatsoever (though formerly Printed with License) without being reviewed, and a new License obtained for the Re-printing thereof: That every Merchant, Book-seller, or other Person, who shall Import any Printed Books from beyond the Seas, shall present a true Catalogue of them to the said Archbishop or Bishop for the time being, before they be delivered, or exposed to Sale, upon pain of suffering such Punishment as by either of the said two Courts respectively shall be thought fit, That none of the said Merchants, Book-sellers, or others, shall upon pain of the like Punishment, deliver any of the Books so Imported, till the Chaplains of the said Archbishop or Bishop for the time being, or some other Learned Man by them appointed, together with the Master and Wardens of the Company of* Stationers, *or one of them, shall take a view of the same, with Power to seize on all such Books which they found to be Schismatical and Offensive, and bring them to the said Archbishop or Bishop, or to the* High-Commission *Office: And finally, That no Merchant, Book-seller, &c. should Print, or cause to be Printed beyond the Seas, any Book or Books, which either totally, or for the greatest part, were written in the* English *Tongue, whether the said Books have been heretofore Printed, or not; nor shall willingly nor knowingly Import any such Books into this Kingdom, upon pain of being proceeded against in either of the said two Courts respectively, as before is said.* By means of which Decree he had so provided both at home and abroad, That neither the Patience of the State should be exercised (as in former times) with continual Libels; nor the Church troubled by unwarrantable and Outlandish Doctrines.

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But good Laws are of no effect without execution; and if he took no care for that, he had lost his labour. King *James* had manifested his dislike of the *Genevian* Bibles, and the Notes upon them; some of which did not only teach Disobedience to Kings and Princes, but the murthering of them also, if they proved Idolaters; and others did not only teach the Lawfulness of breaking Faith and Promise,

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when the keeping of it might conduce to the hurt of the Gospel: but ranked Archbishops, Bishops, and all men in Holy Orders, or *Academical Degrees*, amongst those *Locusts* in the *Revelation*, which came out of the Pit. That King gave Order thereupon, that the Bible of the New Translation should be Printed with no Notes at all; which course he also recommended to the *Synod* of *Dort*, to be observed in the new Translation of the Bible into the *Dutch* or *German* Tongue, which was then intended. Upon this ground, the Printing of those Bibles with Notes upon them had been forbidden in this Kingdom: but were Printed in *Holland* notwithstanding, and brought over hither, the better to keep up the Faction, and affront Authority. Some of them had before been seised in *Holland*, by the care of *Boswel* the Resident at the *Hague*: And in the beginning of this year, he received Advertisement of a new Impression of the same designed for *England*, if the terrour of this Decree did not stop their coming. Because *Holland*, and the rest of the Provinces under the Government of the States, was made the Receptacle of many of our *English* Male-contents, who there and from thence vented their own Passions, and the Discourses of their Party in this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the Church; it concerned him to keep a careful watch over them and their Actions. Of these he had Advertisement from time to time, by one *John de Maire*; and thereupon, by the means of *Boswel* his right trusty Friend, he dealt so effectually with the *States-General* of those Provinces, that they made a Proclamation against the Printers and Spreaders of Libellous and Seditious Books against the Church and Prelates of *England*; and took Order with the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam* (two great Towns in *Holland*) for apprehending and punishing of such *Englishmen* as had Printed any of the said Lawless and Unlicensed Pamphlets.

Cant. Doom. P. 349.

There was a time when Queen *Elizabeth* beheld the Pope as her greatest Enemy, in reference to her Mothers Marriage, her own Birth, and consequently her Title to the Crown of *England*; and many of the Books which were Printed in and about that time, were full of bitterness and revilings against the Church of *Rome* it self, and all the Divine Offices, Ceremonies, and Performances of it. There was a time also when the *Calvinian* Doctrines were embraced by many for the Genuine Doctrines of this Church, to the great countenancing of the *Genevian* Discipline and Forms of Administration: And not a few of the Books then Printed, and such as after were Licensed in *Abbot*'s Time, aimed principally at the Maintenance of those Opinions, which the latter Times found inconsistent with the Churches Doctrines. With equal diligence he endeavoured by his Decree to hinder the Reprinting of the one and the other, that so the Church might rest in quiet, without any trouble or molestation in her self, or giving offence to any other.

As little Trouble could be feared from Lecturers, as they now were Regulated. The greatest part of those who had been Superinducted into other Mens Cures (like a *Doctor* added to the *Pastor* in *Calvin*'s Plat-form) had deserted their Stations, because they would not read the

the Common-Prayers in their Hoods and Surplices, according to the Kings Instructions before remembred; such as remained being either founded on a constant or certain Maintenance, or seeing how little was to be gotten by a fiery and ungoverned Zeal, became more pliant and conformable to the Rules of the Church: Not a Lecturer of this kind found to stand out in some great Dioceſſes, to keep up the Spirits of the Faction, and create disturbances. And as for Combination-Lecturers, named for the most part by the Bishops, and to them accountable, they also were required in some places to read the second Service at the Communion-Table, to go into the Pulpit at the end of the *Nicene* Creed, to use no other form of Prayer than that of the 55 *Canon*, after the Sermon ended, to go back to the Table, and there read the Service. All which being to be done in their Hoods and Surplices, kept off the greatest part of the Rigid *Calvinists* from exercising their Gifts, as formerly in great Market-Towns. And as for the position of the Communion-Table, it was no longer left to private Instructions, as it was at the first, when the Inquiry went no further, than, *Whether the Lords Table was so conveniently placed, that the Minister might best be seen and heard of the Congregation?* The more particular disposing of it, being left to Inference, Conjecture, or some private Directions. It now began to be more openly avowed in the *Visitation-Articles* of several Bishops and Archdeacons, some of which we shall here produce, as a light to the rest: For thus we find it in the Articles for the *Archdeaconry* of *Buckingham*, *Anno* 1637. *Art.* 5. *Have you a decent Table, or a Frame for the Holy Communion, placed at the East end of the Chancel? It is Railed in or Encloſed, so as Men or Boys cannot sit upon it, or throw their Hats upon it? Is the said Rail and Incloſure so made with Settles and kneeling-Benches, at the foot or bottom thereof, as the Communicants may fitly kneel there at the Receiving of the Holy Communion?* The like for the Dioceſs of *Norwich* in the year before, where we find it thus; *viz. Have you in your Church a Communion-Table, a Carpet of Silk?* &c. *And is the same placed conveniently, so as the Minister may best be heard in his Administration, and the greatest number may reverently Communicate? To that end, Doth it ordinarily stand up at the East end of the Chancel, where the Altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South?* And in another Article it is thus inquired, *viz. Do all your Parishioners, of what sort soever, according as the Church expresly then commandeth, draw near, and with all Christian Humility and Reverence, come to the Lords Table, when they are to receive the Holy Communion?* But because these Articles might be thought too general, if not otherwise limited, certain *Injunctions* were annexed in Writing, in one of which it was required, *That the said Tables should be Railed in, to avoid Prophanations*; and secondly, *That all Communicants should come up by Files, and Receive the Sacrament at the same.* Which was performed in this manner: As many as could well kneel close to the Rails, came up out of the Church or Chancel, and then upon their knees received (from the Priest standing within the Rails) the Bread and Wine; who being thus Communicated, retired into the Church or Chancel, and made room for others.

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Art. of the Visit. of B. Wren.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638. Which course was constantly observed, till they had all Received the Sacrament in their ranks and forms, according to the antient Custom of the Church of *England*; till Novellism, and Compliance with the Forms of *Geneva*, had introduced a deviation from their own appointments.

In this condition stood that Diocess, as to these particulars, when *Wren*, translated unto *Ely*, left the place to *Mountague*; who though he was as zealous, and as forward as he in railing in the Communion-Table at the East end of the Chancel where the Altar stood, (as appears by his Visitation Articles for this present year) yet he had fancied to himself a middle Course between receiving at the Rail and carrying the Communion to all parts of the Church, as had been most irreverently used in too many places. And therefore that he might do somewhat to be called his own, he caused a meeting of the Clergy to be held at *Ipswich* for the parts adjoyning, where he prescribed these following Orders: That is to say, "First, After the words, or "Exhortation pronounced by the Minister (standing at the Commu-"nion-Table, the Parishioners as yet standing in the body of the "Church) *Draw near*, &c. all which intended to Communicate should "come out of the Church into the Chancel. Secondly, That all being "come in, the Chancel door should be shut, and not opened till the "Communion be done; That no Communicant depart till the Dis-"mission; That no new Communicant come in amongst them; And "that no Boys, Girls, or Gazers be suffered to look in as at a Play. "Thirdly, That the Communicants being entred should be disposed of "orderly in their several Ranks, leaving sufficient room for the Priest "or Minister to go between them; by whom they were to be com-"municated one Rank after another, till they had all of them received. "Fourthly, and finally, That after they had all received, the Priest "or Minister should dismiss them with the Benediction. Which though it differed very little from the Rules prescribed by his Predecessor, yet some diversity there was, for which he rendred an account to his Metropolitan, and was by *Wren* sufficiently answered in all points thereof. It was not coming up to the Rail, but going into the Chancel, which had been stomached, and opposed by the Puritan Faction, who loved to make all places equal, and to observe as little reverence in the Participation as in all other Acts of Worship: Which *Mountague* either not considering or fancying to himself some hopes which he had no ground for, resolved to fall upon this course, which he conceived to be more agreeable to the course of Antiquity, and most consistent as he thought with the Rules of Politie. For by this condescension he presumed, as himself informs us, to keep many men at home with their Wives and Families, in obedience to his Majesties Laws, who otherwise were upon a resolution of departing the Kingdom; wherein how much he was deceived, the event discovered.

For so it was, that the people in many great trading Towns, which were near the Sea, having been long discharged of the Bond of Ceremonies, no sooner came to hear the least noise of a Conformity, but they began to spurn against it. And when they found that all their striving

striving was in vain, that they had lost the comfort of their Lecturers, and that their Ministers began to shrink at the very name of a Visitation, it was no hard matter for those Ministers and Lecturers to perswade them to remove their dwellings, and transport their Trades. The Sun of Heaven, say they, doth shine as comfortably in other places, the Son of Righteousness much brighter: Better to go and dwell in *Goshen*, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such an *Egyptian* darkness as was then falling on this Land. The sinful corruptions of the Church (said they) were now grown so general, that there was no place free from that Contagion, and infections of it; and *therefore go out of her my people, and be not partaker of her sins.* And hereunto they were the more easily perswaded by seeing so many Dutchmen with their Wives and Children to forsake the Kingdom; who having got Wealth enough in *England*, chose rather to go back to their Native Countries, than to be obliged to resort to their Parish Churches, as by the Archbishops Injunctions they were bound to do. Amongst the first which separated upon this account were *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Burroughs*, *Bridge*, and *Sympson*; who taking some of their followers with them, betook themselves to *Holland*, as their City of Refuge. There they filled up their Congregations to so great a number, that it was thought fit to be divided; *Goodwin* and *Nye* retiring unto *Arnheim*, a Town of *Gelderland*; *Sympson* and *Bridge* fixing at *Rotterdam* in *Holland*: but what became of *Burroughs* I am yet to seek. These men affecting neither the severe Discipline of *Presbytery*, nor the Licenciousness incident to *Brownisme*, embraced *Robinsons* Moddel of Church-Government in their Congregations, consisting of a Co-ordination of several Churches for their mutual comfort, not a Subordination of the one to the other, in the way of direction or command. Hence came that name of *Independents*, continued unto those amongst us, who neither associate themselves with the *Presbyterians*, nor embrace the Frensies of the *Anabaptists*. But they soon found the Folly of their Divisions, *Rotterdam* growing too narrow a place for *Bridge* and *Sympson*, so that this last was forced to leave it, and *Ward* who succeeded him could not tarry long. More unity there was at *Arnheim*, where their Preachers did not think they had done enough in confirming their new Church to the Pattern which they saw in the Mount, if it were not Apostolical in the highest perfection: To which end they not only admitted of *Hymns*, and *Prophecyings* which the Sister-Congregations had not enterrained: but of *Widdows*, and the *holy Kiss*, cashired for the avoiding of Scandal in the Primitive times; yea, and of the *Extreme Unction also*, the exercise whereof by *Kissin* and *Patients* I had rather the Reader should take out of the *Gangræna*, than expect from me.

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The curteous entertainment which these people found in the *Belgick* Provinces, might easily have served for a strong temptation to bring over the rest to enjoy the like: But the Country was too narrow for them, and the Brethren of the Separation desired elbow-room for fear of *Enterfeering* with one another. *New-England* was chiefly in their eye, a *Puritan* Plantation from the first beginning, and there-

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therefore fitter for the growth of the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Gospel than any Country whatsoever. A Country first discovered to any purpose by one Captain *Gosnold*, *Anno* 1602. and in the next year more perfectly surveyed by some of *Bristol*; afterwards granted by King *James*, *Anno* 1606. unto a Corporation of Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants to be planted and disposed of for the Publick, under the Ordering and Direction of Chief Justice *Popham*, by whom a Colony was sent thither in the year next following; at what time they built St. *Georges* Fort to secure their Haven, that they might have a door open for their going thence, which soon after followed. And though the Adventurers made a further attempt in the year 1616. yet it never setled into Form till the building of *New-Plymouth*, in the year 1620. and some incouragements being sent thence to bring others on, it came in very short space to so swift a growth, that no *Plantation* for the time ever went beyond it; New *Bristol*, new *Boston*, and new *Barnstable*, being quickly added to the other. (a) The growth of old *Rome* and new *England* had the like foundation, both *Sanctuaries* for such of the neighbouring Nations as longed for Novelties and Innovations both in Church and State. But let the Reader take their Character from (b) *de Laet* a right good *Chorographer*, in the third Book of his Description of *America*, where he informeth us, that the first Planters, and those which followed after them were altogether of that Sect, which in *England* were called *Brownists* or *Puritans*; many of which had formerly betaken themselves to *Holland*, but afterwards departed thence to joyn with their brethren in *New-England*. The Churches cast into the same mould with those before, all of them following the device of *Robinson*, that notorious *Schismatick*, at the spawning of the second separation in *Amsterdam*: Who, to distinguish his followers from the brethren of the first separation governed by a Try-formed *Presbytery* of Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, introduced a new way of his own, leaving as much Exercise of Church Discipline to the whole Congregation, as was elsewhere enjoyed by the Pastors and Elders.

(a) *Ad quam turba omnis ex finitimis gentibus, novarum rerum cupida confluxit.* Liv. Hist. Lib. 1.

(b) *Primos hosce Colonos, uti & illos qui postea accesserint, potissimum aut omnino fuisse ex eorum hominum Secta quos in Anglia Brownistas & Puritanos vocant, &c.* lib. 3. cap. 8.

In this estate they stood in the year 1633. at what time *John de Laet* made that Character of them: Exceedingly increased in short time after, both in Men and Buildings, by those who frequently flocked thither from most parts of this Kingdom, either for fear of Punishment, or for danger of Debt, or to enjoy the folly of their Schism with the greater safety. But whatsoever were the causes of the Separation, certain I am, the crime was laid on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, amongst the Articles of whose Impeachment by the House of Commons, I find this for one, *viz. That in his own Person, and his Suffragans, Visitors, Surrogates, Chancellors, or other Officers by his Command, he had caused divers Learned, Pious and Orthodox Preachers of Gods Word to be silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, excommunicated, or otherwise grieved and vexed without any just and lawful cause; whereby, and by divers other means he hath hindred the Preaching of Gods Word*, and caused divers of his Majesties Subjects to forsake the Kingdom. So is the Judge to be accused for all those mischiefs, which the con-

condemned Malefactors; when they once brake Prison may design and execute. The principal Bell-weathers of these flocks, were *Cotton*, *Chancy*, *Wells*, *Hooker*, and perhaps *Hugh Peters*; the rest, let them look after, who affect such Company. Not much took notice of at the first, when they were few in Numbers, and inconsiderable for their Power: but growing up so fast both in strength and multitude, they began to carry a face of danger. For how unsafe must it be thought both to Church and State, to suffer such a constant Receptacle of discontented, dangerous, and schismatical Persons, to grow up so fast; from whence, as from the Bowels of the *Trojan* Horse, so many Incendiaries might break out to inflame the Nation? *New-England*, like the Spleen in the Natural Body, by drawing to it so many sullen, sad, and offensive Humours, was not unuseful and unserviceable to the General Health: But when the Spleen is grown once too full, and emptieth it self into the Stomach, it both corrupts the Blood, and disturbs the Head, and leaves the whole man wearisom to himself and others. And therefore to prevent such mischiefs as might thence ensue, it was once under Consultation of the chief Physitians, who were to take especial care of the Churches Health, to send a Bishop over to them, for their better Government; and back him with some Forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to perswade Obedience. But this Design was strangled in the first Conception, by the violent breakings out of the Troubles in *Scotland*, which call upon us from this place to look towards them.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

And now again we are for *Scotland*, where we spent the last year in doing nothing, and shall spend this in doing that which was worse than nothing. The Insolencies of the *Covenanters* were now grown so great, that some advised the King to take the Sword into his hand, and to reduce them to Obedience by force of Arms, before they had ripened their Intelligences, and formed a Party to their will both at home and abroad: But the King would not hearken to it, resolved upon his Fathers way of sending Commissioners, and trying what he might effect by Treaty and Negotiation. Which Resolution being taken, the next Consideration was for the choice of the man. The well-affected *Scots* pitched on the Marquis of *Huntley*, a man of great Power in his own Country, true to the King, and a professed Enemy to the *Presbyterians*. And to this end the Earl of *Sterling* Principal Secretrary of Estate, the Bishops of *Ross* and *Brechin* Privy-Counsellors both, *Hay* the Clerk-Register, and *Spotswood* Lord President of the *Sessions* (a most deserving Son of a Reverend Father) made a journey thence unto the King, and used their best Endeavours with him, to commit the managing of that great Trust into *Huntleys* hands: But the Court-Faction carried it for the Marquis *Hamilton*, whose Head was better than his Heart, a notable dissembler, true only to his own ends, and a most excellent Master in the Art of Insinuation, by which he *screwed* himself so far into his Majesties good opinion, that whosoever undertook the *unrivetting* of him, made him faster in it. And so far had the man prevailed by his Arts and Instruments, that the Duke of *Lenox* was brought over to contribute his Assistances to

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638. to him; and rather chose to commend the known Enemy of his House to that great Employment, than that a private Country-Gentleman (such as *Huntley* was) should carry the Honour from them both. And therefore briefly in this place to speak of *Hamilton*, and his Proceedings in the weighty Charge commited to him (in which he hath been generally suspected to betray his Master) we will fetch the Story somewhat higher, that we may see what ends he aimed at for himself, and what enclined him rather to foment than quench the flames which had been kindled in that Kingdom.

Know therefore, That the *Hamiltonian* Family derives it self from one *Hamilton* an *Englishman*, who went to try what Fortunes he could find in *Scotland*: Neither himself nor his Posterity of any great note, till *James* iii. bearing a great affection to Sir *James Hamilton*, married him to one of his Sisters whom he had forcibly taken from the Lord *Boyd* her former Husband. From this unlawful Marriage descended another *James*, the Grandchild of this, as impious and adulterous in his second Marriage, as his Grandmother had been before: For having married a Wife of one of the Noble Houses of *Scotland*, he put her shamefully away, and took into his Bed a Niece of Cardinal *Beton's*, who then swayed all things in that Kingdom. Of this last Marriage came *John* Earl of *Arran*, Created by King *James* vi. the first Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Father of *John*, and Grandfather of *James* Marquis of *Hamilton*, of whom we now speak. This man considering with himself, that he was descended from a Daughter of King *James* ii. (but without taking notice of any intervenient Flaws which occurred in the Pedigree) conceived by little and little, That a Crown would look as lovely upon his Head; as on the Heads of any which descended from a Daughter of *James* v. To give some life unto his Fancies, he found the Great Men amongst the *Scots* in high discontentments, about the Revocation of Church-Lands, which the King then busily intended: The Popular Party in *England* no less discontented, by the Dissolving of three Parliaments one after another; and the *Puritans* in both, by the great Power and Credit which some Bishops had attained unto in either Kingdom. In which conjuncture, it was not hard for him to conceive, That he might make unto himself a strong Party in That, without fear of any opposition to be made from This. And so far had his hopes gone with him, when he obtained the Conduct of an Army, intended by his Majesty for assisting of the King of *Sweden* in the Wars of *Germany*: An Army for the most part raised in *Scotland*, and most of the Commanders of that Nation also, whom he had so obliged unto him by his Arts and Flatteries, that a Health was openly begun by *David Ramsey* (a *boisterous Ruffian* of that Court) to King *James* the Seventh: And so much of the Design was discovered by him unto *Donald Maukie* Baron of *Ree*, than being in the Marquisses Camp, that the Loyal Gentleman thought himself bound in duty to make it known unto the King. *Ramsey* denying the whole matter, and the Lords having no proof thereof (as in such secret Practices it could hardly be) more then a confident asseveration, and the engagement of his Honour, the King thought good

to

to refer the Controversie to the Earl of *Lindsey*, whom he made Lord High-Constable to that end and purpose. Many days were spent accordingly in pursuance of it: But when most men expected that the matter would be tryed by Battel, as had been accustomed in such cases, the Business was hushed up at Court, the Lord *Ree* dismissed to his Employment in the Wars, and, contrary to the mind of all good men, the Marquis did not only continue in the Kings great Favour: but *Ramsey* was permitted to hold the Place of Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, which had been formerly procured for him.

As for the Army of *Scots*, consisting of 7000. if my memory fail not, transported into *Germany* in the Summer before, *Anno* 1631. they mouldred away by little and little, without acting any thing; the King of *Sweden* being then in a prosperous condition, and not desiring the *Scots* should carry away any part of the Spoil and Honour which he doubted not of acquiring to his own Nation in the course of the War. This puts the Marquis upon new Counsels; and in the course of these new Counsels, he was not only to foment those Animosities which had been raised in that Nation against the King, but to remove all those Impediments which might lye in the way betwixt him and his affected Greatness. Two men there were whom he more feared than all the rest, both of the House of *Graham*, and both descended from a Son of King *Robert* the Second; and that too by a clearer Descent, than the *Hamiltons* could pretend from the Daughter of King *James* ii. The first was *William* Earl of *Menteith*, descended from an Heir-general of *David* Earl of *Stratherne*, one of the younger Sons of King *Robert* ii. as before was said: A man of sound Abilities and approved Affections, and therefore by the King made President of the Council in *Scotland*: In which Office he behaved himself, and stood so stoutly in behalf of the King his Master upon all occasions, that nothing could be done for Advance of *Hamiltons* Designs, till he was removed from that Place. In order whereunto it was put into his head by some of that Faction, that he should sue unto the King to be Created Earl of *Stratherne*, as the first and most honourable Title which belonged to his House; That his Merits were so great, as to assure him not to meet with a denial; and that the King could do no less, than to give him some nominal Reward for his real Services. On these Suggestions, he repaired to the Court of *England* 1632. where without any great difficulty, he obtained his Suit, and waited on the King the most part of the Summer-Progress; no man being so openly honoured, and courted by the *Scottish* Nation, as he seemed to be: But no sooner was he gone for *Scotland*, but the *Hamiltonians* terrified the King with the Dangers which he had run into by that Creation, whereby he had revived in that proud and ambitious Person, the Rights which his Ancestors pretended to the Crown of *Scotland*; That the King could not choose but see how generally the *Scots* flock'd about him (after his Creation) when he was at the Court, and would do so much more when he was in *Scotland*: And finally, That the proud man already had so far declared himself, as to give it out, *That the King held the Crown of him.* Hereupon a Commission was speedily

PART II. Anno Dom. 1638.

posted into *Scotland* (in which those of *Hamiltons* Faction made the greatest number) to inquire into his Life and Actions, and to consider of the Inconveniencies which might redound unto the King by his affecting this new Title. On the Return whereof, the poor Gentleman is removed from his Office, from being one of the Privy Council; and not only deprived of the Title of the Earl of *Stratherne*, but of that also of *Menteith*, which for a long time had remained in his Ancestors. And though he was not long after made Earl of *Airth*, yet this great fall did so discourage him from all Publick Businesses, that he retired to his own House, and left the way open to the *Hamiltoneans* to play their own Game as they listed. Faithful for all this to the King, in all changes of Fortune; neither adhering to the *Covenanters*, nor giving the least countenance to them, when he might not only have done it with safety, but with many personal Advantages which were tendred him.

The other Bar to be thrust back, was the Earl of *Montross*, of the same House, and descended from the same Original; as plausible with the Souldiers and Men of War, as his Cosin of *Menteith* was powerful at the Council-Table. This man returning out of *France* in the flower and Bravery of his Age, had an intent of putting himself into the Kings Service, and was advised to make his way by the Marquis of *Hamilton*; who, knowing the Gallantry of the Man, and fearing a Competitor in his Majesties Favour, cunningly told him, That he would do him any Service: but that the King was so wholly given up to the *English*, and so discountenanced and slighted the *Scottish* Nation, that were it not for doing Service to his Country (which the King intended to reduce into the form of a Province) he could not suffer the Indignities which were put upon him. This done, he repairs unto the King, tells him of the Earls return from *France*, and of his purpose to attend him at the time appointed: but that he was so Powerful, so Popular, and of such esteem amongst the *Scots*, by reason of an old Descent from the Royal Family, that if he were not *nipped in the bud* (as we use to say) he might indanger the Kings interest and affairs in *Scotland*. The Earl being brought unto the King, with very great demonstrations of affection on the Marquis his part, the King without taking any great notice of him, gave him his hand to kiss, and so turned aside; which confirmed him in the Truth of that false Report, which *Hamilton* had delivered to him: So that in great displeasure and disdain, he makes for *Scotland*. There finds he Colonel *Alexander Lesly* (an obscure fellow, but made rich with the Spoils of *Germany*) as discontented as himself, for being denied the honourable Title of a *Baron*, which he ambitiously sought for at the Kings being there. And he found them there also, who perceived on what foot he halted, and knew well how to work on such humours as he brought along with him, till by seconding the Information which he had brought from *Hamilton*, they had fashioned him wholly to their will: For they prevailed so far upon him, that at the first he cordially espoused their Quarrel against the *Liturgie* and *Canons*, and whatsoever else they found fault withal in the Publick Government; he being one of those

Great

Great Persons (and as forward as any of them all) who published a *Protestation* at the Cross in *Edenborough*, against one of his Majesties Proclamations of Grace and Favour: But afterwards being displeased that *Lesly* was preferred before him in Commanding the Army; and looking thereupon more carefully into the depth of the Design than at first he did, he estranged himself from them by degrees, and at last became the most eminent Instrument that ever his Majesty employed in his Wars with that People. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

But *Hamilton* had another remove to make, without which all the rest were nothing; and that was the removing of the Earl of *Mar* from the Custody and Command of the Castle of *Edenborough* (some time Hereditary to that House) and gaining it unto himself. To this Remove the Earl consented, because he found how earnestly his Majesty desired it of him, from whom he recieved a Compensation in Mony for it. At so great charge was the King, to put *Hamilton* into as full possession of the Strengths of that City, as he had got before in the hearts of the Citizens. The way being thus prepared, and all Rubs removed, on *Saturday May* 26. he set forwards for *Scotland*, and in short time came to *Dalkeith*, an House of the Earl of *Mortons* four Miles from *Edenborough*, where he reposed himself a while; that he might make his Entry into the City with the greater honour. After some seeming diffidences betwixt him and the *Covenanters*, he puts himself into *Holy-Rood* House, where the first thing he did, was the waving of his Attendance at the Reading of the *English Liturgie*, which had been settled in the *Chappel-Royal* of that House by the care of King *James*, *Anno* 1617. and after some neglects and intermissions, restored by the Piety of King *Charles*, *Anno* 1633. as before was signified. It was no hard matter to discern by his acts in this, whose Game it was he meant to play, for what it was that he had held the shuffling of the Cards so long, and who was like to win the Set, when none but he had the dealing of them: For he so plied the King from one time to another, sometimes by representing the extreme difficulties, and sometimes the apparent dangers in which his Affairs there stood involved; that he drew him to fling up all in in less than three Months, which King *James* and he had been projecting above thrice ten years. For first, by his Proclamation bearing date *June* 28. he suspends the present execution of the *Canons* and *Liturgie*, dischargeth all Acts of Council made for the establishment of them, and promiseth so to regulate the *High-Commission*, that it should neither impugn the Laws, nor be a just grievance to the Subject. By a second, bearing date *September* 9. he dischargeth the *Liturgie*, *Canons*, and *High-Commission* (this last being of King *James* his instituting, *Anno* 1610.) rescinding all Proclamations and Acts whatsoever, which had been made for the establishing of the same; and by the same, suspends the executing of the Five Articles of *Perth*, though confirmed by Parliament. By the same also he subjecteth all his Ministers, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*, to the Censure of Parliaments, General Assemblies, or any other competent Judicatory: And frees all Ministers at their Entry from taking the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, that against *Symonie*, or any other not enjoined by Acts of Parliament.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638. By the ſame alſo he commands the Subſcribing of the *Confeſſion of Faith*, with the *Band* thereunto annexed, which the *Covenanters* before had preſs'd on the People, and upon which they had placed ſuch a great part of their confidence, that they ſolemnly proteſted to *Hamilton* at his firſt coming thither, *That they would rather renounce their* Baptiſm, *than relinquiſh their* Covenant. And this he did for no other Reaſon, as appears by a Letter of the ſame date to the Lords of the Council, than to legitimate the Rebellion; *Becauſe not being Warranted before by Regal Authority, it muſt needs be in it ſelf ineffectual, and prejudicial to the Antient Form of Government kept within that his Kingdom of* Scotland. And finally, by his *Royal Edict*, bearing date the 22d. of the ſame month, he gives Order for a *General Aſſembly*, to be held at *Glaſco* on *November* 21. next following; in which he could not but be ſure, that after ſo many previous Condeſcenſions on his part, they would be able to do whatſoever they liſted in defiance of him.

Rym. Reg. p. p. 151.

For, before the aſſembly was Indicted, the *Covenanters* had ſo laid the Plot, that none but thoſe of their own Party ſhould have Suffrage in it; as afterwards by ſeveral Orders from their Tables, they directed that no Chaplain, nor Chapter-man, nor any who have not ſubſcribed the *Covenant*, ſhould be choſen to it; not ſuffering the Archbiſhops or Biſhops to ſit as Moderators in their *Presbyteries*, where the Elections were to paſs; and citing them to appear as Criminal Perſons at the ſaid Aſſembly: by means of which Excluſions and Prelimitations, the greateſt part of the Aſſembly did conſiſt of ſuch as either were irregularly choſen by the over-ruling Voices of *Lay-Elders* which were thruſt upon them, or elſe not capable of being Elected, ſome of them being under the Cenſures of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, others under the Cenſures of the Church of *Ireland*, and ſome not having taken the Oath of *Supremacy* required by the Laws of the Land. Upon which juſt and weighty Reaſons, as alſo the Admiſſion of the Schiſmatical Clergy to ſit as Judges over their Biſhops; the intruſion of ſo many *Lay-Elders*, contrary to the Conſtitution of former *General Aſſemblies*; the countenancing of a ſcandalous Libel againſt their Function and Perſons; and the prejudging of their Cauſe in their ſeveral *Presbyteries*, by excluding them from having any Vote in the ſaid *Aſſembly*, when they were not preſent to interpoſe or ſpeak any thing in their own behalf, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, in the name of themſelves, and all which did adhere unto them, prepared their *Declinator* or Proteſtation againſt the ſaid *General Aſſembly*, and all the Acts and Concluſions of it, as being void, and null in Law to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever. The day being come, *Hamilton* marcheth to the place appointed for the Seſſion, in the equipage of a High-Commiſſioner, the Sword and Seal being carried before him, the Lords of the Council, and all the Officers of State, attending on him like a King indeed. The reading of his Commiſſion, the putting in and rejecting of the *Declinator*, the chuſing of *Henderſon* to be Moderator of the Aſſembly, the conſtituting of the Members of it, and ſome Debates touching the Votes and Suffrages, challenged by *Hamilton* for ſuch as were Aſſeſſors

to

him, took up all the time between their first Meeting and their Dissolution, which was by Proclamation solemnly declared on the twenty ninth of the same Month, having sate one eight days by the Kings Authority. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

For notwithstanding the said Dissolution, the Members of the said Assembly continued and kept their Session, and therein passed many Acts for the utter overthrow of the Politie and Government of the Church, the infringing of his Majesties Prerogative Royal, and violating the Authority of Parliaments. For they not only Excommunicated the Bishops and their Adherents, but condemned the very Function it self to be *Antichristian*, and utterly to be abolished out of the Church; notwithstanding that several Parliaments had confirmed the same. The like Censure they also past on the *Service-Book* and *Canons*, with the five *Articles* of *Perth*; though the two first received the Stamp of Royal Authority, and the five last were confirmed in *Parliament* also. They condemned in one breath all the *Arminian* Tenents, in case of *Predestination*, without examining the Arguments on which they were built; and declared all men subject to *Excommunication*, and other Censures of the Church, who should refuse to yield obedience to all their unlawful Actings and Determinations. And though his Majesty by the same Proclamation had commanded all his faithful Subjects not to yield any obedience to their Acts and Ordinances, and bound himself in the Word of a King to defend them in it; yet those of the Assembly were resolved to maintain their Authority. For notwithstanding his Majesties late Declaration and Commands, not only the Bishops and Clergy, but also as many of the Layty as had refused to subscribe to the Acts thereof, were deprived of their Offices and Preferments, banished their Country, and forced to flye into *England*, or other places, the King not being able to protect them from the power and malice of their Adversaries. For having lost the opportunity of suppressing them in their first Insurrection in the year precedent, and afterwards of reducing them by force of Arms in the year next following, he was forced to shuffle up such a Pacification in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, *Anno* 1641. as left his Party destitute of all protection, but what they found in *England* by his Majesties Favour in providing the Clergy of some small Benefices for their present subsistance, which possibly might amount to more than formerly they enjoyed in their own Country.

And yet the Covenanters did not play all parts in this Assembly, the King and his Commissioner had one part to act, which was the presenting of a Declaration, containing the sum and substance of all his Majesties gracious Condescensions, expresst in the several Proclamations before remembred, and a Command to have it registred in the Acts and Records thereof. But upon what considerations and reasons of State his Majesty might be moved to commit that Paper to be registred amongst the Acts of *Assembly*, is beyond my reach. For though many times the wisest Princes have sent out Proclamations of Grace for redress of Grievances, and pardoning of fore-past offences; yet were those Proclamations and Acts of Grace beheld no otherwise than as temporary

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638. temporary and occasional Remedies for the present mischiefs, not to be drawn into Example, and much less put upon Record for the times ensuing; his Majesties Condescensions had been large enough, and too much to the prejudice of his Crown and Dignity without this Enrollment. Nor wants it somewhat of a Riddle, that at such time as *Hamilton* tendred the Paper of his Majesties gracious Concessions for discharging of the *Service-Book*, &c. to be enrolled amongst the Acts of the *Assembly*, he both declared, and protested that his so doing should be no acknowledgment of the lawfulness and validity of that *Convention* which was instantly to be dissolved: or that his Majesty should give order to have those Acts of Grace and Favour enrolled in the Records of the Assembly, to stand full and sure to all his good Subjects for their assurance of and in the true Religion; which Assembly at the same time he declared to be illegal, and all the Acts thereof to be null and void. I must confess I am not *Oedipus* enough for so dark a *Sphinx*, and must therefore leave this depth of State-craft to more able heads. Only I cannot chuse but note, how little his Majesty got by those Condescensions; the stubborn and rebellious *Scots* being so far unsatisfied with these Acts of Grace, that they not only forced all those who adhered unto him to flye the Country: but intercepted his Revenues, seazed on all his Forts and Castles, and put themselves into a posture of open War. And that they might be able to manage it with the greater credit, they called home some of their Commanders out of *Germany*, and some which served under the Pay of the States General; so far prevailing with those States as to continue such Commanders in their Pay and Places as long as they remained in the Service of the *Scottish Covenanters*. A favour which his Majesty could not get at their hands, nor had he so much reason to expect it as the others had, if considered rightly. It had been once their own case, and they conceived they had good reason to maintain it in others.

It may deservedly be a matter of no small amazement, that this poor and unprovided Nation, should dare to put such baffles and affronts upon their Lawful King; the King being backt by the united Forces of *England* and *Ireland*, obeyed at home, and rendred formidable unto all his Neighbours by a puissant Navy, they must have some assurances more than ordinary which might enflame them to this height; and what they were it may not be amiss to enquire into. First then they had the King for their natural Country-man, born in that Air, preserving a good affection for them to the very last; and who by giving them the Title of his *Antient* and *Native Kingdom* (as he did most commonly) gave them some reason to believe, that he valued them above the *English*. They had in the next place such a strong Party of *Scots* about him, that he could neither stir or speak, scarce so much as think, but they were made acquinted with it. In the *Bed-Chamber* they had an equal number of Gentlemen, and seven Grooms for one; in the *Presence-Chamber* more than an equal number amongst the Gentlemen Ushers, Quarter-Waiters, *&c.* In the *Privy-Chamber*, besides the *Carvers* and *Cup-bearers*, such a disproportion of the Gentlemen belonging to it, that once at a full Table of Waiters, each

each of them having a Servant or two to attend upon him, I and my man were the only *English* in all the Company. By which the King was so observed, and betrayed withal, that as far as they could find his meaning by Words, by Signs, and Circumstances, or the silent language of a *shrug*, it was posted presently into *Scotland*, some of his Bed-Chamber being grown so bold and saucy, that they used to Ransack his Pockets when he was in bed, to transcribe such letters as they found, and send the Copies to their Countrymen in the way of intelligence. A thing so well known about the Court, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in one of his Letters, gave him this *memento*, that he should not trust his Pockets with it. For Offices of trust and credit they were as well accommodated as with those of service, *Hamilton* Master of the Horse, who stocked the Stables with that People; The Earl of *Morton*, Captain of his Majesties Guard; The Earl of *Ancram*, Keeper of the Privy Purse; The Duke of *Lenox*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of *Dover Castle*; *Balfore* Lievtenant of the *Tower*, the Fortress of most power and command in *England*; And *Wemmys*, the Master Gunner of his Majesties Navy, who had the issuing of the Stores, and Ammunition, designed unto it. Look on them in the Church, and we shall find so many of that Nation beneficed and preferred in all parts of this Country, that their Ecclesiastical Revenues could not but amount to more then all the yearly Rents of the Kirk of *Scotland*; and all of these scarce one in ten, who did not cordially espouse and promote their Cause amongst the People. They had beside no less assurance of the *English Puritans* than they had of their own; those in Court (of which there was no very small number) being headed by the Earl of *Holland*) those in the Country by his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*; the first being aptly called in a Letter of the Lord *Conways* to the Lord Archbishop, *The spiritual, and invisible head*, the other, *The visible and temporal head* of the *Puritan* Faction. And which was more than all the rest, they had the Marquis of *Hamilton* for their Lord and Patron, of so great power about the King, such authority in the Court of *England*, such a powerful influence on the Council of *Scotland*, and such a general Command over all that Nation, that his pleasure amongst them past for Law, and his words for Oracles; all matters of Grace and Favour ascribed to him, matters of harshness or distaste to the King or *Canterbury*. To speak the matter in a word, he was grown of *Scots* in Fact, though not in Title; His Majesty being looked on by them as a Cypher only in the *Arithmetick* of State.

But notwithstanding their confidence in all these *Items*, taking in the *Imprimis* too, they might have reckoned without their Host in the *Summa Totalis*, the English Nation being generally disaffected to them, and passionately affecting the Kings quarrel against them. The sense and apprehension of so many indignities prevailed upon the King at last to unsheath the Sword, more justly in it self, and more justifiably in the sight of others; the Rebels having rejected all his offers of Grace and Favour, and growing the more insolent by his Condescensions. So that resolved, or rather forced upon the War, he must bethink

PART II. bethink himself of means to go thorow with it: To which end *Bur-*
Anno Dom. *rows* the Principal King of Arms, is commanded to search into the
1638. Records of the Tower, and to return an Extract of what he found re-
lating to the War of *Scotland*; which he presented to the Archbishop in the end of *December*, to this effect, *viz.* 1. "That such Lords and o-
"thers as had Lands and Livings upon the Borders, were commanded
"to reside there with their Retinue; and those that had Castles there,
"were enjoined to Fortifie them. 2. That the Lords of the King-
"dom were Summoned by Writ, to attend the Kings Army with Horse
"and Armour at a certain time and place, according to their Service
"due to the King; or repair to the Exchequer before that day, and
"and make Fine for their Service: As also were all Widows, Dowa-
"gers of such Lords as were deceased; and so were all Bishops and
"Ecclesiastical Persons. 3. That Proclamations were likewise made
"by Sheriffs in every County, That all men holding of the King by
"*Knights-service* or *Sergeancy*, should come to the Kings Army, or
"make Fines as aforesaid; with a strict command, That none should
"conceal their Service under a great Penalty. 4. As also, That all
"men having 40 *l.* Land *per Annum*, should come to the Kings Army
"with Horse and Armour; of which if any failed to come or to make
"Fine, their Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels were distrain-
"ed by the Sheriff upon Summons out of the Exchequer. 5. That
"Commissions should be issued out for Levying of Men in every
"County, and bringing them to the Kings Army: That the like be
"done for Mustering and Arraying the Clergy throughout *England*;
"*England*; or otherwise, to furnish the King with a proportion of Ar-
"med Men for the present Service. 6. That Writs be issued out
"into all Counties, for certifying the King what number of Horse and
"Foot every County could afford him in his Wars with *Scotland*.
"7. The like also to the Borders, requiring them to come unto the
"Kings Army well armed; Commissions to be made for punishing such
"as refused. 8. That the Sheriffs of the Counties were commanded
"by Writ to make Provisions of Corn and Victuals for the Kings Ar-
"my, and to cause them to be carried to the place appointed. The
"like Command sent to the Merchants in the Port-Towns of *England*
"and *Ireland*; and the Ships of the Subject taken to Transport such
"Provisions to the place assigned. 9. Several Sums of Money raised
"by Subsidies and Fifteens from the *English* Subject, and Aid of Mo-
"ney given and lent by the Merchant-Strangers, toward the Mainte-
"nance of the War. 10. That the King used to suspend the payment
"of his Debts for a certain time, in regard of the great occasions he
"had to use Money in the Wars of *Scotland*. Other Memorials were
"returned to the same effect: but these the principal.

According to these Instructions, his Majesty directs his Letters to the Temporal Lords, his Writs to the High-Sheriffs, his Orders to the Lord-Lievtenants and Deputy Lievtenants in their several Counties, his Proclamations generally to all his Subjects; Requiring of them all such Aids and Services in his present Wars, as either by Laws, or Antient Customs of the Land, they were bound to give him. He caused

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an Order also to be made by the Lords of the Council, directed to the two Archbishops, *January*, 29. by which they were Required and Commanded, "To write their several and respective Letters to all the "Lords Bishops in their several Provinces respectively, forthwith to "convene before them all the Clergy of Ability in their Dioceses, "and to incite them by such ways and means as shall be thought best by "their Lordships, to aid and assist his Majesty with their speedy and "liberal Contributions, and otherwise, for defence of his Royal Per-"son, and of this Kingdom: And that the same be sent to the Lord "Treasurer of *England* with all diligence: Subscribed by the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Bishop of *London* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel* Earl-Marshal, the Earl of *Dorset* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of *Holland* Chancellor of *Cambridge*, *Cottington* Master of the Wards, *Vane* Treasurer of the Houshold, *Cooke* and *Windebank* the two Principal Secretraries. Which Warrant, whether it proceeded from the Kings own motion, or was procured by the Archbishop himself to promote the Service, is not much material: Certain I am, that he conformed himself unto it with a chearful diligence, and did accordingly direct his Letters to his Suffragan Bishops in this following form.

My very good Lord,

I Have received an Order from the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, giving me notice of the great Preparations made by some of Scotland, *both of Arms and all other Necessaries for War: And that this can have no other end, than to invade or annoy this his Majesties Kingdom of* England. *For his Majesty having a good while since, most graciously yielded to their Demands for securing the Religion by Law established amongst them, hath made it appear to the World, That it is not Religion but Sedition that stirs in them, and fills them with this most irreligious Disobedience, which at last breaks forth into a high degree of Treason against their Lawful Sovereign. In this Case of so great danger both to the State and Church of* England, *your Lordships, I doubt not, and your Clergie under you, will not only be vigilant against the close Workings of any Pretenders in that kind; but very free also to your Power and Proportion of means left to the Church, to contribute toward the raising of such an Army, as, by Gods Blessing and his Majesties Care, may secure this Church and Kingdom from all intended Violence. And according to the Order sent unto me by the Lords (a Copy whereof you shall herewith receive) these are to pray your Lordship to give a good Example in your own Person; and with all convenient speed to call your Clergie, and the abler Schoolmasters (as well those which are in Peculiars as others) and excite them by your self, and such Commissioners as you will answer for, to contribute to this Great and Necessary Service; in which if they give not a good Example, they will be much too blame. But you are to call no poor Curates, nor Stipendaries: but such as in other Legal ways of Payment*

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have been, and are by Order of Law bound to pay. The Proportion I know not well how to prescribe you: but I hope they of your Clergie whom God hath blessed with better Estates than Ordinary, will give freely, and thereby help the want of Means in others. And I hope also your Lordship will so order it, as that every man will at the least give after the Proportion of 3 s. 10 d. *in the Pound, of the valuation of his Living, or other Preferment, in the Kings Books. And this I thought fit to let you further know, That if any man have double Benefices, or a Benefice and a Prebend, or the like, in divers Dioceſſes; yet your Lordship must call upon them only for such Preferments as they have within your Dioceſs, and leave them to pay for any other which they hold, to the Bishop in whose Dioceſs their Preferments are. As for the time, your Lordship must use all the diligence you can, and send up the Moneys if it be possible by the first of* May *next. And for your Indempnity, the Lord Treasurer is to give you such discharge, by striking a* Tally *or* Tallies *upon your several Payments into the Exchequer, as shall be fit to secure you without your Charge. Your Lordship must further be pleased to send up a List of the Names of such as refuse this Service within their Dioceſs: but I hope none will put you to that trouble. It is further expected, That your Lordship, and every other Bishop, express by it self, and not in the general Sum of his Clergie, that which himself gives. And of this Service you must not fail. So to Gods blessed Protection I leave you, and rest,*

Lambeth, Jan. ult. 1638.

Your Lordships very Loving Friend and Brother,

WILL. CANT.

On the receiving of these Letters, the Clergy were Convented in their several Dioceſſes, encouraged by their several Ordinaries not to be wanting to his Majesty in the Present Service, and divers Preparations used before hand to dispose them to it; which wrought so powerfully and effectually on the greatest part of them (those which wish'd well unto the *Scots*, seeming as forward in it as any other) that their Contributions mounted higher than was expected. The Benevolence of the Dioceſs of *Norwich* only amounting to 2016 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.* The Archdeaconry of *Winchester* only, to the sum of 1305 *l.* 5 *s.* 8 *d.* And though we may not conclude of all the rest by the greatness of these, yet may it be very safely said, that they did all exceeding bountifully in their several proportions, with reference to the extent of their Dioceſſes, and the ability of their Estates. Nor were the Judges of the several Benches of the Courts at *Westminster*, and the great Officers under them, Protonotaries, Secondaries, and the like, deficient in expressing their good affections to this general cause; in which the safety of the Realm, was as much concerned as his Majesties honour. And for the Doctors of the Laws, Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, and other Officers belonging to the Ecclesiastical Courts, they were sparred on to follow the example of the Secular Judges (as having a more particular concernment in it) by a Letter sent

sent from the Archbishop to the Dean of the *Arches*, on *February* 11. and by him communicated to the rest. By which Free-will offerings on the one side, some commanded duties on the other, and the well-husbanding of his Majesties Revenue by the Lord Treasurer *Juxon*, he was put into such a good condition, that he was able both to raise and maintain an Army with no charge to the Common Subject: but only a little Coat and Conduct mony at their first setting out. These prepations were sufficient to give notice of a War approaching without any further denouncing of it by a publick Herald; and yet there was another accident which seemed as much to fore-signifie it as those preparations. *Mary de Medices*, the Widow of King *Henry* iv. of *France*, and Mother to the Queens of *England* and *Spain*, arrived at *Harwich* on *October* 19. and on the last of the same was with great State conducted through the Streets of *London* to his Majesties Palace of St. *James*. A Lady which for many years, had not lived out of the smell of Powder, and a guard of Muskets at her door, embroyled in wars and troubles when she lived in *France*, and drew them after her into *Flanders*, where they have ever since continued. So that most men were able to presage a Tempest, as Mariners by the appearing of some Fish, or the flying of some Birds about their ships, can foresee a storm. His Majesty had took great care to prevenr her comming, knowing full well how chargeable a guest she would prove to him, and how unwelcome to the Subject. To which end *Boswel* was commanded to use all his wits for perswading her to stay in *Holland*, whither she had retired from *Flanders* in the year precedent. But she was wedded to her will, and possibly had received such invitations from her Daughter here, that nothing but everlasting foul weather at Sea, and a perpetual cross wind, could have kept her there.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

All things provided for the War, his Majesty thought fit to satisfie his good Subjects of both Kingdoms, not only of the Justice which appeared in this Action: but in the unavoidable necessity which enforced him to it. To which end he acquaints them by his Proclamation, of the 20. of *February*, "How traiterously some of the *Scottish* Nation had "practiced to pervert his Loyal Subjects of this Realm, by scattering "abroad their Libellous and Seditious Pamphlets, mingling themselves at their publick meetings, and reproaching both his Person "and Government; That he had never any intention to alter their Religion or Laws, but had condescended unto more for defence there-"of than they had reason to expect; That they had rejected the *Band* "and Covenant which themselves had prest upon the people, because "it was commended to them by his Authority; and having made "a Covenant against God and him, and made such Hostile prepara-"tions, as if he were their sworn Enemy, and not their King; That "many of them were men of broken Fortunes, who because they "could not well be worse, hoped by engaging in this War to make "themselves better; That they had assumed unto themselves the pow-"er of the Press, one of the chief markes of the Regal Authority, prohi-"biting to Print what he commanded, and commanding to Print what "he prohibited, and dismissing the Printer whom he had established

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1638.

"in that Kingdom; That they had raiſed Arms, blockt up and beſieged his Caſtles, laid Impoſitions and Taxes upon his people, threatned ſuch as continued under Loyalty, with force and violence; That they had contemned the Authority of the Council-Table, and ſet up Tables of their own, from which they ſend their Edicts throughout all parts of the Kingdom, contrary to the Laws therein eſtabliſhed, pretending in the mean time that the Laws were violated by himſelf; That the queſtion was not now, whether the Service-Book ſhould be received or not, or whether Epiſcopacy ſhould continue or not, but whether he were King or not; That many of them had denied the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance (for which ſome of them had been committed) as inconſiſtent, and incomptable with their holy Covenant; That being brought under a neceſſity of taking Arms, he had been traduced in ſome of their writings for committing the Arms he had then raiſed, into the hands of profeſſed *Papiſts*, a thing not only diſhonourable to himſelf, and the ſaid noble perſons, but falſe and odious in it ſelf; *That ſome of power in the Hierarchy had been defamed for being the cauſe of his taking Arms to invade that Kingdom, who on the contrary had been only Councellors of peace, and the chief perſwaders (as much as in them lay) of the undeſerved moderation wherewith he had hitherto proceeded toward ſo great Offenders*; That he had no intent by commending the Service-Book unto them to innovate any thing at all in their Religion, but only to create a conformity between the Churches of both Kingdoms, and not to infringe any of their Liberties which were according to the Laws; That therefore he required all his loving Subjects not to receive any more of the ſaid ſeditious Pamphlets, but to deliver ſuch of them as they had received, into the hands of the next Juſtice of the Peace, by him to be ſent to one of his Majeſties principal Secretaries; And finally, That this his Proclamation and Declaration be read in time of Divine Service in every Church within the Kingdom, that all his People to the meaneſt, might ſee the notorious carriages of theſe men, and likewiſe the Juſtice and Mercy of all his proceedings.

And now his Majeſty is for Action, beginning the Journey towards the *North*, *March* 27. being the Anniverſary day of his Inauguration. His Army was advanced before, the beſt for quality of the Perſons, compleatneſs of Arms, number of ſerviceable Horſe, and neceſſary Proviſion of all ſorts, that ever waited on a King of *England* to a War with *Scotland*. Moſt of the Nobility attended on him in their Perſons; and ſuch as were to be excuſed for Age and indiſpoſition, teſtified their affections to his Majeſties Service in good Sums of Money. The Flower of the Engliſh Gentry would not ſtay behind, but chearfully put themſelves into the Action, upon a confidence of getting honour for themſelves, as well as for their King or Country; many of which had been at great charge in furniſhing themſelves for this Expedition, on an aſſurance of being repaid in Favours what they ſpent in Treaſure. And not a few of our old Commanders, which had been trained up in the Wars of *Holland*, and the King of *Sweden*, deſerted

deserted their Employments there to serve their Soveraign, whether with a greater gallantry or affection, it is hard to say. The Horse computed to 6000. as good as ever charged on a standing Enemy; The Foot of a sufficient number, though not proportionable to the Horse, stout men, and well affected for the most part to the Cause in hand; the Cannon, Bullets, and all other sorts of Ammunition, nothing inferiour to the rest of the Preparations. An Army able to have trampled all *Scotland* under their feet, (Gods ordinary providence concurring with them) and made the King as absolutely Master of that Kingdom as any Prince could be of a conquered Nation. The chief Command committed to the Earl of *Arundel*, who, though not biassed toward *Rome*, (as the *Scots* reported him) was known to be no friend to the *Puritan* Faction: The Earl of *Holland* having been Captain of his Majesties Guard, and formerly appointed to conduct some fresh Recruits to the Isle of *Rhee*, was made *Lieutenant* of the Horse. And the Earl of *Essex*, who formerly had seen some service in *Holland*, and very well understood the Art of War, *Lieutenant-General* of the Foot. Besides which power that marcht by Land, there were some other Forces embarqued in a considerable part of the Royal *Navy*, with plenty of Coin and Ammunition, which was put under the command of *Hamilton* (who must be of the *Quorum* in all businesses) with order to ply about the Coasts of *Scotland*, and thereby to surprise their Ships, and destroy their Trade, and make such further attempts to Landward, as opportunity should offer, and the nature of affairs require.

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It is reported (and I have it from a very good hand) that when the old Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, came to take his leave of the King, at his setting forward toward the *North*, he desired leave to give his Majesty three Advertisements before his going. The first was, That his Majesty would suffer none of the Scottish Nation to remain in his Army, assuring him that they would never fight against their Countrymen: but rather hazard the whole Army by their tergiversation. The second was, that his Majesty would make a Catalogue of all his Counsellors, Officers of Houshold, and domestick Servants; and having so done, would with his Pen obliterate and expunge the *Scots*, beginning first with the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* himself who had given the Counsel; conceiving (as he then declared) that no man could accuse the King of Partiality, when they found the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, who had so faithfully served his Father and himself, about sixty years, should be expunged amongst the rest. A third was, That he must not hope to win upon them by Condescensions, or the sweetness of his disposition, or by Acts of Grace: but that he should resolve to reduce them to their duty by such ways of Power as God had put into his hands. The Reason of which Counsel was, because he found upon a sad experience of sixty years, that generally they were a people of so cross a grain, that they were gained by Punishments, and lost by Favours. But contrary to this good Counsel, his Majesty did not only permit all his own Servants of that Nation to remain about him: but suffered the Earls of *Roxborough* and *Traquaire*, and other Noble-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639. Noblemen of that Kingdom with their ſeveral Followers and Retinues to repair to *York*, under pretence of offering of ſome expedient to compoſe the differences. Where being come, they plyed their buſineſs ſo well, that by repreſenting to the Lords of the *Engliſh* Nation the dangers they would bring themſelves into by the Pride and Tyranny of the Biſhops, if the *Scots* were totally ſubdued, they mitigated the diſpleaſures of ſome, and ſo took off the edge of others, that they did not go from *York*, the ſame men they came thither. On the diſcovery of which Practice, and ſome intelligence which they had with the *Covenanters*, they were confined to their Chambers (the firſt at *York*, the other at *Newcaſtle*) but were preſently diſmiſſed again, and ſent back to *Scotland*. But they had firſt done what they came for, never men being ſo ſuddenly cooled as the Lords of *England*; or ever making clearer ſhews of an alteration in their words and geſtures.

This change his Majeſty ſoon found, or had cauſe to fear; and therefore for the better keeping of his Party together, he cauſed an Oath to be propounded to all the Lords, and others of chief Eminency which attended on him, before his departure out of *York*; knowing full well, that thoſe of the inferiour Orbs would be wholly governed by the motion of the higher Sphears. The Tenor of which Oath was this that followeth.

I A. B. *do Swear before the Almighty and Ever-living God, That I will bear all faithful Allegiance to my true and undoubted Soveraign King* CHARLES, *who is lawful King of this Iſland, and all other his Kingdoms and Dominions both by Sea and Land, by the Laws of God and Man, and by Lawful Succeſſion; And that I will moſt conſtantly and moſt chearfully, even to the utmoſt hazard of my Life and Fortunes, oppoſe all Seditions, Rebellions, Conjurations, Conſpiracies whatſoever, againſt his Royal Dignity, Crown, and Perſon, raiſed or ſet up under what pretence or colour ſoever: And if it ſhall come vailed under pretence of Religion, I hold it more abominable both before God and Man. And this Oath I take voluntarily, in the Faith of a good Chriſtian and Loyal Subject, without Equivocation or mental Reſervation whatſoever; from which I hold no Power on Earth can abſolve me in any part.*

Such was the Tenour of the Oath; which being refuſed by two, and but two of the Lords, of which one would not *Say* it, nor the other *Brook* it, the ſaid Refuſers were committed to the Cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *York*; and afterwards, for their further Tryal, Interrogated upon certain Articles touching their approbation or diſlike of the War: To which their Anſwers were ſo doubtful and unſatisfactory, that his Majeſty thought it ſafer for him to diſmiſs them home, than to keep them longer about him to corrupt the reſt: by means whereof he furniſhed them with an opportunity of doing him more diſſervice at home, where there was no body to attend and obſerve their Actions, than poſſibly they could have done in the Army, where there were ſo many eyes to watch them, and ſo many hands to pull them back if they proved extravagant.

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As to the carrying on of the War, the Earl of *Essex* was Commanded by his Majesty, at his first coming to *York*, to put a Garrison into *Berwick*, and to take with him such Provisions of Canon, Arms and Ammunition as were assigned for that Imployment, Which as he chearfully undertook, so he couragiously performed it, notwithstanding all the terrours and affrightments which he found in his March. For being encountred in his way with the Earls of *Roxborough*, *Traquaire*, and the rest of the *Scots* then going to *York*, they laboured all they could to dissuade him from it, assuring him, That either the *Scots* would be in the Town before him; or that their whole Army would be so near, that he must needs run the hazard of losing all, without doing any thing. Which notwithstanding, he went on, entred the Town, repaired the Breaches in the Walls, and placed his Canon on the same, proceeding in the Work as became a Souldier. With less fidelity and courage dealt the Earl of *Holland*, at the Kings coming near the Borders, where long he had not been encamped, when he had Intelligence that the *Scots* Army was advancing; on which Advertisement, he dispatch'd *Holland* with a great Body of Horse to attend upon them. *Leslie* had drawn his Army into a very large Front, his Files exceeding thin and shallow: but intermingled with so many Ensigns, as if every twenty or thirty men had been a Regiment; and behind all, a great Herd of Cattel, which raised up so much dust with their feet, as did cloud the Stratagem. *Holland* dismayed with such a formidable appearance, or being afraid that his great Horse would be under-ridden with the *Galloway* Nags, sent Messenger after Messenger to acquaint the King with his present condition, who sent him order to draw off and retire again, and not to hazard himself and the Forces under him, on such a *visible disadvantage*. How *Hamilton* behaved himself, we are next to see; who having anchored his Fleet in the *Frith* of *Edenborough*, and landing some of his spent men in a little Island, to give them breath, and some refreshments, received a Visit from his Mother, a most rigid and pragmatical *Covenanter*; the *Scots* upon the shore laying with no small laughter, *That they knew the Son of so good a Mother, could not do them hurt*: And so it proved; for having loytered thereabouts to no purpose, till he heard that the Treaty of the *Pacification*, was begun near *Berwick*, he left his Ships, and came in great haste, as it was pretended, to disturb the business, which was to be concluded before he came thither.

For so it hapned, That as soon as *Essex* had brought his Forces into *Berwick*, the *Scots* began to fear the approaching danger which they had drawn upon themselves; and thereupon some Chiefs amongst them addressed their Letters to him on the 19th. of *April*, *Laying the cause of all these Troubles to some ill Countrymen of their own, whom they conceived to have provoked the King against them; endeavouring to make the Remedy of their Evils, and the scope of their deserved Punishment, the beginning of an incurable Disease betwixt the two Nations, to whom the Quarrel should in no way extend. They complained also, That there were many of the* English *in Place and Credit, whose Private Byass did run clean contrary to the Publick Good; such as did rise early to poyson the*

Bibl. Regia. p. 1. p. 363.

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the Publick Fountain, and to sow the Tares of unhappy Jealousies and Discords between the Kingdoms, before the good Seed of our Love and Respect to the English *Nation, could take place in their hearts. They declared next, how strange and unexpected it was unto them, to see his Forces drawn toward the Borders, which they could not but interpret as a pregnant presumption of some further Project against their Nation by his Power; which must needs cause them to bestir themselves in time, for their own preservation. And though they gave themselves some assurance, grounded upon the Reputation of his former Life, that his Lordship would be very wary to begin the Quarrel, at which Enemies only would rejoyce and catch advantage; yet at the last, (fearing that neither Threats nor Complements would do the business) they fall to a downright begging of a* Pacification. *For having taken God to witness, That they desired no National Quarrel to arise betwixt them, or to taste any of the bitter Fruit, which might set their Childrens Teeth on edge; They professed themselves obliged in conscience to God, their Prince, Nation, and Brethren, to try all just and lawful means for the removal of all Causes of difference betwixt the two Nations, and to be always ready to offer the occasion of greater Satisfaction, for clearing of their Loyal Intentions to their Prince, and to all those whom it may concern: but more particularly to his Lordship, in regard of his Place and Command at that time; And this to do by any means whatsoever, which should be thought expedient on both sides.* But *Essex*, though perhaps he might like their Cause, did not love their Nation (the Affront put upon him by *Carr* Earl of *Somerset* running still in his mind;) so that the Practice edified very little with him, for ought I can find; whatsoever it might do with others about the King; to whom the Letter was communicated, which in duty he was bound to do on the first receiving.

With greater comfort they applyed themselves to the Earl of *Arundel*, whom at first they feared more than all the rest: but had now placed the greatest part of their confidence on him. For whilst the *Puritans* in both Kingdoms stood at a gaze upon the Issue of this War, one *Mosely* Vicar of *Newark* upon *Trent*, obtained leave to pass through the Army into *Scotland*: A man of zeal enough to be put upon any business which the wiser ones durst not be seen in; and of such silliness withal, that no body could fear any danger from him. By this Man (as appears by their Letter) they understood of his Lordships particular affection to the continuance of the Common Peace betwixt the Nations, being before assured of his Noble Disposition in the general (as the Letter words it.) And this being said, they signifie unto him, and wish that they could do the like to all the good Subjects of *England*, "That they were neither weary of *Monarchial* Govern-"ment, nor had entertained the least thoughts of casting off the yoke "of Obedience, or invading *England*; That they desired nothing else "than peaceably to enjoy their Religion, and the Liberties of their "Country, according to the Laws; and that all Questions about the "same, might be decided by Parliament and National Assemblies, "which they conceived his Lordship would judge to be most equita-"ble, and for which no National Quarrel (as they hoped) could justly "arise.

"ariſe. And finally, That they had ſent him a Copy of the Supplica- LIB. IV.
"tion, which they intended to preſent unto the King, as ſoon as he *Anno Dom.*
"was prepared for it; to the end that by the meditation of his Lord- 1639.
"ſhip, and other Noble Lords of *England*, to whom they had written
"in like manner, his Majeſty might be pleaſed to hear them at large,
"and grant ſuch things as they had deſired; which they conceived to
"tend to his Majeſties great Glory, to put an end to all the preſent
"Queſtions to their mutual rejoycing, and to make the bleſſed In-
"ſtruments of ſo good a work to be thankfully remembred to Poſte-
"rity. In their letter to the Earl of *Holland*, of the ſeventh of *June*, they expreſs more confidence (as being more aſſured of him then of any other) not only juſtifying themſelves in their former proceedings: but requeſting his aſſiſtance to promote their deſires in a petition tendred to his Majeſties hands, deſcending by degrees to this particular, "That by a meeting in ſome convenient place, and of ſome prime and "well affected men to the Reformed Religion and the Common "Peace, all matters might be ſo well amended, and with ſuch expe-
"dition, that their evils (through further delays) might not prove
"incurable.

Theſe preparations being made, they found an eaſier buſineſs of it, then they had any reaſon to expect or hope, to bring his Majeſty to meet them in the middle way; who was ſo tender of their caſe that he was more ready to accept their ſupplication, then they were to offer it. It was not his intent to fight them, (as I have heard from a perſon of great truſt and honour) but only by the terrour of ſo great an Army to draw the *Scots* to do him reaſon. And this I am the more apt to credit, becauſe when a Noble and well experienced Commander offered him (then being in Camp near *Berwick*) that with two thouſand horſe (which the King might very well have ſpared) he would ſo waſte, and ſpoil their Countrey, that the *Scots* ſhould creep upon their bellies to implore his mercy, he would by no means hearken to the propoſition. And having no purpoſe of out-going *Muſter* and *Oſtentation*, it is no wonder if he did not only willingly give way to the preſenting of their Petition, and chearfully embraced all *Overtures* tending to a *Pacification*: but make choice alſo of ſuch perſons, to Negotiate in it, who were more like to take ſuch terms as they could get, then to fight it out. Commiſſioners being on both ſides appointed, they came at laſt to this concluſion on the ſeventeenth of *June*, viz. First, *That his Majeſty ſhould confirm whatſoever his Commiſſioner have already granted in his Majeſties name, and that from thenceforth all matters* Eccleſiaſtical *ſhould be determined by the Aſſemblies of the Kirk; and all matters* Civil *by the Parliament; and to that end a General Aſſembly to be Indicted on the ſixth of* Auguſt, *and a Parliament on the twentieth of the ſame Month, in which Parliament an Act of Oblivion was to paſs for the common peace and ſatisfaction of all parties; that the* Scots *upon the publication of the accord, ſhould within forty eight hours diſband all their Forces, diſcharge all pretended Tables, and Conventicles, reſtore unto the King all his Caſtles, Forts and Ammunition of all ſorts; the like*

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Reſtitution to be made to all his good Subjects, of their Liberties, Lands, Houſes, Goods, and Means whatſoever, taken and detained from them, ſince the late pretended General Aſſembly *held at* Glaſco; *that thereupon his Majeſty ſhould preſently recal his Fleet, and retire his Land Forces, and cauſe Reſtitution to be made of all perſons of their Ships and Goods Detained and Arreſted ſince the firſt of* February. But as for the proceedings of the Aſſembly of *Glaſco*, as his Majeſty could not allow them with Honour on the one ſide; ſo neither do I find that they were condemned, or that the *Scots* were bound to abandon the concluſions of it, ſo that it ſeems to have been left in the ſame condition, (as to all the Acts, Determinations, and Reſults there) in which it ſtood before his Majeſties taking Arms; Which as it was the chief ground of the Quarrel, ſo the King doing nothing in Order to the Abrogating of it, and the concluſions therein made, when he was in the head of a powerful Army, he could not give himſelf much hopes, that the *Scots* could yield to any ſuch Abrogation, when he had no ſuch Army to compel obedience.

And this appeared immediately on his Majeſties ſigning the Agreement, and the diſcharging of his Forces upon the ſame. For the Declaration of this accord was no ſooner publiſhed, but the Covenanters produced a Proteſtation; "Firſt, of adhering to their late Gene-"ral Aſſembly at *Glaſco*, as a full and free Aſſembly of their Kirk, and "to all the proceedings there; eſpecially the ſentences of Deprivati-"on, and Excommunication of the ſometimes pretended Biſhops of "that Kingdom: And ſecondly, of adhering to their Solemn Cove-"nant, and Declaration of the Aſſembly, whereby the office of Bi-"ſhop is abjured. Thirdly, that the pretended Archbiſhops and Bi-"ſhops, that uſurp the title and office abjured by the Kirk and be con-"temners of the ſentences of the Kirk, have been malicious Incendia-"ries of his Majeſty againſt this Kingdom, by their wicked calumnies; "and that if they return to this Kingdom, they be eſteemed and uſed "as accurſed, and they delivered up to the Devil; and caſt off from "Chriſt his body, as *Ethnicks*, and *Publicans*: And fourthly, that all "the entertainers of the Excommunicated Biſhops, ſhould be orderly "proceeded againſt with Excommunication, conform to the Acts, and "Conſtitutions of this Kirk. And this they did as well to juſtifie their proceeding in the ſaid *Aſſembly*, as to terrifie and affright the Biſhops from preſenting themſelves and members of Aſſembly and Parliament at the next Conventions. Which done they diſperſed abroad a ſcandalous Paper, pretending to contain the heads of the late Agreement; but drawn ſo advantageouſly for themſelves, ſo diſagreeably to the true intention of his Majeſty, that he could do no leſs in honour then call it in, and cauſe it to be publickly burnt by the hand of the Hangman. And being conſcious to themſelves how much his Majeſty, muſt be incenſed with theſe Indignities, they continued their meetings and Conſultations as before they did, maintained their Fortifications at *Leith* the Port Town to *Edenborough*, diſquieted, moleſted, and frighted all of different inclinations, and kept their Officers and Commanders in continual pay, to have them in a Readineſs on the next

next occaſion. With which diſorders his Majeſty being made acquainted, he ſent for ſome of the Chiefs of them to come to him to *Berwick*: but was refuſed in his Commands under pretence, that there was ſome intention to entrap them at their coming thither; and that his Majeſty might be ſtaved off from being preſent at the next *Aſſembly* in *Edenborough*, as he had both promiſed, and reſolved, they commit a riotous aſſault on the Earls of *Kinnoul*, and *Traquaire*, Chief Juſtice *Elphinſton*, and Sir *James Hamilton*, all Privy Counſellors of that Kingdom. Theſe they pulled violently out of their Coach, on a ſuſpicion that ſome Biſhops were diſguiſed amongſt them; but really that the King might have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect that there could be no ſafety for him in ſuch a place, and amongſt people ſo enraged, notwithſtanding his great clemency ſhewed unto them in the *Pacification*. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

His Majeſty was now at leiſure to repent the loſs of thoſe Advantages which God had put into his hands. He found the *Scots* ſo unprovided (not having above 3000. compleat Arms amongſt them) that he might have ſcatteted them like the duſt before the wind at the very onſet. By making this agreement with them he put them into ſuch a ſtock of Reputation, that within the compaſs of that year they furniſhed themſelves out of *Holland* with Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition upon days of Payment without diſburſing any money, which he knew they had not. He came unto the borders with a gallant Army, which might aſſure him (under God) of a very cheap and eaſie victory; an Army governed by Colonels, and other Officers of approved Valour, and mingled with the choiceſt of the *Engliſh* Gentry, who ſtood as much upon his honour as upon their own. This Army he diſbanded without doing any thing which might give ſatisfaction to the world, himſelf, or them. Had he retired it only to a further diſtance, he had done as much as he was bound to by the Capitulations: But he disbanded it before he had ſeen the leaſt performance on their parts of the points agreed on; before he had ſeen the iſſue and ſucceſs of the two Conventions, in which he did expect a ſettling of his peace and happineſs; which had he done, he had in all reaſonable probabilities preſerved his honour in the eye of Foraign Nations, ſecured himſelf from any danger from that people, and cruſht thoſe Practices at home which afterwards undermined his Peace, and deſtroyed his Glories. But doing it in this form and manner, without effecting any thing which he ſeemed to Arm for, he animated the *Scots* to commit new Inſolencies, the *Dutch* to affront him in his own Shores, by fighting and deſtroying the *Spaniſh* Navy, lying under his protection, and (which was worſt of all) gave no ſmall diſcontentment to the *Engliſh* Gentry. Who having with great charge engaged themſelves in this Expedition out of hope of getting honour to the King, their Country, and themſelves by their faithful ſervice, were ſuddenly diſmiſſed, not only without the honour which they aimed at, but without any acknowledgment of their Love and Loyalty. A matter ſo unpleaſing to them, that few of them appeared in the next years Army; many of them turned againſt him in the following troubles, the greateſt part

PART II. looking on his Succeſſes with a careleſs eye, as unconcerned with his
Anno Dom. Affairs, whether good or bad.
1639. In this condition of Affairs he returned toward *London* in the end of *July*, leaving the *Scots* to play their own Game as they liſted; having firſt nominated *Traquaire* as his High Commiſſioner for managing both the Aſſembly, and the following Parliament. In the firſt meeting of the two, they acted over all the parts they had plaid at *Glaſco*, to the utter abolition of *Epiſcopacy*, and the deſtruction of all thoſe which adhered unto it; their Actings in it being confirmed in his name by the High Commiſſion. In the Parliament they altered the old form of chuſing the Lords of the *Articles*, erected a third Eſtate out of *Lairds* and Barons, inſtead of the Biſhops; invaded the Soveraign power of Coynage; Reſolved upon an Act for abrogating all former Statutes concerning the Judicature of the Exchequer for making of Proxies, and governing the Eſtates of Wards; and finally, conceived the King to be much in their debt by yielding to a prorogation till a further time. The news whereof reduced the King to ſuch a ſtand, that he was forced to ſend for *Wentworth* out of *Ireland*, where he had acted things in ſettling the Eſtate of that broken Kingdom, beyond expectation or belief. This charged on *Canterbury*, as a project and crime of his, and both together branded for it in a Speech made by the Lord *Faulkland*, in the firſt year of the Long Parliament, where ſpeaking firſt of the Biſhops generally, he tells the Speaker, "That they had both "kindled and blown the fire in both Nations; and more particularly, "that they had both ſent and maintained that book, of which the "Author hath no doubt long ſince wiſhed with *Nero* (*Utinam neſciſſem "Literas*) And of which more than one Kingdom hath cauſe to wiſh, "that he who writ it, had rather burned a *Library*, though of the "value of *Ptolomies*. And then he adds, We ſhall ſee then (ſaith he) "who have been the firſt and principal cauſe of the breach, I will not "ſay of, but ſince the *Pacification* at *Berwick*. We ſhall find them to "have been the almoſt ſole Abettors of my Lord of *Stafford*, whilſt "he was practicing upon another Kingdom that manner of Govern-"ment which he intended to ſettle in this, where he committed ſo "many, ſo mighty, and ſo manifeſt enormities, as the like have not "been committed by any Governour in any Government ſince *Verres* "left *Sicily*. And after they had called him over from being *Deputy* "of *Ireland* to be in manner *Deputy* of *England* (all things here being "governed by a *Juntillo*, and that *Juntillo* governed by him) to have "aſſiſted him in the giving of ſuch Counſels, and the purſuing of ſuch "courſes, as it is a hard and meaſuring caſt, whether they were more "unwiſe, more unjuſt, or more unfortunate, and which had infallia-"bly been our deſtruction, if by the grace of God their ſhare had not "been as ſmall in the ſubtilty of Serpents as in the innocence of "Doves. But theſe were only the Evaporations of ſome Diſcon-tents, which that noble Orator had contracted; of which more elſe-where.

Wentworth being called unto this Service, was preſently made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and not long after with great ſolemnity

Created

Created Earl of *Strafford* in the County of *York*. As Lord Lieutenant he had Power to appoint a Deputy, that so he might the better attend the Service here, without any prejudice to that Kingdom; which Office he committed to *Wansford* a *Yorkshire* Gentleman, and an especial Confident of his, whom he had took along with him into *Ireland* at his first going thither. And because great Counsels are carried with most faith and secresie, when they are entrusted but to few, his Majesty was pleased to commit the Conduct of the *Scottish* Businesses to a *Junto* of three; that is to say, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the new Lord Lieutenant, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; which last the other two knew not how to trust, and therefore communicated no more of their Counsels to him, than such as they cared or feared not to make known to others. By these three joyned in Consultations, it was conceived expedient to move his Majesty to try his fortune once more in calling a Parliament, and in the mean time to command some of the Principal *Covenanters* to attend his Pleasure at the Court, and render an account of their late Proceedings. In order to the first, they had no sooner signified what they thought fit for his Majesties Service, but it was chearfully entertained by the Lords of the Council, who joyned together with them in the Proposition; promising his Majesty to assist him in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should fail him in it, as they after did. Upon these Terms his Majesty yielded to the Motion on the fifth of *December*, causing an Intimation to be publickly made of his Intent to hold a Parliament on the 13th of *April*, then next following: An Intimation which the *Londiners* received with great signs of joy, and so did many in the Country: but such withal, as gave no small matter of disturbance unto many others, who could not think the calling of a Parliament in that point of time, to be safe or seasonable. The last Parliament being dissolved in a Rupture, the Closets of some Members searched, many of them imprisoned, and some fined; it was not to be thought but that they would come thither with revengeful Spirits. And should a breach happen betwixt them and the King, and the Parliament be Dissolved upon it, as it after was, the breach would prove irreparable, as it after did. Besides which fear, it was presumed, that the interval of four Months time, would give the discontented Party opportunity to unite themselves, to practice on the Shires and Burroughs, to elects such Members as they should recommend unto them; and finally, not only to consult, but to conclude on such Particulars as they intended to insist upon, when they were Assembled. In which Respects, the calling a Parliament at that time, and with so long warning before-hand, was conceived unsafe: And if it was unsafe, it was more *unseasonable*. Parliaments had now long been discontinued, the People lived happily without them, and few took thought who should see the next: And which is more, the Neigbouring Kings and States beheld the King with greater Veneration, than they had done formerly, as one that could stand on his own Legs, and had raised up himself to so great Power both by Sea and Land, without such discontents and brabbles as his Parliaments gave him. So that to call a Parliament, was feared

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feared to be the likelieſt way to make his Majeſty ſeem leſs in eſtimation both at home and abroad, the eyes of men being diſtracted by ſo many objects.

But whatſoever others thought, it was thought by *Wentworth*, that he could manage a Parliament well enough to the Kings Advantage; eſpecially by ſetting them ſuch a Leſſon as ſhould make them all aſhamed of not writing after ſuch a Coppy. Two ends they had in adviſing the Intimation of the Parliament to be given ſo long before the Sitting. Firſt, That the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did accordingly, and governed the Affair ſo well, that an Army of 8000 Horſe and Foot (ſome of our Writers ſay 10000) was ſpeedily raiſed, and Money granted by the Parliament to keep them in pay, and furniſh them with Ammunition, Arms, and all other Neceſſaries. Secondly, That by the Reputation of a following Parliament, he might be the better enabled to borrow Money for the carrying on of that War, if the Parliament ſhould chance to fail of doing their Duty: wherein the Lords performed their parts, in drawing in great Sums of Money upon that account. For cauſing a Liſt to be made of moſt of the Perſons of Ability, which had relation to the Courts of Judicature, either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, of ſuch as held Officers of the Crown as attained unto his Majeſties Service, or otherwiſe were thought to be well affected to the preſent Cauſe, and had not formerly contributed toward it, they called them to the Council-Table, where they endeavoured, by the prevailing Rhetorick of Power and Favour, to perſwade them to a bountiful Contribution, or a chearful Loan, according to the Sums proportioned and requeſted of them. In which they did proceed ſo well, that money came flowing in apace, enough to put the King into a condition of making new Levies of Men both for Horſe and Foot, Liſting them under their Commanders, and putting them into a Poſture for the War approaching. And that they might be ſure to ſpeed the better, by the encouragement of a good Example, the Lord Lieutenant ſubſcribed for a Loan of 20000 *l.* the other Lords with the ſame Loyalty and Affection proportioning their Engagements to their Abilities, and thereby giving Law to moſt of the Noblemen in all parts of the Kingdom. Nor was the Queen wanting for her part to advance the Service; For knowing how great a ſhare ſhe had in his Majeſties Fortune, ſhe employed her Secretary *Winter*, *Mountague*, *Digby*, and others of her Confidents of that Religion, to negotiate with the reſt of her party, for being Aſſiſtant to his Majeſty in ſo juſt a quarrel. In which deſign ſhe found ſuch a liberal correſpondence from the *Roman Catholicks*, as ſhewed them to be ſomewhat ambitious of being accounted amongſt the moſt Loyal and beſt affected, of his Majeſties Subjects.

Theſe preparations being Reſolved on and in ſome part made, it was thought convenient that his Majeſty ſhould take the opportunity of the coming of ſome Commiſſioners from the *Scots* to call for an account of their late proceedings. According unto which advice his Majeſty appointed a Select Committee from the reſt of the Council, to

to bring those Commissioners to a reckoning, to hear what they could say for themselves and the rest of their Fellows, and to make report thereof to his Majesty; The Commissioners were the Earl of *Dumfermelling*, the Lord *London*, *Douglas* and *Barkley*, both of inferiour rank, but of like Authority; Of which the Speakers part was performed by *London*, A confident bold man, of a Pedantical expression, but one that loved to hear himself above all men living. Being Commanded to attend the Committee at the time appointed, they ranted high, touching the Independency of the Crown of *Scotland*, and did not think themselves obliged to treat with any, but his Majesty only. His Majesties vouchsafeing his presence at the said Committee; *London* begins with a defence of their proceedings, both in the General Assembly, and the late Parliament held at *Edenborough* by his Majesties Order; Alledged that nothing was done in them contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Precedents of former times, and finally besought his Majesty to ratifie and confirm the Acts, and Results of both Commissions. They could shew none to qualifie them in the nature of Publick Agents; Nor had they any power to Oblige their party in the performance of any thing which might give his Majesty full satisfaction for the time to come, whatsoever satisfaction he was able to give them in debating the business, his Majesty endeavoured not by reason only, but by all fair and gentle means, to let them see the unreasonableness of their demands, the legality of their proceedings, and the danger which would fall upon them, if they continued obstinate in their former courses. But *London* governed all the rest, who being of a fiery nature in himself, and a dependent on the Earl of *Argile*, who had declared himself for the Covenanters at the *Assembly* at *Glasco*, resolved to stand to the Conclusion which he brought along with him, though he found himself unable to make good the Premises; so that some days being unprofitably spent in these debates, the Archbishop and the rest of the Committee, made a report of the whole business to the rest of the Council, who upon full consideration of all particulars, came to this Result: That since the *Scots* could not be reclaimed to their obedience by other means, they were to be *reduced by Force*.

This was no more then what the *Scots* could give themselves Reason to expect; and therefore they bestirred themselves as much on the other side. Part of the Walls of the Castle of *Edenborough*, with all the Ordnance upon it, had fallen down on the nineteenth of *November* last, being the *Anniversary* day of his Majesties Birth (not without some presage of that ill fortune which befel him in the course of this War) for the Repair whereof, they would neither suffer Timber, nor any other Materials to be carried to it: but on the contrary, they began to raise Works and Fortifications against it, with an intent to block it up, and render it unuseful to his Majesties Service: And to keep the Souldiers therein Garrisoned (most of them *English*) to hard meats, they would not suffer them to come into the Market to recruit their Victuals. They made Provisions of great quantity of Artillery, Munition and Arms from Foreign Parts; laid Taxes of ten Marks in the hundred

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639. dred upon all the Subjects, according to their ſeveral Revenues, which they Levied with all curſed Rigour, though bruiting them abroad to be *Free-will Offerings*; ſcattered abroad many Seditious and Scandalous Pamphlets, for juſtifying themſelves and ſeducing others, ſome of which were burnt in *England* by the hand of the Hangman; Fortified *Inchgarvie* and other places, which they planted with Ordnance; Impriſoned the Earl of *Southesk*, and other Perſons of Quality, for their Fidelity to the King; took to themſelves the Government of the City of *Edenborough*, contrary to their Charters and Immunities, by which the Citizens were diſabled from ſerving his Majeſty in any of his juſt Commands; and finally, employed their Emiſſaries in all Parts of *England*, to diſſwade thoſe who were too backward of themſelves, from contributing to the War againſt them, and to ſollicit from them ſuch ſeveral Aids as might the better enable them to maintain the War againſt their Sovereign.

But their cheif Correſpondence was with *France* and *Ireland*. In *France* they had made ſure of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who Governed all Affairs in that Kingdom. Following the *Maxim* of Queen *Elizabeth*, in ſecuring the Peace of his own Country by the Wars of his Neighbours, he practiſed the Revolt of *Portugal*, and put the *Catalonians* into Arms againſt their King, to the end that he might waſt the fiery Spirit of the *French* in a War on *Flanders*, with the better fortune and ſucceſs. But knowing that it was the intereſt of the Crown of *England*, to hold the Balance even between *France* and *Spain*; and that his Majeſty by removing the Ships of *Holland*, which lay before *Duynkirk*, *Anno* 1635. had hindred the *French* from making ſuch a Progreſs by Land, as might have made them Maſters of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; he held it a chief piece of State-Craft (as indeed it was) to excite the *Scots* againſt their King, and to encourage them to ſtand it out unto the laſt, being ſo excited. "Upon which ground he ſent *Chamberlain*, a *Scot* "by Birth, his Chaplain and Almoner, to aſſiſt the Confederates in ad- "vancing the buſineſs, and to attempt all ways for exaſperating the "*firſt heat*; with Order not to depart from them, till (things ſucceed- "ing as he wiſhed) he might return with good News: And on the ſame appointed one of his Secretaries to reſide in *Scotland*, to march along with them into *England*, to be preſented at all Councils of War, and direct their buſineſs And on the other ſide, *Hamiltons* Chaplains had free acceſſes unto *Con* the ſame Countryman alſo, at ſuch time as *Chamberlain* was Negotiating for the Cardinal, to foment the Flames, which had begun to rage already. And by a Letter ſubſcribed by the Earl of *Rothes*, and others of chief note amongſt the *Covenanters*, they craved the Aſſiſtance of that King, caſt themſelves upon his Protection, beſeeching him to give credit to *Colvill* the Bearer thereof, whom they had inſtructed in all Particulars which concerned their Condition and Deſires. In *Ireland* they had a ſtrong Party of Natural *Scots*, planted in *Ulſter* by King *James*, upon the forfeited Eſtates of *Tir-Owen*, *Tir-Connel*, *Odighirtie*, &c. not *Scots* in Birth and Parentage only, but Deſign and Faction. But *Wentworth* was not to be told of their ſecret Practiſes; he ſaw it in their general diſpoſition to

Schiſm

Schism and Faction, and was not unacquainted with their old Rebellions. It must be his care that they brake not into any new; which he performed with such a diligent and watchful eye, that he crushed them in the very beginning of the Combination, seising upon such Ships and Men as came thither from *Scotland*, Imprisoning some, Fining others, and putting an Oath upon the rest: By which Oath they were found to abjure the *Covenant*, not to be aiding to the *Covenanters* against the King, nor to *Protest* against any of his *Royal Edicts*, as their Brethren in *Scotland* used to do. For the refusing of which Oath he Fined one (*a*) Sir *Henry Steward* and his Wife (Persons of no less Power than Disaffection) at no less than 5000 *l.* a piece; two of their Daughters, and one *James Gray* of the same Confederacy, at the Sum of 3000 *l.* a piece; committing them to Prison for not paying the Fines imposed upon them. All which he justified when he was brought unto his Tryal, on good Reasons of State; There (*b*) being at that time one hundred thousand Souls in *Ireland* of the *Scottish* Nation, most of them passionately affected to the Cause of the *Covenanters*, and some of them conspiring to betray the Town and Castle of *Carick fergus* to a Nobleman of that Country, for which the Principal Conspirator had been justly Executed. Nor staid he there, but he gave finally a Power to the Bishop of *Down* and *Connor*, and other Bishops of that Kingdom, and their several Chancellors, to attatch the Bodies of all such of the meaner sort, who either should refuse to appear before them upon Citation, or to perform all Lawful Decrees and Orders made by the said Bishops and their Chancellors; and to commit them to the next Gaol, till they should conform, or answer the Contempt at the Council-Table. By means whereof, he made the poorer sort so pliant, and obedient to their several Bishops, that there was good hopes of their Conformity to the Rules of the Church.

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(a) *Impeachment of* Strafford, *Art.* 19.

(b) *Relation of the Answers of the Earl of* Straff. p. 34.

Having thus carried on the Affairs of *Scotland* till the end of this year, we must return to our Archbishop; whom we shall find intent on the preservation of the *Hierarchy*, and the Church of *England*, against the Practices of the *Scots*, and *Scotizing Englishe*: and no less busied in digesting an Apology for vindicating the *Liturgie* commended to the *Kirk* of *Scotland*. In reference to the last, he took order for translating the *Scottish Liturgie* into the Latine Tongue; that being published with the *Apologie*, which he had designed, it might give satisfaction to the world of his Majesty Piety, and his own great care, the Orthodoxie and simplicity of the Book it self, and the perverseness of the *Scots* in refusing all of it. Which Work was finished and left with him, but it went no further; the present distemper of the times, and the troubles which fell heavily on him putting an end to it in the first beginning. But the best was, that the English *Liturgie* had been published in so many Languages, and the *Scottish* so agreeable to the *English* in the Forms and Offices, that any man might judge of the one by perusing the other. The first Liturgie of King *Edward* vi. translated into Latine by *Alexander Alesius*, a learned *Scot*, for the better information of *Martin Bucer*, when he first came to live amongst us; the second *Liturgie* of that King with Queen *Elizabeths* Emendations

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639. by *Walter Haddon*, President of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxon.* and Dean of *Exeter*; and his Translation rectified by Dr. *Morket*, in the times of King *James*, according to such Explications and Additions as were made by order from the King. The same translated into *French*, for the use of the Isle of *Jersey*, by the appointment of the King also; into the *Spanish* for the better satisfaction of that Nation, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*; And finally, by the countenance and encouragement of this Archbishop, translated into Greek by *Petley*, much about this time, that so the *Eastern* Churches might have as clear an information of the *English* Piety as the *Western* had.

In order to the other he recommended to *Hall*, then Bishop of *Exon.* the writing of a book in defence of the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, in opposition to the *Scots* and their Adherents. *Exeter* undertakes the Work, and sends him a rude draught or *Skeleton* of his design, consisting of the two main points of his intended discourse, together with the several Propositions which he intended to insist on in pursuance of it. The two main points which he was to aim at, were, "First, "That Episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and divine insti- "tution (as it is joyned with imparity, and superiority of Jurisdicti- "on) and therefore where it hath through Gods providence obtain- "ed, cannot by any humane power be abdicated without a manifest "violation of Gods Ordinance. And secondly, That the *Presbyteri- "an* Government, however vindicated under the glorious names of "Christs Kingdom, and Ordinance, hath no true footing either in "Scripture or the Practice of the Church in all Ages from Christs time "till the present; and that howsoever it may be of use in some Cities "or Territories, wherein Episcopal Government through iniquity "of times cannot be had; yet to obtrude it upon a Church otherwise "settled under an acknowledged *Monarchy*; is utterly incongruous "and unjustifiable. In which two points he was to predispose some Propositions (or *Postulata* as he calls them) to be the ground of his proceedings; which I shall here present in his own conceptions, that so we may the better judge of those corrections which were made upon them. The *Postulata* were as followeth, *viz.* "1. That Govern- "ment which was of Apostolical Institution, cannot be denied to be of "Divine Right. 2. Not only that Government which was directly "commanded and enacted, but also that which was practiced and "recommended by the Apostles to the Church, must justly pass for "an Apostolical Institution. 3. That which the Apostles by Divine "Inspiration instituted, was not for the present time, but for conti- "nuance. 4. The universal Practise of the Church, immediately "succeeding the Apostles, is the best and surest Commentary upon the "Practice of the Apostles, or upon their Expressions. 5. We may "not entertain so irreverent an opinion of the Saints and Fathers of "the Primitive Church, that they who were the immediate Successors "of the Apostles, would, or durst set up a Government, either faulty, "or of their own heads. 6. If they would have been so presumptu- "ous, yet they could not have diffused an uniform form of Govern- "ment through the world in so short a space. 7. The ancient Hi-

"stories

"stories of the Church, and Writings of the eldest Fathers, are ra- LIB. IV.
"ther to be believed in the report of the Primitive Form of the *Anno Dom.*
"Church-Government, than those of this last Age. 8. Those whom 1639.
"the ancient Church of God, and the holy and Orthodox Fathers con-
"demned for Hereticks, are not fit to be followed as Authors of our
"Opinion or Practise for Church-Government. 9. The accession of
"honourable Titles or Priviledges, makes no difference in the sub-
"stance of the calling. 10. Those Scriptures wherein a new Form of
"Government is grounded, have need to be very clear and unquestio-
"nable, and more evident than those whereon the former rejected Poli-
"tie is raised. 11. If that Order which, they say, Christ set for the
"Government of the Church (which they call the Kingdom and Or-
"dinance of Christ) be but one, and undoubted, then it would, and
"shall have been ere this, agreed upon against them, what, and which
"it is. 12. If this (which they pretend) be the Kingdom and Ordi-
"nance of Christ, then if any Essential part of it be wanting, Christs
"Kingdom is not erected in the Church. 13. Christian Politie re-
"quires no impossible or absurd thing. 14. Those Tenets which are
"now and unheard of in all Ages of the Church, (in many, and Es-
"sential points) are well worthy to be suspected. 15. To depart
"from the Practice of the Universal Church of Christ ever from the
"Apostles times), and to betake our selves voluntarily to a new Form,
"lately taken up, cannot but be odious and highly scandalous.

These first Deliniations of the Pourtacture being sent to *Lambeth*, in the end of *October*, were generally well approved of by the *Metropolitan*. Some lines there were which he thought to have too much *shadow* and *umbrage*, might be taken at them, if not therwise qualified with a more perfect Ray of Light. And thereupon he takes the Pensil in his hand, and with some Alterations of the Figure, accompanied with many kind expressions of a fair acceptance, he sent them back again to be compleatly Limned and Coloured by that able hand. Which alterations, what they were, and his reasons for them, I shall adventure to lay down, as they come before me, that so the Reader may descern as well the clearness of his apprehension, and the excellency of his judgment in the points debated. The Letter long, and therefore so disposed of without further coherence, that so it may be perused or pretermitted without disturbance to the sequel; some prepations being made by the hand of his Secretary, he proceeds thus to the rest.

The rest of your Letter is fitter to be answered by my own hand, and so you have it. And since you are pleased so worthily and brother-like to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to my censure, and better advice (so you are pleased to write) I do not only thank you heartily for it: but shall in the same brotherly way, and with equal freedom put some few Animadversions, such as occur on the sudden to your further consideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the perfection of the work in which so much is concerned. And first, for Mr. Cant. Doom. p. 233.

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George Graham (*whom* Hall *had signified to have renounced his Episcopal Function*) *I leave you free to work upon his business, and his ignorance as you please, assuring my self that you will not depart from the gravity of your self, or the cause therein. Next you say in the first head,* That Episcopacy is an antient, holy, and divine Institution. *It must needs be antient and holy, if divine. Would it not be more full, went it thus? So antient as that it is of Divine Institution. Next you define Episcopacy by being joyned with imparity and superiority of Jurisdiction, but this seems short; for every* Archpresbyters *or* Archdeacons *place is so, yea, and so was Mr.* Henderson *in his Chair at* Glasco, *unless you will define it by a distinction of Order. I draw the superiority, not from the Jurisdiction which is attributed to Bishops* jure positivo, *in their Audience of Ecclesiastical matters: but from that which is intrinsical and original in the power of Excommunication. Again, you say in the first point; That where Episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of Gods Ordinance. This Proposition I conceive is* inter minus habentes; *for never was there any Church yet, where it hath not obtained. The Christian Faith was never yet planted any where, but the very first feature of a Church was by, or with* Episcopacy; *and whersoever now Episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an Abdication, for certainly there it was* à Principio. *In your second head you grant that the Presbyterian Government may be of use, where Episcopacy may not be had. First, I pray you consider whither this conversion be not needless here, and in it self of a dangerous consequence: Next I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more then in Title only. Thirdly, Since they challange their Presbyterian Fiction to be Christs Kingdom and Ordinance (as your self expresseth) and cast out Episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any mincing terms, but unmask them plainly; nor shall I ever give way to hamper our selves for fear of speaking plain truth, though it be against* Amsterdam *or* Geneva: *and this must be sadly thought on.*

Concerning your Postulata *I shall pray you to allow me the like freedom; amongst which the two first are true (but as expresst) two restrictive. For Episcopacy is not so to be asserted unto Apostolical Institution, as to bar it from looking higher and from fetching it materially and originally in the ground and Intention of it, from Christ himself; though perhaps the Apostles formalized it. And here give me leave a little to enlarge. The adversaries of Episcopacy are not only the furious* Arian *Hereticks (out of which are now raised,* Prynne, Bastwick, *and our* Scottish *Masters) but some also of a milder and subtler alloy both in the* Genevian *and* Roman *Faction. And it will become the Church of* England *so to vindicate it against the furious* Puritans *as that we may not lay it open to be wounded by either of the other two, more cunning and more learned adversaries. Not to the* Roman *faction for that will be content, it shall be* Juris Divini mediati, *by, far, from, and under the Pope, that so the Government of the Church may be Monarchical in him; but not* Immediati, *which makes the Church* Aristocratical *in the Bishops. This is the* Italian *Rock, not the* Genevian; *for that will not deny Episcopacy to be* Juris Divini, *of*

ſo you will take it, ut ſuadentis vel aprobantis *but not* imperantis; *for then they may take and leave as they will, which is that they would be at. Nay (if I much forget not)* Beza *himſelf is ſaid to have acknowledged* Epiſcopacy *to be* Juris Divini Imperantis, *ſo you will not take it as* univerſaliter imperantis, *For then* Geneva *might eſcape:* & citra conſiderationem durantis; *for then though they had it before, yet now upon wiſer thoughts they may be without it, which* Scotland *ſays now, and who will may ſay it after, if this be good Divinity; and then all in that time ſhall be* Democratical. *I am bold to adde, becauſe in your ſecond* Poſtulatum *I find, that* Epiſcopacy *is directly commanded: but you go not ſo far as to meet with this ſubtilty of* Beza, *which is the great Rock in the Lake of* Geneva. *In your ninth* Poſtulatum, *that the Acceſſion of Honourable Titles, or Priviledges, makes no difference in the ſubſtance of the calling, You mean the titles of Archbiſhops, Primates,* Metropolitans, *Patriarks, &c.* 'Tis well, *And I preſume you do ſo: But then in any caſe take heed you aſſert it ſo, as that the Faction lay not hold of it, as if the Biſhops were but the Title of Honour, and the ſame calling with a Prieſt; For that they all aim at,* &c. *The eleventh* Poſtulatum *is larger, and I ſhall not Repeat it; becauſe I am ſure you retain a Copy of what you write to me, being the Ribbs of the work; nor ſhall I ſay more to it, then that it muſt be warily handled for fear of a ſaucy Anſwer, which is more ready with them a great deal then a Learned one. I preſume I am pardoned already for this freedom by your ſubmiſſion of all to me. And now I heartily pray you to ſend me up, (keeping a Copy to your ſelf againſt the accidents of Carriage) not the whole work together, but each particular head or* Poſtulatum, *as you finiſh it; that ſo we here may be the better able to conſider of it, and the work come on faſter. So to Gods bleſſed Protection,* &c.

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Such was the freedom which he uſed in declaring his judgment in the caſe, and ſuch the Authority which his reaſons carried along with them, that the Biſhop of *Exon* found good cauſe to correct the obliquity of his opinion according to the Rules of theſe Animadverſions; agreeably unto which the book was writ and publiſhed not long after, under the name of *Epiſcopacy* by *Divine Right,* &c.

Such care being taken to prevent all inconveniencies which might come from *Scotland,* he caſts his eye toward the Execution of his former Orders for Regulating the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here in *England.* It had been to no purpoſe in him to endeavour a Conformity amongſt the *Scots,* as long as ſuch examples of ſeparation did continue amongſt the *Engliſh.* If the *poſt-nati* in the Churches, born and bred in *England,* ſhould not be bound to repair with other of their Neighbours to their Pariſh Churches, it might create a further miſchief then the preſent Scandal, and come up cloſe at laſt to formal Schiſm. His Order had been publiſhed in all the Congregations of ſtrangers within his Province, as before is ſaid; but Executed more or leſs, as the Miniſter and Church-Wardens ſtood affected to thoſe Congregations. And therefore that the Church-Wardens might more punctually proceed in doing their duty, It was thought fit that certain

Articles

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Articles ſhould be framed and commmended to them for their future direction. The Reformation being purſued in his own Dioceſs, and the Mettopolitical City firſt, it was to be preſumed, that thoſe in other places would gladly follow the example. Of laying Taxes on thoſe ſtrangers in their ſeveral Pariſhes for repairing of, and adorning their ſeveral Pariſh-Churches, and providing Ornaments for the ſame they were in all places careful enough; becauſe their own profit was concerned in it. *And for their proceedings in the reſt they were directed by theſe Orders to inquire of all ſuch ſtrangers as lived amongſt them, the names of all married perſons in their Congregations as of the ſecond deſcent in their ſeveral Pariſhes, to the end that order might be taken for decent ſeats for them, according to their Eſtates and qualities: that they ſhould return the names and ages of thoſe unmarried of the ſecond deſcent, and whoſe children and ſervants they were; to the end that the like care might be taken of their due reſort to the Church, there to be Catechiſed, and Communicate according to their ages: that thoſe at ſixteen years and upwards, that had not already Communicated ſhould prepare themſelves to receive the bleſſed Sacrament in their Pariſh-Church at the next Communion; and from thence forward thrice in the year afterwards as the Canons of the Church require, as they would avoid preſentment to their* Ordinary *for their neglect therein: that ſuch as were Parents and Maſters of Families of the firſt and ſecond deſcent, did thenceforth every Lords day, half an hour after Evening Prayer, ſend all ſuch, their Children and Servants as were under ſixteen to their Pariſh-Church, there to be Catechiſed according to the Orders of the Church, as they themſelves upon preſentment would anſwer the Contrary.* Theſe Articles being given in the middle of *April*, were Executed for the reſt of the year more punctually then in any of thoſe before. But it held not much longer then the reſt of that year: The troubles which the Archbiſhop fell into, in the year next following diſſolving all his Orders and Injunctions of this kind, as if never made.

With equal conſtancy he governed his Counſels in all other particulars. Some informations had been given him of certain miſdemeanours and corruptions in *Merton* Colledge, of which he was the Ordinary, and immediate Viſitor, in the Right of his See; and in that Right he reſolves upon a Viſitation both in Head, and Members. To this employment he deputes his Right Truſty Friend and Aſſured Servant, The *Dean* of the *Arches*; who entring on his charge in the year forgoing 1638. made this Enquiry amongſt others, *viz. Whither they made due Reverence (by bowing towards the Altar or Communion Table)* when they *came into the Chappel.* And finding by a return to this enquiry, that *Corbet*, and *Cheynel* two of the Fellows, not only had neglected but refuſed to make any ſuch Reverence, he tryed all fair and plauſible perſwaſions by himſelf and others to induce them too it. But not prevailing either way, he certified the Archbiſhop of his Proceedings, who thereupon cauſed ſome *Injunctions* to be ſent to the Colledge for their future Governance, Amongſt which I find this for one, that they uſe due and lowly Reverence towards the Lords Table, at their firſt entrance into the Quire. Upon the coming where-

Habeant debitam reverentiam, ad menſam, Domini, &c.

of

of there was no more diſpute about it, thoſe Reverences being made by moſt, and conſtantly continued by them till the Parliament of *Novem.* 3. In matters which concerned the Warden, it was thought fit by *Lamb* the Chief Commiſſioner, to do nothing without further direction, but only to acquaint the Archbiſhop, in what State he found them; who thereupon recalled the buſineſs to himſelf. The parties to appear before him *October* following, at which time he ſpent three days in hearing and examining the Points in difference between *Brent* the Warden, and ſuch of the Fellows of the Colledge as complained againſt him: But for determining the Cauſe (*the Warden appearing very foul*, as himſelf acknowledgeth) he took time till the firſt of *July* in this preſent year, that *Brent* might have the better opportunities to content his Fellows, for the Errors of his Government in the times precedent, and give them ſome aſſurance of a Reformation for the time to come. Which noble Favour notwithſtanding, and that he went off with no other Cenſure than a fair and Fatherly *Admonition*: yet *Brent* unmindful of ſo great a moderation toward him, expreſs'd more readineſs in contributing towards his Condemnation in the time of his Tryal, than any of thoſe who did moſt eagerly deſire his Ruine.

The courſe and method of my buſineſs having brought me to *Oxon.* I cannot depart thence, without taking notice of his further Bounty and Munificence to that Univerſity. He had before entertained ſome thoughts of clearing the great Square betwixt Saint *Maries* and the *Schools*, intending to have raiſed a fair and capacious Room, advanced on Pillars; the upper part to ſerve for Convocations and Congregations, which till that time were held in the Church it ſelf; the lower for a Walk or place of Conference, in which Students of all ſorts might confer together, at their repairing to the Schools, the Library, or any other buſineſs which concerned the Publick. But finding the Owners of thoſe Houſes not ſo willing to part with them, as he had probably preſumed, he was fain to ſhift the Scene, though he held his purpoſe, which fell out very happily for that Univerſity: For being reſolved to free St. *Maries* Church from thoſe Inconveniencies, which the continual keeping of the Publick Convocations and Congregations muſt of neceſſity carry with it, he erected a ſtately and moſt elegant Pile at the Weſt end of the Divinity School, and Publick Library; The lower part whereof was fitted and accommodated for the Convocations, and other Publick Meetings of that Famous Body: The upper part, opening into the *Bodleian Library*, he trimmed with all the Curioſities of Art and Coſt, to ſerve as a Repoſitory for ſuch Learned Writings, as the Piety of enſuing Times might confer upon it. And that it might not be reported, that he had given them nothing but an empty Box, he furniſhed it with no fewer than 1276 Manuſcripts in ſeveral Languages, 700 whereof had been ſent before at divers times, when this beautiful Structure was in raiſing: The reſt were ſent on *June* 28. in this preſent year; 100 of theſe laſt being in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Arabick* and *Perſian* Tongues. And that he might make ſome Acknowledgment to the Town of *Reading*, in which he

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639. he was born, and in the Grammer-School whereof he had received the first part of his Education, he bestowed upon it about this time also a Revenue of no less than 200 *l. per Annum*, to be thus disposed of; that is to say, 120 *l.* thereof to be parcelled out every two years, for the placing of Apprentices, and setting up of young Beginners who had honestly served out their Times; and every third year, for the Marriage of five young Maidens which had lived with one Master or Mistress for seven years together; 50 *l.* of it to be yearly added for an Augmentation to the Minister of the Parish-Church of St. *Laurence* in which he was born, whose means before was miserably short of that which some call a *Competency*; and having purchased the perpetual Parsonage of it, he conferred it on St. *John's* Colledge in *Oxon.* to be a fit Preferment for any one of the Fellows of that House for the time to come: 20 *l.* of it be alotted yearly to encrease the Stipend of the Schoolmaster there; 8 *l.* for the yearly Entertainment of the President and Fellows of St. *John's* Colledge, whom he made his Visitors, to see that all things should be carried as fairly on, as by him piously intended; the remaining 40 *s.* being added as a yearly Fee to the Town-Clerk, for Registring the Names of those who should from time to time enjoy the benefit of so great a Charity. Some other great Designs he had, but of a far more Publick and Heroick Nature; as the encreasing of the Maintenance of all the poor Vicars in *England*; To see the Tythes of *London* setled between the Clergy and the City; For setting up a *Greek* Press at *Oxon.* and procuring Letters and Mattrices for the same, wherewith to Print and Publish all such *Greek* Manuscripts as were to be found in that Library; For obtaining the like Grant from his Majesty for buying in all Impropriations, as had been made for the Repairing of St. *Pauls*: but not to take beginning, till that Work was finished; For procuring an *Extract* of all the *Records* of the *Tower* relating to the Church and Clergy, to be written in a fair Vellom Book, which had been drawn down from the 20th. of *Edward* I. to the 14th of *Edward* iv. with an intent to carry on the Work till the last year of King *Henry* viii. that so the Church might understand her own Power and Priviledges. But the prosecution of this Work from the said 14th. of King *Edward* iv. and of all the rest before-mentioned, which he had hammered in design, were most unfortunately intermitted, by the great alteration of Affairs which soon after followed. I cannot tell whether Posterity will believe or not, That so many great and notable Projectments could be comprehended in one Soul; most of them Ripened in a manner, the residue in the Bud or Blosom, and some of them bringing forth the Fruits expected from them. But the best is, that none of his Designs were carried in so close a manner, or left in so imperfect a condition, as not to give some visible Remembrances, as well of his Universal Comprehensions, as his Zeal and Piety.

For notwithstanding the present Distractions which the Faction and Tumultuousness of the *Scots*, had drawn upon him (enough to have decreed a right *Constantine*) let us look on him in the pursuit of his former purposes, and we shall find him still the same. The Bishop of *Exeter's*

Exeter's Book being finiſhed, and recommended by the Author to his laſt peruſal before it went unto the Preſs, he took the pains to read it over with care and diligence; in the peruſal whereof he took notice, amongſt other things, that the ſtrict Superſtition of the *Sabbatarians* was but lightly touch'd at; whereas he thought, that ſome ſmarter Plaiſter to that Sore, might have done no harm. He obſerved alſo, that he paſſed by this Point, *viz. Whether* Epiſcopacy *be an Order or Degree*, as not much material; whereas in the Judgment of ſuch Learned Men as he had conſulted, it was the main ground of the whole Cauſe: And therefore he deſired him to weigh it well, and to alter it with his own Pen as ſoon as might be. But that which gave him moſt offence was, That the Title of *Antichriſt* was poſitively and determinately beſtowed upon the *Pope*; Which being ſo contrary to the Judgment of many Learned *Proteſtants*, as well as his own, he allowed not of: but howſoever thought it fit to acquaint his Majeſty with the Buſineſs; and having ſo done, to ſubmit it to his Will and Preaſure. Concerning which, he writes thus to the Biſhop in his Letter of *Jan.* 14. this preſent year, *viz. The laſt (with which I durſt not but acquaint his Majeſty) is about* Antichriſt, *which Title in three or four places you beſtow upon the* Pope *poſitively and determinately; whereas King* James *of Bleſſed Memory, having brought ſtrong proof in a Work of his, as you well know, to prove the Pope to be* Antichriſt: *yet being afterwards challenged about it, he made this Anſwer, when the King that now is went into* Spain, *and acquainted with it;* That he writ, that not *concludingly*, but by way of *Argument* only, *that the* Pope *and his adherents might ſee, there was as good and better Arguments to prove him* Antichriſt, *than for the* Pope, *to challenge Temporal Juriſdiction over Kings. The whole Paſſage being known to me, I could not but ſpeak with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualifie your Expreſſion in theſe Particulars, and ſo not differ from the known Judgment of his Pious and Learned Father. This is eaſily done with your own Pen; and the rather, becauſe all* Proteſtants *join not in this Opinion of* Antichriſt. According to which good advice, the Biſhop of *Exon.* qualified ſome of his Expreſſions, and deleted other, to the Contentment of his Sovereign, the Satisfaction of his *Metropolitan*, and his own great Honour.

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But whileſt the Archbiſhop laboured to ſupport *Epiſcopacy* on the one ſide, ſome of the *Puritan* Party did as much endeavour to ſuppreſs it, by lopping off the Branches firſt, and afterwards by laying the Axe to the root of the Tree. *Bagſhaw* a Lawyer of ſome ſtanding of the Middle Temple, did firſt prepare the way to the ruine of it, by queſtioning the Biſhops Place and Vote in Parliament, their Temporal Power, and the Authority of the *High-Commiſſion*. For being choſen *Reader* by that Houſe for the *Lent* Vacation, he firſt began his *Readings* on *February* 24. ſelecting for the Argument of his Diſcourſings the the Statute 25 *Edw.* 3. *cap.* 7. In proſecuting whereof, he had diſtributed his Conceptions into ten Parts, and each Part into ten ſeveral Caſes; by which account he muſt have had one hundred blows at the Church in his ten days Reading. His main deſign was in the firſt place,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639. intended chiefly for the defence of ſuch Prohibitions as formerly had been granted by the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall* to ſtop the Proceedings of the *Court Chriſtian*, and ſpecially of the *High-Commiſſion*; and in the next place, to deny the Authority of the Commiſſion it ſelf, as before was noted. In order whereunto, he began firſt to ſtate theſe Queſtions, *viz.* 1. *Whether it be a good Act of Parliament without the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual?* which he held affirmitavely. 2. *Whether any beneficed Clerk were capable of Temporal Juriſdiction at the time of making that Law?* which he held in the negative. And 3. *Whether a Biſhop, without calling a Synod, have Power as* Dioceſan *to convict an* Heretick? which he maintained in the negative alſo. The news whereof being brought to *Lambeth*, there was no need of warning the Archbiſhop to look about him, who was not to be told what a ſtrong Faction ſome of the *Scotiſing Lawyers* had made againſt the Church in Queen *Elizabeths* Time, carried it on under the Government of King *James*, and now began to threaten as much danger to it as in former times. He thereupon informs his Majeſty both of the Man and his Deſign, and how far he had gone in juſtifying the Proceedings of the *Scottiſh Covenanters*, indecrying the Temporal Power of Churchmen, and the undoubted Right of Biſhops to their Place in Parliament. His Majeſty hereupon gives Order to *Finch* the new Lord Keeper, to interdict all further Reading on thoſe Points, or any others of like nature, which might adminiſter any further Flame to the preſent Combuſtions. The Lord Keeper having done his part, and the Reader addreſſing himſelf to him, that by his leave he might proceed in the courſe of his Exerciſe, it was ſoon found, that nothing could be done therein without leave from the King; and no ſuch leave to be obtained, but by the Approbation and Conſent of the Lord Archbiſhop. To *Lambeth* therefore goes the *Reader*, where he found no admittance till the making of his third Addreſs, and was then told, *That he was fallen upon a Subject neither ſafe nor ſeaſonable, which ſhould ſtick cloſer to him then he was aware of.* *Bagſhaw* endeavoured ſomething in his own defence, as to the choice of the Argument; and ſomewhat alſo, as to the impoſſibility of ſettling to any other Subject in the preſent Conjuncture deſiring his Grace to be a means unto the King, that he might proceed in performance of the Task he had undertaken. To which the Archbiſhop ſtoutly anſwered, *That his Majeſty was otherwiſe reſolved in it; and that perhaps it had been better for the Reader himſelf to have given over at the firſt, than have incurred his Majeſties Royal Indignation by that unſeaſonable Adventure.* No better Anſwer being given him, away goes *Bagſhaw* out of Town, accompanied with forty or fifty Horſe, (and it was a great Honour to the Houſe that he had no more, who ſeemed to be of the ſame Faction and Affections alſo, as their deſigned *Reader* was, being inſtructed, though too late, that they could not have ſo great a care of their Courts and Profit, as the Archbiſhops had of the Churches power. Such was the conſtancy of his ſpirit, that notwithſtanding the Combuſtions in *Scotland*, the ill proſecuting of the laſt Summers Action, and the uncertainties of what might happen in the next, he always ſteered his courſe with a ſteady

steady hand to the Port he aimed at, though it pleased God to let him suffer Shipwrack in the mouth of the Haven. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639.

The interrupting of this man in the course of his Reading, the holding of so strict an hand over the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch* within his Province, and these compliances on the other side with the Church of *Rome*, were made occasions of the clamour, which was raised against him concerning his design to suppress the Gospel, and to bring in *Popery* and *Arminianism*; or at the least to make a Reconciliation betwixt us and *Rome*, towards which the Doctrine of *Arminius* was given out for a certain Preamble. Which general clamour being raised against him and the rest of the Bishops, I find thus flourisht over by one of their Oratours in the House of Commons. "A little search (saith he) will find them to have been the destruction of Unity under pretence of Uniformity; To have brought in Superstition and Scandal under titles of Reverence, and Decency; To have defiled our Church by adorning our Churches; To have slackned the strictness of that Union which was formerly between us and those of our Religion beyond the Seas, An Action as unpolitick as ungodly: Or we shall find them to have resembled the Dog in the Manger, to have neither preached themselves, nor imployed those that should, nor suffered those that would; To have brought in Catechising only to thrust out Preaching, and cried down Lectures by the name of Factions, either because their industry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect of it, or with intention to have brought in darkness, that they might the easier sow their tares while it was night: and by that introduction of ignorance, introduce the better that Religion which accounts it the Mother of Devotion. In which (saith he) they have abused his Majesty, as well as his People; for when he had with great wisdom silenced on both parts those opinions which have often tormented the Church, and have, and always will trouble the Schools, They made use of this Declaration to tye up one side, and to let the other loose, whereas they ought either in discretion to have been equally restrained, or in justice to have been equally tollerated. And it is observable, that the party to which they gave this Licence, was that, whose Doctrine, though it was not contrary to Law, was contrary to Custom, and for a long while in this Kingdom was no oftner Preached than Recanted, *&c.* We find them introducing such Doctrines, as admitting them to be true, the truth could not recompence the scandal; or such as were so far false, as Sir *Thomas More* says of the *Casuists*, their business was not to keep men from sinning, but to inform them, *Quam prope ad peccatum, sine peccato liceat accedere.* So it seemed their work was to try how much of a *Papist* might be brought in without *Popery*, and to destroy as much of the Gospel without bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by Law. To go yet further, some of them have so industriously laboured to deduce themselves from *Rome*, that they have given great suspicion that in gratitude they desire to return thither, or at least to meet it half way; some have evidently laboured to bring in an *English*, though not a *Roman* Popery.

Speech of the L. Faulkland, p. 3. 1641.

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"I mean not only the outside and dress of it, but equally absolute, a "blind dependance on the people upon the Clergy and of the Clergy "upon themselves; and have opposed the *Papacy* beyond the Seas, "that they might settle one beyond the water.

Such being the general charge which was laid against him, we will consider in this place what may be said in order to his defence, as to some seeming *Innovations* into the Worship of God, his design to bring in Popery by the back-door of *Arminianism*, and his endeavouring of a Reconciliation betwixt us and *Rome*. And first, as touching such *Innovations* in the Worship of God, he makes a general purgation of himself in his Speech made in the *Star-Chamber*, the sum and substance whereof you have seen before. Out of which I shall only take this short and pithy Declaration which he makes of himself, in relation to this part of his charge, *viz.* "I can say it clearly and truly, p. 4. "as in the presence of God, that I have done nothing, as a Prelate, to "the utmost of what I am conscious, but with a single heart, and with "a sincere intention for the good Government and honour of the "Church, and the maintenance of the Orthodox truth, and Religion "of Christ, professed, established, and maintained in the Church of "*England*. For my care of this Church, the reducing it to Order, the "upholding of the External Worship of God in it, and the settling "of the Rules of its first Reformation, are the cause (and the sole cause, "whatsoever is pretended) of this malicious storm that hath lowred "so black upon me, and some of my Brethren. The like Declaration he also makes in his first Speech to the Lords, at the time of his tryal, where we find it thus: "Ever since I came into place (saith he) "I have laboured nothing more than that the External Worship of "God (so much slighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might be "preserved; and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might "be: For I evidently saw, that the publick neglect of Gods Service in "the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated "to that Service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward "Worship of God, which while we live in the body needs External "helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did "to the utmost of my knowledge according both to Law and Canon, "and with the consent and liking of the People; nor did any Com-"mand issue out from me against the one or the other. And finally, we shall find the like Declaration made by him on the Scaffold at the time of his death, in which sad hour there was no dissembling (and I conceive all charitable men will believe so of it) before God or man. But because it relates also to the next particular, we shall there meet with it.

And for the next particular, concerning the designing to bring in *Popery*, it hath been further aggravated by his correspondency with the Popes Ministers here in *England*, and his indulgence to that Party upon all occasions. But of this he cleansed himself sufficiently in the p. 14. Star-Chamber Speech before remembred, in which he publickly avowed: "First, That he knew of no plot or purpose of altering the "Religion established. Secondly, That he had never been far from

"attempt-

"attempting any thing that may truly be said to tend that way in the "least degree. And thirdly, having offered his Oath for the other "two, that if the King had a mind to change Religion (which he knew "he had not) his Majesty must seek for other Instruments, how basely "soever those men had conceived of him. The like assurance he gives also in the last hour of his life, when he was going to render an account of all his Actions before Gods Tribunal. "Here is a Cla- "mour that I would have brought in Popery, but I was born and bap- "tized (saith he) in the bosom of the Church of *England*, established "by Law; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come "now to dye. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in "matters of Religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembred, I "have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in *England*, "and in that I come now to dye. And then he adds with reference "to the point before, "What Clamours and Slanders I have endured "for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the External Service of God, "according to the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church, all men "know; and I have abundantly felt. His *Conference* with *Fisher* the *Jesuite*, in the year 1622. and his enlarging of that *Conference*, *Anno* 1637. with *Derings* attestation to it, which before we had, do most abundantly evince this truth, that he approved not the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. And as he approved not of their Doctrines, so he as much disliked their practices for gaining Proselytes, or multiplying their followers in all parts of the Kingdom: concerning which he tells his Majesty, *That though he never had advised a* persecution *of the Papists in any kind, yet God forbid (saith he) that your Majesty should let both Laws and Discipline sleep for fear of a* Persecution, *and in the mean time let* Mr. Fisher *and his Fellow* Angle *in all parts of your Dominions for your Subjects. If in your Grace and Goodness you will spare their persons; yet I humbly beseech you to see to it, that they be not suffered to* lay *either their* Weels, *or* bait *their* Hooks, *or* cast *their* Nets *in every stream, least the* Temptation *grow both too general, and too strong.* So he in the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Large Relation* of the Conference between him and *Fisher*, published in the end of the year foregoing. Assuredly it must needs seem extremely ridiculous to others, and contradictory to it self, to confute the chief Doctrines of the Papists, and oppose their practicings, if he had had any such design to bring in *Popery*.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1639. *Relation of his Death, &c. p. 20.* *Epist. to the King before the Conf.*

And being thus averse from them in point of Doctrine he declined all correspondence and acquaintance with them, whereby he might come under the suspicion of some secret Practice. I hold it probable enough, that the better to oblige the Queen unto him (of whose Prevalency in the Kings affections he could not be ignorant) he might consent to *Con*'s coming hither over from the Pope, to be assistant to her in such affairs as the nature of her Religion might occasion with the See of *Rome*: But he kept himself at such a distrnde, that neither *Con*, nor *Panzani* before him (who acted for a time in the same capacity) could fasten any acquaintance on him. The Pamphlet called, *The Popes Nuncio*, Printed in the year 1643. hath told us, "That *Pan-* *Pop. Nunc.* p. 7.

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"zani at his being here, did desire a Conference with the Archbishop "of *Canterbury*, but was put off and procrastinated therein from day "to day; That at the last he departed the Kingdom without any Speech "with him. The like we find in the discovery of *Andreas ab Habern-field*, who tells us of his *Con*, "That finding the Kings Judgment to de-"pend much on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his faithful Servant, "he resolved to move every stone, and bend all his strength to gain "him to his side: being confident he had prepared, the means. For "he had a command to make offer of a Cardinals Cap to the Lord "Archbishop in the name of the Pope of *Rome*; and that he should "allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his sin-"cere mind; yet a fitting occasion was never offered whereby he "might insinuate himself into the Lord Archbishop, to whom free "access was to be impetrated by the *Earl* and *Countess* of *Arundel*, as al-"so by Secretary *Windebank*, all whose intercessions he neglected, "and did shun (as it were the Plague) the company or Familiarity of "*Con*. He was also sollicited by others of no mean Rank, well known "to him, and yet he continued unmovable. And whereas some found a way to help at last by making *Windebank* the *Internuncio* betwixt him and them, that only serves to make the matter rather worse than better, there being a great strangness grown betwixt him and *Windebank*; not only before *Con's* coming into the Realm: but before *Panzani* had setled any course of intelligence in the Court of *England*.

Subolfecit ab Domino, Archiepiscopo Regi fidelissimo totum animum Regis in eis pendulum, R. Mayr. p 16.

As for his favours towards those of the Catholick Party, and his connivence of their Practices, which is next objected; as he had good reason for the one: so there could be no reason to object the other. He had good reason for the one, *viz.* That by shewing favours to the *Papists* here, they might obtain the like favours for such Protestants as lived in the Dominion of Popish Princes. Upon which ground King *James* extended many favours to them in his time, as appears by the letter written on their behalf by the Bishop of *Lincoln* then Lord *Keeper*. And yet perhaps he had a better Reason for it then this, which was, That seeing the *Puritans* grown so strong even to the endangering of our Peace both in Church and State, by the negligence and remissness of the former Government, he thought it necessary to shew some countenance to the *Papists*; that the ballance being kept even between the parties, the Church and State might be preserved (as indeed they were) in the greater safety. And this appeareth to be his Cheif inducement to it, in regard, that when the Protestant party was grown strong enough to stand and go without such Crutches, he then declared himself openly before the King at a Council-Table against *Mountague*, *Matthews*, and the like; and wrought so far, that he removed them from the Court to learn more moderation: and this may sufficiently absolve him from all such connivence as without Reason is objected. And yet I have another Demonstration to discharge him of it. In the *November* of this year I received a message from him to attend him the next day at two of the Clock in the Afternoon. The Key being turned which opened the way into his Study, I found him sitting

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sitting in a Chair holding a Paper in both hands, and his eyes so fixed upon the Paper that he observed me not at my coming in. Finding him in that Posture I thought it fit in manners to retire again; but the noise I made by my retreat, bringing him back unto himself, he recalled me to him, and told me after some short pause, that he well remembred he had sent for me, but could not tell for his life what it was about. After which he was pleased to say (not without tears in his eyes) that he had then newly received a letter, acquainting him with the Revolt of a Person of quality in *North Wales* to the Church of *Rome*; that he knew that the increase of *Popery*, by such frequent Revolts would be imputed unto him, and his brethren the Bishops, who were least guilty of the same; that for his part he had done his utmost so far forth as it might consist with the Rules of prudence, and the preservation of the Church, to suppress that party, and to bring the chief sticklers in it to condigne punishment. To the truth whereof (lifting up his wet eyes to Heaven) he took God to witness; conjuring me (as I would answer it to God at the day of Judgment) that if ever I come to any of those places, which he and his Brethren by reason of their great age were not likely to hold long, I would imploy all such abilities as God had given me, in suppressing the Romish party, who by their open undertakings, and secret practices were like to be the ruine of this flourishing Church. LIB. IV. Anno Dom. 1639.

Finally touching the design of working a *Reconciliation* betwixt us and *Rome*. I find it charged upon him by another writer who holds it as unlawful to be undertaken, As it was impossible to be effected. 2. Most apparent it is (saith he) by several passages in his life, that he "endeavoured to take up many controversies betwixt us and the "Church of *Rome*, so to comprise the difference, and to bring us to a "vicinity, if not *contiguity* therewith. An impossible design (if granted lawful) as some every way his equals, did adjudge. For com- "position is impossible with such, who will not agree unless all they "sue for, and all the charges of the suit be to the utmost farthing a- "warded to them. Our *Reconciliation* with *Rome* is clogged with "the same impossibilities; she may be gone to, but will never be met "with, such her *pride* or *Peevishness*, not to stir a step to obviate any "of a different Religion. *Rome* will never so far *Unpope* her self, as "to part with her pretended *Supremacy*, and *Infallibility*, which cuts "off all possibility of Protestants *treating* with her, if possible without "prejudice to Gods glory and truth, other controversies might be com- "posed. Which done *England* would have been an Island as well in "Religion, as situation, cut off from the Continent of Foraign Pro- "testant Churches, in a singular posture by it self, hard to be imagined, "but harder to be effected. *Ch. Hist.* lib. 11. p. 219.

But unto this it hath been Answered, that if it be a *Crime*, it is *Novum Crimen*, that is to say, a Crime of a new stamp never coyned before. I thought, when our Saviour said, *Beati Pacifici*, it had been sufficient warrant unto any man to endeavour peace, to build up the breaches in the Church, and to make *Jerusalem* like *a City which is* *Animad.* P. 261.

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PART II. Anno Dom. 1639.

at unity in it self; especially where it may be done not only *Salva Charitate*, without breach of *Charity*; but *salva fide* too, without wrong to *faith*; the greatest part of the controversies betwixt us and the Churh of *Rome* not being in the *Fundamentals*, or in any Essential point in the Christian Religion, I cannot otherwise look upon it, but as a most pious work, to endeavour an attonement in the superstructures. But hereof the writer seems to doubt: first whither such endeavours to agree and compose the differences be *lawful* or not, and secondly whither they be *possible*. As for the Lawfulness thereof, I could never see any Reason produced against it, not so much as any question made of it, till I found it here: Against the *Possibility* thereof it hath been objected, that such and so great is the pride of the Church of *Rome* that they will condescend to nothing; and therefore if any such composition be made, it must not be by their meeting us, but by our going to them: But as that Writer says, that many of the Archbishops *Equals adjudged the design* of his to be *impossible*; so may I say (without making any such odious comparisons) that many men of eminence for their parts and piety have thought otherwise of it. It was the Petulancy of the *Puritans* on the one side, and the Pragmaticalness of the *Jesuites* on the other, which made the breach wider then it was at first; and had those hot spirits on both sides been calmed a while, moderate men might possibly have agreed upon such equal terms, as would have laid a sure foundation for the peace of Christendom. Now that all those in the Church of *Rome* are not so stiffly wedded to their own opinions as that Writer makes them, appears first by the Testimony of the Archbishop of *Spalato*, declaring in the *High Commission* a little before his going hence, that *he acknowledged the Articles of the Church to be true, or profitable at the least; and none of them to be Heretical.* It appears secondly by a Tractate of *Franciscus à Sancta Clara*, (as he calls himself) in which he putteth such a gloss upon the 39 Articles of the Church of *England* as rendreth them not inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. And if *without prejudice to the truth*, the controversies might have been composed, it is most probable, that other Protestant Churches would have sued by their Agents to be included in the Peace: if not, the Church of *England* had lost nothing by it, as being hated by the *Calvinists*, and not loved by the *Lutherians*.

Admitting then that such a *Reconciliation* was endeavoured betwixt the Agents for both Churches, Let us next see what our great Statesmen have discoursed upon that particular, upon what terms the Agreement was to have been made, and how far they proceeded in it. And first the book entituled the *Popes Nuncio*, affirmed to have been written by a *Venetian* Ambassadour at his being in *England*, doth discourse it thus. "As to a *Reconciliation* (saith he) between the "Churches of *England* and *Rome*, there were made some general Pro- "positions and overtures by the Archbishops Agents, they assuring "that his Grace was very much disposed thereunto; and that if it was "not accomplisht in his life time, it would prove a work of more "difficulty after his death; that in very truth for the last three years, "the

Pope Nunc. p. 11.

"the Archbishop had introduced some *Innovations* approaching near "the Rites and Forms of *Rome*; that the Bishop of *Chichester* a great "Confident of his Grace, the Lord Treasurer and eight other Bishops "of his Graces party, did most passionately desire a Reconciliation "with the Church of *Rome*; that they did day by day recede from "their Ancient Tenents to accommodate with the Church of *Rome*; "that therefore the Pope on his part, ought to make some steps to "meet them, and the Court of *Rome* Remit something of its Rigor in "Doctrine, or otherwise no accord would be. The composition on "both sides in so good a forwardness, before *Panzany* left the King-"dom, that the Archbishop, and Bishop of *Chichester* had often said, "that there were but two sorts of People likely to impede and hinder "the Reconciliation to wit, the *Puritans* amongst the *Protestants*, and "the *Jesuites* amongst the Catholicks.

Let us next see the Judgment and Relation of another Author in a gloss or Comment on the Former, intituled the *English Pope* Printed at *London* in the same year 1643. And he well tells us that after *Con* had undertook the managing of the affairs, matters began to grow toward some agreement. The King required, saith he, (*a b*) such a dispensation from the then Pope, as that his Catholick Subjects might resort to the Protestant Churches, and to take the oaths of *Supremacy*, and Fidelity, and that the Popes Jurisdiction here should be declared to be but of humane Right. "And so far had the Pope consented that "whatsoever did concern the King therein, should have been really "performed, so far forth as other Catholick Princes usually enjoy, "and expect as their due; and so far as the Bishops were to be Inde-"pendent both from King and Pope: there was no seat of breach on "the Popes part. So that upon the point the Pope was to content himself amongst us in *England* with a *Priority* instead of a *Superiority* over other Bishops, and with a *Primacy* instead of a *Supremacy* in these parts of Christendom: which I conceive no man of Learning and Sobriety would have grudged to grant him. It was also condescended to in the name of the Pope that marriage might be permitted to Priests; that the Communion might be Administred *sub utraque specie*; and that the Liturgy might be officiated in the *English* tongue. And though the Author adds not long after, that it was to be suspected, *That so far as the inferiour Clergy, and the people were concerned, the after performance was to be left to the Popes Discretion*; yet this was but his own suspicion, without ground at all. And to obtain a Reconciliation upon these Advantages the Archbishop had all the Reason in the world to do as he did, in ordering the Lords Table to be placed where the Altar stood, and making the accustomed Reverence in all approaches towards it, and access to it; in beautifying and adorning Churches, and celebrating the Divine Service with all due Solemnities, in taking care that all offensive and exasperating passages should be expunged out of such Books as were brought to the Press, and for reducing the extravagancy of some opinions to an Evener temper. His Majesty had the like Reason also for tolerating Lawful Recreations on the Sundays and Holy-days,

a *Page* 28.
b *Ib.* p. 14.

Ibid.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1639. The rigorous Restraint whereof made some Papists think (those most especially of the vulgar sort, whom it most concerned) that all honest Pastime were incompetible with our Religion. And if he approved *Auricular Confession*, and shewed himself willing to introduce it into the use of the Church, as both our Authors say he did; it is no more then what the Liturgy Commends to the Care of the *Penitent* (though we find not the word *Auricular* in it) or what the Canons have provided for in the point of security for such as shall be willing to confess themselves: But whereas we are told by one of our Authors, that *the King should say, he would use force to make it be received, were it not for fear of Sedition amongst the People*; yet is but in one of our Authors neither, who hath no other Author for it than a nameless Doctor. And in the way towards so happy an agreement (though they all stand accused for it by the *English Pope*, pag. 15.) *Sparrow* may be excused for placing it with *Auricular Confession*; and *Watts* for *Penance*; *Heylyn* for *Adoration* toward the *Altar*; and *Mountague* for such a qualified praying to Saints, as his books maintain against the *Papists*.

Popes Nunc. p. 12.

If you would know how far they had proceeded towards this happy *Reconciliation*, the *Popes Nuncio* will assure us thus; *That the Universities, Bishops, and Divines of this Realm, did dayly embrace Catholick Opinions, though they profess'd not so much with Pen or Mouth for fear of the* Puritans. *For example, they hold, That the Church of* Rome *is a true Church; That the* Pope *is Superiour to all Bishops; That to him it appertains to call General Councils; That it is lawful to pray for the Soul of the Departed; That Altars ought to be erected of Stone: In sum, That they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of* Rome. Another of their Authors tells us (as was elsewhere noted) *That those amongst us of greatest Worth, Learning, and Authority, began to love Temper and Moderation; That their Doctrines began to be altered in many things, for which their Progenitors forsook the Visible Church of Christ; as for example, The* Pope *not* Antichrist, *Prayers for the Dead,* Limbus Patrum, *Pictures; That the Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and to interpret Scriptures about* Free-will, Predestination, Universal Grace; *That all our Works are not Sins, Merit of Good Works, Inherent Justice, Faith alone doth justifie, Charity to be preferred before knowledge, The Authority of Traditions, Commandments possible to be kept; That in Exposition of the Scripture, they are by* Canon *bound to follow the Fathers; And that the once fearful Names of* Priests *and* Altars, *are used willingly in their Talk and Writings.* In which Compliances, so far forth as they speak the truth (for in some Points, through the ignorance of the one and the malice the other, they are much mistaken) there is scarce any thing which may not very well consist with the established (though for a time discontinued) Doctrine of the Church of *England*; the Articles whereof, as the same *Jesuite* hath observed, some partial, or ambitious rather, of some sense wherein they may seem Catholick. And such a sense is put upon them by him that calls himself *Franciscus a Sancta Clara*, as before was said. And if upon such Compliances as those before, on the

Direction to N. N. pref. sect. 20.

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part of the *Engliſh*, the Conditions offered by the *Pope* might have been confirmed, Who ſeeth not, that the greateſt Benefit of the Reconciliation would have redounded to this Church, to the King and People? His Majeſties Security provided for, by the *Oaths* of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, ſo far as it concerned his Temporal Power; The Biſhops of *England* to be independent of the Popes of *Rome*; The Clergy to be permitted the uſe of Marriage; the People to receive the Communion in both *KINDS*, and all Divine Offices officiated in the *Engliſh* Tongue; No Innovation made in Doctrine: but only in the qualifying of ſome Expreſſions, and diſcharging ſome Out-landiſh Gloſſes as were put upon them. And ſeeing this, What man could be ſo void of Charity, ſo uncompaſſionate of the Miſeries and Diſtractions of *Chriſtendom*, as not to wiſh from the very bottom of his Soul, That the Reconciliation had proceeded upon ſo good Terms? as not to magnifie the men to ſucceeding Ages, who were the Inſtruments and Authors of ſo great a Bleſſing?

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But then admitting, as we may, That no ſuch Reconciliation was upon the Anvil; and that our two Diſcourſers have proceeded only upon Suppoſitions: yet *Canterbury* had good ground for what he did, were it no other then the ſettling of the Church of *England* upon the firſt Principles and Poſitions of her Reformation. But he had further aims than ſo. He had ſome thoughts (and I have reaſon to believe it) by Conferences firſt; and if that failed, by the ordinary courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; (a) of gaining the *Papiſts* to the Church; and therefore it concerned him in point of Prudence, to ſmooth the way, by removing all ſuch Blocks and Obſtacles which had been laid before them by the *Puritan* Faction. He knew, that from their Infancy they had been trained up in a Regular Order of Devotion; and that they loved that Religion beſt, which came accompanied with Decency and External Splendour: That they objected nothing more againſt us, than the Novelty of our Doctrine, the Heterodoxies maintained in Publick by ſome of our Preachers, the ſlovenly keeping of our Churches, the Irreverence of the People in them, the rude and careleſs ſlubbering over of our Common Prayers. And what Encouragements had they for reſorting to the Congregation, when they ſhould hear the Pope defamed, whom they beheld with Reverence as their Common Father; their Ceremonies to be counted *Antichriſtian*, their Maſs *Idolatrous*, their whole Religion worſe then that of the *Turks* and *Moors*; conformity to whom in Rites and Ceremonies, was held to be more tollerable by the *Puritan* Preachers, than to thoſe of *Rome*. Theſe Rubs were firſt to be removed, before they could have any thoughts of uniting to us. And for the removing of thoſe Rubs, he fell upon the courſes before-mentioned; which being *Renovations* only of ſome ancient Uſages, were branded by the odious name of *Innovations*, by ſome of thoſe who out of cunning and deſign had long diſuſed them. Some zealous Proteſtants beheld his Actings with no ſmall fear, as byaſſing too ſtrongly toward *Rome*; that the *Puritans* exclaimed againſt him for a *Papiſt*, and the *Papiſts* cried him up for theirs, and gave themſelves ſome flattering hopes of our coming

(a) *Can.* 3. 1640.

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towards them: But the moſt knowing and underſtanding men amongſt them, found plainly, That nothing could tend more to their deſtruction, than the introducing of ſome Ceremonies which by late negligence and Practice had been diſcontinued. For I have heard from a Perſon of known Nobility, That at his being at *Rome* with a Father of the *Engliſh* Colledge, one of the *Novices* came in and told him with a great deal of joy, That the *Engliſh* were upon returning to the Church of *Rome*; That they began to ſet up *Altars*, to Officiate in their *Copes*, to Adorn their Churches, and to paint the Pictures of the Saints in the Church Windows: To which the old Father made Reply, with ſome indignation, That he talked like an ignorant Novice; That theſe Proceedings rather tended to the Ruine, than Advancement of the Catholick Cauſe; That by this means the Church of *England* coming nearer to the ancient Uſages, the Catholicks there would ſooner be drawn off from them, than any more of that Nation would fall off to *Rome*.

In reference to Doctrinal Points, Heterodoxies, and new Opinions, and ſuch extravagant Expreſſions, both from Preſs and Pulpit, he took as much care as in the other. And to that end, he was not pleaſed that the *Pope* ſhould be any longer ſtigmatized by the name of *Antichriſt*; and gave a ſtrict Charge unto his Chaplains, That all exaſperating Paſſages (which edefie nothing) ſhould be expunged out of ſuch Books as by them were to be Licenſed to the Preſs; and that no Doctrines of that Church ſhould be writ againſt: but ſuch as ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſh'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Upon which ground it was, that *Baker* Chap'ain to the Biſhop of *London* refuſed to Licenſe the Reprinting of a Book about the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, ſaying to him that brought the Book, *That we were not ſo angry with the* Papiſts *now, as we were about twenty years ſince; and that there was no need of any ſuch Books to exaſperate them, there being now an endeavour to win them to us by fairneſs and mildneſs.* And on the ſame ground, *Bray* Chaplain to the Archbiſhop, refuſed the Licenſing of another, called, *The Advice of a Son*, unleſs he might expunge ſome unpleaſing Expreſſions, affirming, *That thoſe Paſſages would offend the* Papiſts, *whom we were now in a fair way of winning, and therefore muſt not uſe any harſh Phraſes againſt them.* The Chaplains not to be condemned for their honeſt care, and much leſs their Lords; though I find it very heavily charged as a Crime in all. In the *Engliſh Litany* ſet out by King *Henry* viii. and continued in both *Liturgies* of King *Edward* vi. there was this Clauſe againſt the *Pope*, viz. *From the Tiranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and all his deteſtable enormities, Good Lord, &c.* Which being conſidered as a means to affright thoſe of the *Romiſh* Party from coming diligently to our Churches, was prudently expunged by thoſe who had the Reviſing of the *Liturgie*, in the firſt year of the Queen. In imitation of whoſe Piety and Chriſtian Care, it was thought fit by the Archbiſhop to change ſome Phraſes which were found in the Books of Prayer appointed for the *Fifth of November*. The firſt was this *Root out the Babyloniſh and Antichriſtian Sect, which ſay of* Jeruſalem, *Down with it, &c.* Which he changed only

Cant. Doom. p. 184.

Ibid. p. 253. & 526.

only unto this, *Root out the Babyloniſh or Antichriſtian ſect*, (of them) *which ſay, &c.* The ſecond was, *Cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity, whoſe Religion is Rebellion, and whoſe Faith is Faction*; which he changed no otherwiſe than thus, *Cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion, &c.* The Alterations were but ſmall, but the clamour great which was raiſed about it. The *Puritans* complaining, *That the Prayers ſo altered, were intended to reflect on them*, ſeemed to be conſcious to themſelves of *turning Religion into Rebellion, and ſaying of* Jeruſalem (like the old *Babyloniſh Sect*) *Down with it, down with it to the ground.* But he had better reaſon for it, than they had againſt it. For if the firſt Reformers were ſo careful of giving no offence to the *Romiſh* Party, as to expunge a Paſſage out of the Publick *Liturgie*, when the Queen was a *Proteſtant*; much greater reaſon had the Archbiſhop to correct thoſe Paſſages in a formal Prayer not confirmed by Law, when the Queen was one of that Religion.

Nothing in this or any of the reſt before, which tends to the bringing in of *Popery*, the prejudice of the true Proteſtant Religion, or the ſuppreſſing of the Goſpel. Had his Deſigns tending to the Advancing of *Popery*, he neither would have took ſuch pains to confute their Doctrines, nor they have entertained ſuch ſecret practices to deſtroy his Perſon (of which more hereafter.) Had he directed his endeavours to ſuppreſs the *Proteſtants*, he would not have given ſo much countenance to *Dury* a *Scot*, who entertained him with ſome hopes of working an Accord betwixt the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Churches. In which Service, as he waſted a great deal of time to little purpoſe; ſo he received as much Encouragement from *Canterbury*, as he had reaſon to expect. Welcom at all times to his Table, and ſpeaking honourably of him upon all occaſions, till the times were changed; when either finding the impoſſibility of his Undertaking, or wanting a Supply of that Oyl which maintained his Lamp, he proved as true a *Scot* as the reſt of the Nation; laying the blame of his miſcarriage in it, on the want of Encouragement; and ſpeaking diſgracefully of the man which had given him moſt. Had he intended any prejudice to the Reformed Religion, Reformed according to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and the *Genevian* Forms, both of Worſhip and Government, he would not have ſo cordially advanced the General Collection for the *Palatine* Churches, or provided ſo heartily for the *Rochellers* and their Religion; touching which laſt, we find this Clauſe in a Prayer of his for the Duke of *Buckingham*, when he went Commander of his Majeſties Forces for the Iſle of *Rhe*, viz. *Bleſs my dear Lord the Duke, that is gone Admiral with them, that Wiſdom may attend all his Counſels, and Courage and Succeſs all his Enterpriſes; That by his and their means thou wilt be pleaſed to bring Safety to this Kingdom, Strength and Comfort to Religion, Victory and Reputation to our Country.* Had he projected any ſuch thing as the ſuppreſſing of the Goſpel, he would not have ſhewed himſelf ſo induſtrious in preventing *Socinianiſm* from poyſoning thoſe of riper years, in turning afternoon Sermons into Catechiſing for the inſtruction of Children; in prohibiting all Aſſemblies of *Anabaptiſts*, *Familiſts*, and other *Sectaries*, which oppoſe the Common Principles of

Dyary, p. 14.

the

PART II. the Christian Faith. For that his silencing of the *Arminian* Controversies, should be a means to suppress the Gospel; or his favouring of those Opinions, designed for a back-door to bring in *Popery*, no wise man can think. The Points in Controversie between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians*, in the Reformed Churches of *Calvin*'s Plat-form, are agitated no less fiercely by the *Dominicans* on the one side, the *Jesuits* and *Franciscans* on the other side, in the Church of *Rome*; the *Calvinists* holding with the *Dominicans*, as the *Arminians* do with the *Jesuit* and *Franciscan Friars*. And therefore, why any such compliance with the *Dominicans* (the principal Sticklers and Promoters in the *Inquisition*) should not be looked on as a *Back-door* to bring in *Popery*, as well as a Compliance in the same Points with the other two *Orders*, is beyond my reach. With which I shut up my Discourse touching the Counsels and Designs which were then on foot, and conclude this year.

Anno Dom. 1639.

1640. The next begins with a Parliament and Convocation; the one Assembled on the thirteenth, the other on the fourteenth of *April*. In Calling Parliaments, the King directs his Writs or Letters severally to the Peers and Prelates, requiring them to attend in Parliament to be holden by the Advice of his Privy Council, at a certain Time and Place appointed, and there to give their Counsel in some great and weighty Affairs, touching himself, the safety of the Realm, and the defence of the Church of *England*: A Clause being added in all those to the several Bishops, to give notice to all *Deans* and *Archdeacons* to attend the Parliament in their own Persons, all Chapters by one Proxie, and the Diocesan Clergy by two; for yielding their Consent and Obedience to such Laws and Ordinances as by the Common Council of the Kingdom shall be then Enacted: Which Clause remains still in those Letters, though not still in practice. Writs are sent out also to the several Sheriffs, acquainting them with his Majesties purpose of consulting in a Parliamentary way with the Peers and Prelates, and other Great Men of the Realm (the Judges and Officers of State, *&c.*) and then requiring them to cause two Knights to be elected for every County, two Citizens for every City, or more Burgesses for every Burrough (according as the place is priviledged) in their several Shires. All of them to attend in Parliament at the time appointed; no otherwise Impowred than the *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, and the rest of the Clergy by their formal Writs. But in the calling of a *Convocation*, the form is otherwise; for in this case the King directs his Writs to the two Archbishops, requiring them for the great and weighty Reasons above-mentioned, to cause a *Convocation* of the Clergy, to be forthwith called, leaving the nominating of the Time and Place to their discretion; though for the ease of the Bishops and Clergy, commanded to attend in Parliament, as before was said, the Archbishop used to nominate such Time and Place as might most sort with that Attendance. On the receiving of which Writ, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sends his *Mandate* to the Bishop of *London*, as *Dean* of the *Episcopal Colledge*, requiring him to Cite and Summon all the *Bishops*, *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, and *Capitular Bodies*, with the whole Clergy

Clergy of the Province, according to the usual form, to appear before him at such place and time as he therein nominated; and that the Procurators for the Chapter and Clergy be furnished with sufficient powers by those that sent them, not only to treat upon such points as should be propounded for the peace of the Church, and defence of the Realm of *England*, and to give their Counsel in the same, but also to (a) consent both in their own names, and in the names of them that sent them unto all such things as by mature deliberation, and consent, should be there ordained. Which *Mandate* being received by the Bishop of *London*, he sends out his Citations to the several Bishops of that Province, and they give intimation of it to the Clergy of their several Dioceses; according whereunto the Chapters and Parochial Clergy do elect their *Clerks*, binding themselves (b) under the forfeiture of all their goods, movable, and immovable, to stand to and perform whatsoever the said Clerks shall say or do in their behalf. Both Bodies, being thus assembled, are to continue their attendance in the publick Service during the pleasure of the King; the Acts of both to be invalid till confirmed by his Majesty, the one most commonly by himself, sitting upon his Royal Throne in open Parliament: the other always by Letters Patents under the Great Seal; neither of the two to be dissolved but by several Writs, That for the Parliament directed to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, (as the case may vary) That for the Convocation issued out to the Metropolitans of the several Provinces. In this, and this alone, they differ as to matter of Form, that the *Peers* and People assembled in Parliament may treat, debate, and conclude of any thing which is to be tendred to the King for his Royal Assent without any other power than the first Writ, by vertue whereof they are assembled: But the Bishops and Clergy are restrained in their Convocation by the Statute of the 25 *Henry* viii. from treating, debating, forming, and concluding of any Canons or Constitutions, or doing any Ecclesiastical Acts, tending to the determination of Controversies, or decreeing Ceremonies, till they are licensed thereunto by the Kings Commission. All which particulars I have thought fit to touch at in this present place, because we are to relate unto them in the course of our business.

(a) *Sed ad consentiendum eis, quæ ibidem ex communi deliberatione, ad honorem Dei & Ecclesiæ in præmissis contigerint concorditer ordinari.*

(b) *Sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum suorum tam mobilium quam immobilium, &c.*

At the opening of the Parliament the Sermon was Preached before his Majesty, the Peers and Prelates, by the Bishop of *Ely*. The Sermon being done, they passed in the accustomed State to the Parliament House: to which the Commons being called, his Majesty acquainted them with the indignities and affronts, even to the taking up of Arms against him, which he had suffered from some of his Subjects in *Scotland*, required their assistance to reduce them to their due obedience, advising them to go together for chusing their Speaker, and so to proceed unto their business. But all they did in order to his Commands, was the admitting of *Glanvile*, a right learned Lawyer, whom his Majesty had commended to them, to be the Speaker for their House. Their Grievances must first be heard, and the safety of Religion provided for before the matter of supply was to be considered. This was enough to give an hint to the Archbishop, that an enquiry would be made

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

made into all his Actions, to the disturbance of the work which he had begun, and was in no small hope to perfect. For remedy whereof he was resolved to make use of a friend in the House of Commons for offering this motion to the rest, *viz.* That a certain number of that House would join in Conference with as many of the Clergy assembled in Convocation, touching all doubts and differences which might happen to arise amongst them in matters which concerned the Church. And this he did upon this reason, that if the motion were accepted, the Committee for the Clergy in Convocation, might give satisfaction to that of the House of Commons in all such matters Doctrinal, or points of Ceremony which should come before them: But if the motion were rejected, he should then get the start in point of Reputation amongst knowing men; the refusing of so fair an offer, bearing witness for him that their Proceedings were directed rather by power and interest, than by truth and reason. But the short life of this Parliament made that Counsel useless. For the Commons doing nothing which the King desired, and the King desiring nothing more, than that they would speedily resolve one way or other, the Lords agreed upon a Vote for desiring a Conference with the Commons, the better to dispose them to this point, that his Majesties supply should have precedency of the Subjects Grievances. This voted by the Commons for a breach of their Priviledges, and the *Peers* censured for it, as having been transported beyond their bounds. To calm which heat his Majesty made offer for twelve Subsidies, to relinquish all his right to the Naval aid, of late called *Ship-money*, which had been antiently enjoyed by his Predecessors: But the Proposition, though it came but to three years purchase, would not down amongst them. At last they came unto a resolution of yielding somewhat toward his Majesties supply; but in the grant thereof, blasted his Majesties Expedition against the *Scots*, whose Cause they resolved to make their own, and received thanks from them for that favour in their next Remonstrance. Which coming to his Majesties ears on *Munday* the fourth of *May*, he called his Council together on the next Morning betimes, by whose unanimous consent he dissolved the Parliament.

On *Tuesday*, *April* 14. the Convocation assembled in the Chapter-house of the Church of St. *Paul*, from whence they waited on his Grace and the rest of the Bishops, to hear the Sermon in the Quire. The Sermon preacht by *Turner*, *Residentiary* of the Church. His Text was taken out of *Mat.* 10. 16. *Behold I send you forth as Sheep in the midst of Wolves*, which he followed home unto the Purpose. In the close of the Sermon he had a passage in these words, or to this effect, that all the Bishops held not the Reins of Church Discipline with an even hand, but that some of them were too easie and remiss in the ordering thereof. Whereby though they sought to gain to themselves the popular plause of meekness and mildness, they occasionally cast on other Bishops (more severe than themselves) the unjust imputation of Rigour and Tyranny; and therefore he advised them withal with equal strictness to urge an universal Conformity. The

Sermon

Sermon ended, the Clergy fell to the electing of their *Prolocutor* (as before commanded) pitching unanimouſly on Dr. *Richard Steward* Clerk of his Majeſties Cloſet, and Dean of *Chicheſter* to be preſented the next day to the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the Prelates in the Chappel of King *Henry* vii. at *Weſtminſter*, to which the Synod was adjourned. The next day being come (after a Proteſtation made in writing by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries of that Church for not acknowledging the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the reſt of the Biſhops, to have any Juriſdiction in that place, and the admitting of the ſame for good and valid) they were permitted to proceed in their Convocation. The buſineſs of that day was the preſenting of the Prolocutor by *Sheldon*, Warden of All-Souls, his Admiſſion by the Archbiſhop, and *Stewards* unwilling readineſs to diſcharge the Office; each of them delivering their conceptions in Elegant Latine Speeches, as the cuſtom is, but the Archbiſhops longer than both the reſt. Which Ceremonies being performed, his Grace produced a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, by which they were enabled (according to the ſaid Statute of King *Henry* viii.) to propoſe, treat, conſult, and agree upon the Expoſition or Alteration of any Canon then in force, and upon ſuch new Canons, Orders, and Conſtitutions, as the ſaid Biſhops and Clergy (of which the Lord Archbiſhop to be always one) ſhould think fit, neceſſary, and convenient for the honour and ſervice of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better Government thereof to be performed and kept by the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy in their ſeveral places; as alſo by the Dean of the Arches, and by all others having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the Province of *Canterbury*, and by all other perſons within this Realm, ſo far as being Members of this Church they may be concerned. Provided always that no ſuch Canons, Orders and Conſtitutions, ſo to be conſidered on as aforeſaid, be contrary or repugnant to the Liturgy eſtabliſhed, or the Rubricks in it, or the 39 Articles, or any Doctrinal Orders, and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, already eſtabliſhed; as alſo that nothing ſhould be done in execution of the ſame, till being exhibited to his Majeſty in writing, to be allowed, approved, confirmed, and ratified; or otherwiſe diſallowed, annihilated, and made void as he ſhould think fit, requiſite, and convenient: and then to be allowed, approved, and confirmed by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*. Alſo the ſaid Commiſſion to continue and remain in force during the preſent Seſſion of Parliament, and to expire together with it.

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For the procuring of this Commiſſion, as the Archbiſhop had good reaſon, as well for countenancing and conforming his former Actings, as for rectifying many other things which required reformation ſo had his Majeſty as good reaſons for the granting of it, the grounds whereof contained in his Commiſſion of *June* 13. for confirming all the Acts of this Convocation, are to this effect: "He had been given to under-"ſtand, that many of his Subjects being miſled againſt the Rites and "Ceremonies then uſed in the Church of *England*, had taken of-"fence at the ſame upon an unjuſt ſuppoſal, That they were not only

Bibl. Regia. p. 287. to 295.

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"contrary to Law, but also introductive unto *Popish Superstitions*; "whereas it well appeared unto him upon mature deliberation, that "the said *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which were then so much quarelled "at, were not only approved of, and used by those godly and learned "Divines to whom, at the time of the Reformation under King *Edward* vi. the compiling of the Book of Common-Prayer was committed (divers of which suffered Martyrdom in Queen *Maries* days) but also again taken up by this whole Church under Queen *Elizabeth*. "*Which Rites so taken up, had been so duly and ordinarily practiced for "a great part of her Reign (within the memory of divers living) as that "it could not then be imagined, that there would need any* Rule *or* Law "*for the observation of the same, nor that they could be thought to savour "of Popery.* He found too plainly, that since those times, for want "of an express Rule therein, and by the subtle practices of some men, "the said *Rites* and *Ceremonies* began to fall into disuse; and in place "thereof other Foreign and unfitting usages by little and little to "creep in: But being he found withal that in the *Royal* Chappels, and "in many other Churches most of them had been ever constantly used "and observed, his Majesty could not but be very sensible of the in-"convenience. And he had cause also to conceive, that the Authors "and Fomenters of those Jealousies; though they coloured the same "with a pretence of zeal, and did seem to strike only at some sup-"posed iniquity in the said *Ceremonies*: yet aimed at his Royal Person, "and would have his good Subjects think, that he himself was pervert-"ed, and did worship God in a superstitious way, and that he did in-"tend to bring in some alteration in the Religion here established. "From which how far he was, and how utterly he detested the very
p. 294. "thought thereof, he had by his many Declarations, and upon sun-"dry other occasions given such assurance to the World, that no "man of Wisdom and Discretion could ever be so beguiled as to give "any serious entertainment to such brainsick Jealousies. And as for "the weaker sort, who were prone to be misled by crafty seducers, "he always assured himself, that as many of them as had loyal, or but "charitable hearts, would from thenceforth utterly banish all such "causeless fears and surmises upon those his Sacred Professions so often "made, as a *Defender* of the Christian *Faith*, their King and Sove-"reign. He perceived in the next place, That the Ring-leaders of ma-"ny well-minded people, did make the more advantage (for the nou-"rishing of such distempers amongst them) because the aforesaid *Rites* "and *Ceremonies*, or some of them, were now insisted upon but only in "some Dioceses, and were not generally received in all places, nor "constantly nor uniformly practised throughout all the Churches in
Ibid. p. 296. "the Kingdom; and thereupon have been liable to be quarrelled and "opposed by them who use them not. In imitation therefore of the "pious Examples of King *Edward* vi. Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* "of Blessed Memories, he thought it most agreeable to his own Honor, "and the good of his People, to Licence the Archbishops, Bishops, "and the rest of the *Clergie* in their several *Convocations*, to make "such further Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, as should

be

"be found necessary for the advancing of Gods Glory, the edifying of LIB. IV.
"the Holy Church, and the due reverence of his Blessed Mysteries and *Anno Dom.*
"Sacraments. And this he did to this end and purpose, That as he had 1640.
"been ever careful and ready to cut off *Superstition* with the one hand,
"so he might also expel *Profaneness* and *Irreverence* with the other:
"By means whereof it might please Almighty God to bless him, and
"this *Church* committed to his *Government*, that it might at once re- p. 297.
"turn to the true former splendour of *Uniformity*, *Devotion*, and *Holy*
"*Order*; the last whereof, for many years last past, had been much
"obscured by the devices of some ill affected to it, where it had long
"stood from the very beginning of the Reformation, and through in-
"advertency of some in Authority in the Church under him.

Such were the Motives which induced his Majesty to grant this *Commission*, which was exceeding acceptable to the greatest and best affected part of the whole *Assembly*, as being an evident demonstration of the trust and confidence which his *Majesty* had reposed in them. In a grateful acknowledgment whereof, *for the support of his Majesties Royal Estate, and the effectual furtherance of his most Royal and Extraordinary Designs abroad*, they gave him six Subsidies, after the rate of four shillings in the pound, to be paid in the six years then next following, by two equal parts or moyeties in every year; appointing a *Committee* to put the Grant into form, and make it ready for a *Confirmation by Act of Parliament*. But the first thing in which they acted by this *Commission*, was the tendring of a *Canon* to them by the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, *For suppressing the further growth of Popery, and reducing Papists to the Church*; with Order to the *Prolocutor* and inferiour Clergy, to enlarge and perfect it as to them seemed most conducible to the end desired: But afterward considering how much it might redound to his *estimation*, that the said *Canon* should proceed intirely from himself alone, here called the Paper into his own hands; and after some time of deliberation, returned it back unto the Clergy in the very same words in which it passed.

By which so framed and enlarged, it was Ordained, That all and every Person or Persons, of what Rank soever, having and exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as also all Persons entrusted with Cure of Souls, should use respectively all possible care and diligence, by open Conferencies with the Parties, and by Censures of the Church in inferiour and higher Courts, as also be by Complaints unto the Secular Power, to reduce all such to the Church of *England*, who were misled into *Popish* Superstition. Those publick Conferences to be managed by the Bishop in person (if his Occasion will permit it) or by some one or more Learned Men of his especial appointment. The time and place of such Conferences, with the Names of the Persons to be admitted to the same, to be of the Bishops nomination. Such *Papists* as refuse to appear at any of the said Conferences to be counted obstinate; and such Ministers as should refuse to act therein, without a reasonable Cause approved by the Bishop, to be Suspended for six Months: Provided, That the place appointed for the said Conferences, be not distant above ten miles from their dwelling houses: That in such case Conferences produce not the effect desired, all

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Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſhall then be careful to inform themſelves of all Recuſants, above the age of 12 years, in their ſeveral Pariſhes, as well concerning their not coming to the Church, as their reſorting to other places to hear Maſs; of all ſuch as be active in ſeducing the Subjects from coming to Church, and diſſwading them from taking the Oath of *Allegiance*; the Names of all ſuch to be preſented, that being cited, and found obſtinate, they might be publickly Excommunicated, as well in the Cathedral as their Pariſh Churches. The like courſe to be alſo taken by the Dioceſans, in places of exempt Juriſdiction, and the Offenders to be turned over to the *High-Commiſſion*. That the Names of all ſuch as are preſented in any Inferiour Juriſdiction, be tranſmitted within ſix Months to the Dioceſans, by them to be returned, together with the Names of ſuch as have been preſented in their own Viſitations, to his Majeſties Juſtices of Aſſize in their ſeveral Circuits. And the ſame courſe to be alſo taken in returning the Names of all ſuch perſons as have been either Married or Buried, or have had their Children Chriſtned in any other form, than according to the Rules of the Church of *England*; to the intent they may be puniſhed according to the Statutes in that behalf. That Information be given by all Churchwardens upon their Oaths, what perſons are imployed as Schoolmaſters in *Recuſants* Houſes; to the end that if they have not or will not ſubſcribe, they may be forbidden and diſcharged from teaching Children any longer: And the Names of all Perſons which entertain ſuch Schoolmaſters, to be certified at the next Aſſizes. Such Schoolmaſters to incur the publick Cenſure of the Church, as do not carefully inſtruct the Children committed to them, in the publick Catechiſm; and the Names of ſuch Parents, as either thereupon ſhall take away their ſaid Children, or otherwiſe ſend them to be educated beyond the Seas, to be preſented upon Oath at the Viſitations, and certified alſo to the ſaid Juſtices, as before is ſaid, that the ſaid Parents may be puniſhed according to the Law: The ſaid Certificate to be preſented to the Judges by the Biſhops Regiſters, immediately on the Reading of the Commiſſion, or at the end of the Charge, upon pain of Suſpenſion for three Months from their ſeveral Offices: The ſaid Judges and Juſtices being entreated and exhorted, not to fail of putting the ſaid Laws in execution; and not to admit of any vexatious Suit or Suits, againſt any Churchwardens, or other ſworn Officers, for doing their duty in this kind: That a *Significavit* be made in *Chancery* by all the ſeveral Biſhops, of the Names of all ſuch perſons as have ſtood Excommunicated beyond the time limited by the Laws, deſiring that the Writ *De Excommunicato capiendo* may be iſſued againſt them *ex Officio*. And finally, That no perſon or perſons ſubject to the ſaid Writ, ſhall be Abſolved by virtue of an Appeal into any Eccleſiaſtical Court, till they have firſt taken in their own perſons the uſual Oath *De parendo juri, & ſtando mandatis Eccleſiæ*; With a Petition to his Majeſty, in the Name of the Synod, to give command both to his Officers in *Chancery*, and the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, for ſending out and executing the ſaid Writs from time to time, without any Charge to the Dioceſans (whoſe Eſtates

Eſtates it would otherwiſe much exhauſt) as often as it ſhould be deſired of them. Such is the ſubſtance of this *Canon*, in laying down whereof I have been the more punctual and exact, that the equal and judicious Reader may the better ſee what point it was, which the Archbiſhop aimed at, from the firſt beginning of his Power and Government, as before was noted. In the mean time, whilſt this *Canon* was under a Review, another ready drawn was tendred to the Prolocutor by the Clerk of *Weſtminſter*, for the better keeping of the day of his Majeſties moſt happy *Inauguration*: By which it was decreed, according to the Example of the moſt pious Emperours of the Primitive Times, and our own moſt Godly Kings and Princes ſince the Reformation, and the Form of Prayer already made, and by his Majeſties Authority Appointed to be uſed on the ſaid days of *Inauguration*, *That all manner of perſons within the Church of* England, *ſhould from thenceforth celebrate and keep the morning of the ſaid day, in coming diligently and reverently unto their Pariſh Church or Chappel at the time of Prayer, and there continue all the while that the Prayers, Preaching, or other Service of the day endureth: That for the better obſerving of the ſaid day, two of the ſaid Books ſhould be provided at the Charge of each ſeveral Pariſh, by the Churchwardens of the ſame; with an Injunction to all Biſhops, Archdeacons, and other Ordinaries, to inquire into the premiſes at their Viſitations, and puniſh ſuch as are delinquent, as in caſe of ſuch as abſent themſelves on the other Holy days.* LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

Another *Canon* was brought in againſt *Socinianiſm*, by the ſpreading of which damnable and curſed *Hereſie*, much miſchief had already been done in the Church: For the ſuppreſſing whereof, it was ordained by the *Synod* (after ſome explication and correction of the words and phraſes,) "That no *Stationer*, *Printer*, or other perſon, "ſhould print, buy, ſell, or diſperſe any Book, broaching or main-"taining the ſaid Abominable Doctrine or Poſitions, upon pain of Ex-"communication *ipſo facto*, and of being proceeded againſt by his "Majeſties Attorney-General, on a Certificate thereof to be return-"ed by the ſeveral Ordinaries to their Metropolitan, according to "the late Decree of *Star-Chamber* againſt Sellers of prohibited Books; "That no Preacher ſhould preſume to vent any ſuch Doctrine in any "Sermon, under pain of Excommunication for the firſt Offence, and "Deprivation for the ſecond: That no Student in either of the Uni-"verſities, nor any perſon in Holy Orders, excepting Graduates in "Divinity, or ſuch as have Epiſcopal or Archidiaconal Juriſdiction, "or Doctors of Law in Holy Orders, ſhall be ſuffered to have or read "any *Socinian* Book or Diſcourſe, under pain (if the Offender live "in the Univerſity) that he ſhall be puniſhed according to the ſtrict-"eſt Statutes provided there againſt the publiſhing, reading, and "maintaining of falſe Doctrines; or if he lived in the City or Country "abroad, of a Suſpenſion for the firſt Offence, Excommunication for "the ſecond, and Deprivation for the third, unleſs he ſhould abſo-"lutely and *in terminis* abjure the ſame: That if any Lay-perſon "ſhould be ſeduced unto that Opinion, and be convicted of it, he "ſhould

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1604. "should be Excommunicated, and not Absolved but upon due Re-"pentance and Abjuration, and that before his *Metropolitan*, or his "own Bishop at least: With several Clauses for seizing and burning all such Books as should be found in any other hands than those before limited and expressed. Which severe course being taken by the *Convocation*, makes it a matter of no small wonder, That *Cheynell* the Usufructuary of the rich Parsonage of *Petworth*, should impute the Rise and Growth of *Socinianism*, in a Pamphlet not long after Printed, unto many of those who had been principal Actors in suppressing of those wicked and detestable *Heresies*. Another *Canon* was presented to the *Prolocutor*, by one of the Members of that Body, advanced the next year to a higher Dignity, for Restraint of *Sectaries*: By which it was decreed, "That all those Proceedings and Penalties which are men-"tioned in the *Canon* against *Popish Recusants*, so far forth as may be "appliable, should be in full force and vigour against all *Anabaptists*, "*Brownists*, *Seperatists*, *Familists*, or other Sect or Sects, Person or "Persons whatsoever, who do or shall either obstinately refuse: or "ordinarily, not having a lawful impediment (that is, for the space of "a Month) neglect to repair to their parish Churches or Chappels "where they inhabit, for the hearing of Divine Service established, "and receiving of the Holy Communion according to Law; That "the Clause in the former *Canon* against Books of *Socinianism*, should "also extend to the Makers, Importers, Printers, and Publishers or Dis-"persers of any Book, Writing, or Scandalous Pamphlet, devised a-"gainst the Discipline and Government of the Church of *England*; "and unto the Maintainers and Abettors of any Opinion of Doctrine "against the same. And finally, That all despisers and depravers of "the Book of Common-Prayer, who resorted not according to Law "to their Church or Chappel, to joyn in the Publick Worship of God "in the Congregation, contenting themselves with the hearing of "Sermons only, should be carefully inquired after, and presented to "their several and respective Ordinaries; The same Proceedings and "Penalties mentioned in the aforesaid *Canons*, to be used against them, "unless with one whole Month after they are first Denounced, they "shall make acknowledgment and Reformation of their fault.

So far the Bishops and Clergy had proceeded in the Work recommended to them, when the Parliament was most unhappily Dissolved: And possibly the Convocation had expired the next day also, according to the usual custom, if one of the Clergy had not made the Archbishop acquainted with a Precedent in Queen *Elizabeths* Time, for the granting a Subsidy or Benevolence by *Convocation*, to be Taxed and Levied by *Synodical Acts* and *Constitutions*, without help of the Parliament; directing to the Records of *Convocation* where it was to be found. Whereupon the *Convocation* was Adjourned from *Wednesday*, till the *Friday* following, and then till the next day after, and so till *Monday*, to the great amazement of many of the Members of it, who expected to have been Dissolved when the Parliament was, according to that clause in the Commission aforesaid, by which it was restrained to the Time of the Parliament only. Much pains was taken by

by some of the Company, who had been studied in the Records of *Convocation*, in shewing the difference betwixt the Writ for calling a Parliament, and that for assembling a *Convocation*; their different Forms, and the independence of the one upon the other: but more especially betwixt the Writ by which they were made a *Convocation*, and that *Commission* by which they were enabled to the making of *Canons*; That though the *Commission* was expired with the Parliament, yet the Writ continued still in force; and by that Writ they were to remain a *Convocation*, until they were dissolved by another. With which Distinction, the greatest part of those who before had scrupled at their Sitting, did appear well satisfied; but better satisfied on the *Munday*, by a Paper which was sent unto them from the Court. For the King being made acquainted with these scrupulosities, proposed the question on *Sunday May* 10. to the greatest Lawyers then about him, who gave their Judgment in these words, *viz. The Convocation called by the Kings Writ, is to be continued till it be dissolved by the Kings Writ, notwithstanding the Dissolution of the Parliament.* Subscribed by *Finch* Lord Keeper, *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal, *Littleton* Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, *Bancks* Attorney-General, *Whitfield* and *Heath* two of his Majesties Counsel Learned in the Laws of this Land. Incouraged with which assurance, and Animated by a New Commission to remain in Force during the Pleasure of the King, they setled to their work again on *Wednesday* the thirteenth of that Month, but not without some trouble of mind in regard of the Apparent Danger which seemed to threaten them. The Archbishops house at *Lambeth* had been assaulted on *Munday* by a Rabble of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and other Sectaries, to the number of five hundred and upwards, who seeing they could not force that house resolved to turn their fury on the *Convocation*. Of which his Majesty being Informed, he caused a guard to be set about them consisting of some Companies of the Trained Bands of the County of *Middlesex* under the Command of *Endymion Porter*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber; an honest man, and of good affections to the Church and his Majesties Service. To such extremities were the poor Clergy brought during these confusions; in danger of the Kings displeasure if they Rose, of the Peoples fury if they Sate; in danger of being beaten up by tumults, when they were at their work, of being beaten down by the following Parliament, when their work was done. But they went forward howsoever to the end of their journey, and did the business as they went, dispatching more work in so short a time then could be easily imagined.

L. I B. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

Three things there were which *Canterbury* was to take special care of in reference to the Publick peace of the Church and State; That is to say, the Reparation of the breaches made in the *Regal*, and *Episcopal* Power by the late batteries of the *Scots*, and their adherents, on the commending of the Uniformity to all parts of the Kingdom, which had been happily begun in so many places. In reference to the first, some propositions touching the institution, Power and Priviledges of Sovereign Princes, were recommended to the consideration of the

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PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640. Prolocutor and the Reſt of the Clergy, by them to be corrected if they ſaw occaſion; and being ſo corrected to paſs into a Canon. The Propoſitions ſix in number, and were theſe that follow.

I. *The moſt High, and Sacred Order of Kings is of Divine Right, being the Ordinance of God himſelf, founded in the prime Laws of Nature, and clearly eſtabliſhed by Expreſs Texts, both of the Old and the New Teſtament. A Supream Power is given to this moſt Excellent Order by God himſelf in the Scriptures, which is, That Kings ſhould Rule, and Command in their ſeveral Dominions, all Perſons of what Rank or Eſtate whatſoever, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, and that they ſhould Reſtrain and Puniſh with the Temporal Sword all Stubborn and wicked doers.*

II. *The care of Gods Church is ſo committed to Kings in Scripture, that they are commanded when the Church keeps the Right way, and taxed when it Runs Amiſs; and therefore her Government belongs in Chief unto Kings: For otherwiſe one man would be commended for anothers care, and taxed but for anothers negligence, which is not Gods way.*

III. *The Power to Call and Diſſolve Councils both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Chriſtian Kings within their own Realms, and Territories. And when in the firſt time of Chriſts Church, Prelates uſed this Power, 'twas therefore only becauſe in thoſe days they had no Chriſtian Kings, And it was then ſo only uſed as in time of perſecution, that is, with ſuppoſition (in caſe it were required) of ſubmitting their very lives, unto the very Laws and Commands, even of thoſe Pagan Princes, that they might not ſo much as ſeem to diſturb their Civil Government, which Chriſt came to confirm but by no means to undermine.*

IV. *For any Perſon or Perſons to ſet up, maintain or avow in any the ſaid Realms, or Territories Reſpectively, under any pretext whatſoever any Independent Co-active Power, either* Papal *or Popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their Great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow the Moſt Sacred Ordinances which God himſelf hath eſtabliſhed: And ſo it is Treaſonable againſt God as well as againſt the King.*

V. *For Subjects to bear Arms againſt their Kings,* Offenſive *or* Defenſive *upon any pretence whatſoever, is at leaſt to Reſiſt the Powers which are ordained by God. And though they do not invade but only Reſiſt, St.* Paul *tells them plainly,* They ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.

VI. *And although Tribute, and Cuſtom, and Aid, and Subſidies, and all manner of neceſſary Support, and Supply, be reſpectively due to Kings from their Subjects by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations for the Publick Defence, care and Protection of them: yet nevertheleſs Subjects have not only poſſeſſion of, but a true and Juſt Right, Title, and Propriety, to, and in, all their Goods, and Eſtates, and ought ſo to have: And theſe two are ſo far from croſſing one another, that they mutually go together, for the Honourable and Comfortable ſupport of both. For as it is the duty of Subjects to ſupply their King; ſo is it part of the Kingly office to ſupport his Subjects, in the Propriety and Freedom of their Eſtates.*

Theſe Propoſitions being Read and Conſidered of, were generally paſt

past and approved without contradiction, but that a little stop was made touching the Necessity of Aid and Subsidy to Kings from their Subjects, which some thought fitter to leave at large according to the Laws of several Countries then to entitle it to the Law of God, Nature and Nations: but after a very light dispute that clause was allowed of with the Rest, and a Canon presently drawn up by a ready hand, according to the Vote of the House to make them Obligatory to the Clergy in the course of their Ministries. The preamble which was sent with the Propositions, required them to be read distinctly and audibly by every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher upon some one Sunday in every Quarter of the year at Morning Prayer. And it was added by the Canons that if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, should Voluntarily or carelesly neglect his duty in publishing the said Explications and Conclusions according to the Order above prescribed, he should be suspended by his Ordinary till his Reformation; That all Bishops, Priests and Ministers, should Teach, Preach, and Exhort their People to Obey, Honour, and Serve their King; and that they presume not to speak of his Majesties Power, any other way then in the Canon is expressed; with reference to Excommunication, and a Suspension of two years for the first Offence, and Deprivation for the second, to be inflicted by his Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical upon all Persons whatsoever which in any Sermon, Lecture, Determination or Disputation should maintain any point of Doctrine, contrary to the said Propositions, and Explications. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

In reference to the preservation of the Episcopal power, an Oath was drawn up in the Upper, and sent down to the Lower House of Convocation, by them to be debated, approved, and ratified upon Approbation; Which Oath was required to be taken by all Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; before the second day of *November* then next following to be tendered in the presence of a publick Notary, to all Priests and Deacons by the Bishop in person, or his Chancellor or some grave Divines named and appointed by the Bishop under his Episcopal Seat. In the first words of the Oath as it came from the Lords, it was expressed in these words, that every man should Swear to the *Doctrine and Discipline established in the Church of* England. And this occasioned some dispute, concerning the extent of the word Discipline, whither it comprehended the *Episcopal* Government, and the publick Forms of Divine Worship; or was to be restrained only to the use of the Keys, as it was practiced in Ecclesiastical Courts. Some would have had the words run thus, *I. A. B. do swear that I approve the Doctrines, Discipline, or Government established*, &c. But against this it was objected, First, That the Government of the Church was sufficiently provided for by the following clause, in which there was an especial Enumeration of all Offices impowred in the Government of the Church; and it was inepugnous to make that Discipline and Government to be the same, and that Government should be said to contain all things, *or any thing which was necessary to Salvation.* And they that thus objected, would have

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

had it pass in these words, *viz. I approve the Doctrine, Discipline, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of* England, *as containing all things necessary unto Salvation.* Which though it seemed, more plausible and intelligible then the other was; yet being put unto the vote, it was carried for *Discipline or Government*, under pretence of not clogging the Oath with things unnecessary and such as might be made capable of a variation. According to which Vote the Canon was drawn up with this title, *viz. An Oath enjoyned for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government*; and the *Oath* it self injoyned in this form following, that is to say, I. A. B. *Do swear that I do Approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of* England; *as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I will not endeavour by my self or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that which is so established. Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons,* &c. *As it stands now established, and as by Right it ought to stand; nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and Superstitions of the See of* Rome. *And all these things I do plainly and seriously acknowledge, and swear, according to the plain and Common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly upon the faith of a Christian,* So help me God in Jesus Christ.

The Oath being past, the Canon was drawn up by the former hand according to such Instructions as were sent along with it. By which it was required that all Masters of Art, (the Sons of Noblemen only excepted) all Bachelors or Doctors in Divinity, Law or Physick, all that are licensed to practice Physick, all Registers Actuaries, and Proctors, all School-masters, all such as being Natives or Naturalized, do come to be incorporated into the Universities here, having taken any Degree in any Foreign University should be bound to take the said Oath; the same Oath to be Administred to all such of the persons abovenamed residing in any University, by the Governours of their several Houses; and by the Bishop Respectively, to all which should from thenceforth be admitted to *holy Orders*, or receive any Institution, Collation, or License for the serving of any cure: with several Penalties to all Beneficed Parsons, and all such as were then in any Ecclesiastical dignity, for their refusal of the same; that is to say, a suspension *ab officio* for the first Refusal, *à beneficio & officio*, for the second, and Deprivation for the third, a Months deliberation being granted betwixt each Refusal.

These two great matters being thus concluded, A message is delivered by the Prolocutor from the house of Bishops, by which the Clergy were desired to consider of the best expedient for inducing an Uniformity in the Church about the situation of the Lords Table, the Receiving of the blessed Sacrament, and the due Revenue to be used in the house of God, and to prepare a Canon to that purpose if they found it necessary. On the Receiving of which message a grand Committee was selected out of the Ablest men of the House, to take that

that great and weighty buſineſs into conſideration, and to Report unto the Houſe whatſoever they ſhould do therein, that it might paſs or be rejected as the Houſe thought fit. The Committee conſiſted of twenty ſeven, the Prolocutor being reckoned into the number, their meeting to be held the ſame afternoon in the Chappel of King *Henry* 7. Where being met, and ſitting about the table provided for the uſe of the Biſhops, the points were ſeriouſly debated, every man ſpeaking his opinion in them when it came to his turn without interruption; beginning with the Prolocutor, and ſo proceeding from man to man till it concluded with the Clerk for the Church of *Weſtminſter*; So placed of purpoſe that he might anſwer all ſuch arguments, as had been brought againſt any of the points propoſed, and were not anſwered to his hand. The Prolocutor having taken the ſum of every mans Judgment, declared that the far Major part had appeared for placing the Lords Table where the Altar ſtood, the drawing near unto it to receive the Sacrament, and the making of due Reverences at the entring into the Church and going out of it; and thereupon put it to the queſtion, whether they thought it convenient that a Canon ſhould be prepared to that purpoſe or not? Which being carried in the affirmative, without any viſible diſſent, one of the Clerks for the Dioceſs of *Briſtol* preſented a *Canon* ready drawn for the ſame effect, but drawn in ſuch a commanding, and imperious Style, that it was diſliked by all the company but himſelf; and thereupon a Sub-committee was appointed to prepare the Canon, and make it ready with as much diſpatch as they could conveniently. Which was no ſooner agreed on, and the Committee continued for ſome following buſineſs; but the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* who was one of the number, made his firſt appearance, ſo extreamly diſcontented that he was not ſtayed for, and that the buſineſs was concluded before he came, and earneſtly preſſing the Prolocutor, that the debate might be Reſumed; or at the leaſt his Reaſons might be heard againſt the Vote: which when the Prolocutor upon very good Reaſons had refuſed to yield to, he fell upon him with ſuch heats, and uſed him ſo exceeding courſly; that on complaint made thereof and of ſome other intervening harſhneſs, made by the Prolocutor in a full Houſe of the Clergy, he was ordered by the far Major part to quit the Houſe, though afterwards Reſtored again on the acknowledgment of his Errour, when his heats were down. Which Rub removed, the Canon went very ſmoothly on without oppoſition, commended Generally for the Modeſty and Temper of it; in which Reſpect I hold it worthy to be preſented to the Reader in its full proportion, without any Abbreviation of it as of thoſe before.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

PART II.
Anno Dom. 1640.

A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

BEcause it is generally to be wished, that Unity of Faith were accompanied with Uniformity of practice in the outward Worship and Service of God; chiefly for the avoiding the grundless suspition of those who are weak, and the malicious Aspersions of the professed enemies of our Religion; the one, fearing Innovations; *the other, flattering themselves with a vain hope of our back-sliding unto their Popish Superstition by reason of the situation of the Communion-Table, and the approaches thereunto, the* Synod *declareth as followeth: That the standing of the Communion-Table side-way under the East Window of every Chancel or Chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expresly, or by immediate deduction; and therefore that no Religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of reforming this Church from the gross superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided, that all means should be used to root out of the Minds of the People both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the Idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished: yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen* Elizabeth, *of blessed memory,* Can. 7. *that the holy Table should stand in that place where the Altar stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and pious Princes, and in most Cathedral, and some Parochial Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality or just suspition of Popish Superstition or Innovation. And therefore We judge it fit and convenient that all Churches and Chappels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or mother Churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishop by Law during the time of the Administration of the holy Communion. And We declare, that this situation of the holy Table, doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: But it is and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.*

And because experience hath shewed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing at, and others sitting under the Communion-Table in the time of Divine Service: For the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present Synod, *that the said Communion-Table in all Churches or Chappels be decently severed with Rails to preserve them from such or worse prophanations.*

And because the Administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the Service-Book, established by Act of Parliament, Draw near, &c. *that all communicants with an humble reverence shall draw near and approach to the holy Table, there to receive the divine mysteries, which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the Minister, unless it should be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place, or other inconvenience, By the*

Bishop

Biſhop himſelf in his Juriſdiction, and other Ordinaries reſpectively in theirs.

And laſtly, whereas the Church is the Houſe of God, dedicated to his holy Worſhip, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatneſs and goodneſs of his divine Majeſty; certain it is, that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but alſo outwardly with our bodies, muſt needs be pious in it ſelf, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and behoveful, & heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, Members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the ſaid acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeyſance both at their coming in and going out of the ſaid Churches, Chancels, or Chappels, according to the moſt antient cuſtom of the Primitive Church in the pureſt times, and of this Church alſo for many years of the Reign of Q. Eliz. *The receiving thereof of this antient and laudable Cuſtom we heartily commend to the ſerious conſideration of all good People, not with any intention to exhibit any Religious Worſhip to the Communion-Table, the Eaſt, or Church, or any thing therein contained, in ſo doing; or to perform the ſaid Geſture in the Celebration of the holy Euchariſt, upon any opinion of the Corporal preſence of the Body of Chriſt on the holy Table, or in the myſtical Elements: but only for the advancement of Gods Majeſty, and to give him alone that honour and glory that is due unto him, and no otherwiſe. And in the practice or omiſſion of this Rite we deſire that the Rule of Charity, preſcribed by the Apoſtle, may be obſerved, which is, That they which uſe this Rite, deſpiſe not them who uſe it not; and that they who uſe it not, condemn not thoſe that uſe it.*

No ſooner was this Declaration paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords, but on the ſame day, or the next, an Addreſs was made to the Prolocutor by the Clerk for *Weſtminſter* concerning the confuſion which hapned in moſt parts of the Church for want of one uniform body of Articles to be uſed in Viſitations; thoſe of the Biſhop many times thwarting the Archdeacons: one Biſhops differing from anothers, the Succeſſors from his Predeceſſors; and the ſame perſon not conſiſtent to the ſame Articles which himſelf had publiſhed. By means whereof the people were much diſturbed, the Rules of the Church contemned for their multiplicity, unknown by reaſon of their uncertainty, and deſpiſed for the inconſtancy of them that made them. Of all which he deſired the Convocation to provide a remedy, by ſetting out one Uniform Book of Articles to be the ſtanding Rule of all Viſitations for the time to come. The motion pleaſed the Prolocutor, and the reſt of the Clergy, who thereupon deſired him (in purſuit of his own project) to undertake the compiling of the ſaid Book of Articles, and to preſent it to the Houſe with convenient ſpeed. Which notwithſtanding, there wanted not ſome ſecret practices to illude the motion, and fruſtrate the deſign, approved of by the general Vote. Some who obſerved the moderation of the Articles which had been drawn for the Metropolitical Viſitation, and finding them to leave a greater liberty about placing the Communion-Table, and the order of officiating the Divine Service, than the new Articles might allow of, addreſt them-

PART II. themſelves unto his Grace, deſiring that thoſe Articles might be commended to the Convocation, to be a ſtanding Rule for all Viſitations in the times ſucceeding; which Propoſition was thought to reliſh well enough with him at the firſt propoſal, though afterwards on further conſideration he ſuffered the buſineſs to proceed in the former courſe. It was not long before another *Canon* was tendred to the Prolocutor for advancing a more general Conformity than that which was contained in the Declaration. And it was tendred by the ſame hand which had before preſented that againſt *Sectaries*; in reference to whom it paſſed without oppoſition or alteration. "It was enjoyned by that "Canon under pain of ſuſpenſion, that all Preachers, as well bene- "ficed men as others, ſhould poſitively and plainly Preach and inſtruct "the People in their publick Sermons that the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* "in the Church of *England* were lawful and commendable; and that "the People ought not only to conform themſelves to thoſe *Rites* "and *Ceremonies*; but chearfully to ſubmit themſelves unto the Go- "vernment of the Church, as it was then eſtabliſhed under his Maje- "ſty. Another was brought in, but by whom I know not, "*Concerning* "*the Converſation of the Clergie*, by which it was deſired in compliance "to the ancient Canons of the Church, and in particular to Canon "74, 75. of the year 1603. That all Clergymen in this Church, ſet- "ting before their eyes the glory of God, the holineſs of their Calling, "and the edification of the People committed to them, ſhould care- "fully avoid all exceſs and diſorders, that by their Chriſtian and "Religious Converſation they might ſhine forth, as lights unto others, "in all godlineſs and honeſty; and that all thoſe to whom the Go- "vernment of the Church was committed ſhould ſet themſelves to "countenance and encourage Godlineſs, Gravity, Sobriety, and all "unblamable Converſation in the Miniſters of it; and diligently la- "bour by the due execution of the Canons aforeſaid, and all other "Eccleſiaſtical Proviſions made for that end, to reform all offenſive "and ſcandalous perſons which were in the Miniſtry. Which Canon was ſo well approved of, that it paſt without any ſtop or reſiſtance.

Anno Dom. 1684.

Can. 9.

Can. 10.

All matters going thus calmly on, the Clergy began to take into conſideration the great exceſſes, and abuſes, which were complained of in many Offices of Eccleſiaſtical Courts. They found the Exorbitances of the Chancellors to be grown ſo great, that they contemned the lower Clergy, and thought themſelves independent of the Biſhops under whom they ſerved. They found that many abuſes had been committed in the Sentences of Excommunication and Abſolution, (the ſlovenly executing whereof had been very offenſive) as alſo in Commutation of Penance, and conniving at unlawful Marriages, out of which ſome Officers in thoſe Courts raiſed no ſmall advantage; Complaint was alſo made of ſome oppreſſions which had been laid upon the Subject, by concurrent Juriſdictions partly, and partly by vexatious Citations, in which nothing was more aimed at, than the Officers Fees which muſt be paid, though nothing could be proved againſt the Party when he came before them. The conſideration and redreſs of all which grievances being referred to the Committee of twenty ſix, the

the ſaid Committee was deſired by the Prolocutor to hold their meetings in his houſe, ſituate under the North-ſide of the Abbey-Church, and therefore moſt convenient both for himſelf and them. The Grievances were great, and yet not greater than the Clamour which was raiſed about them, which made the Committee very intent upon the ſtilling of the noiſe; by providing better for themſelves, their Brethren, and the reſt of the Subjects: but not without all due reſpect to the Profeſſors in that honourable Faculty of the *Civil Laws*. *Lamb* Dean of the Arches, and *Heath* Judge of the *Audience*, being both Members of the Convocation, were taken into that Committee; not only to aſſiſt their Conſultations in point of Law: but to moderate the fervor of their Proceedings by the Fan of Reaſon. The whole Reformation brought within the compaſs of theſe ſeven Canons: 1. Concerning *Chancellors Patents*. 2. *Chancellors not alone to cenſure any of the Clergie in ſundry caſes*. 3. *Excommunication and Abſolution not to be pronounced but by a* PRIEST. 4. *Concerning Commutations, and the diſpoſing of them*. 5. *Touching current Juriſdictions*. 6. *Concerning Licenſes to marry*. 7. *Againſt vexatious Citations*.

In the firſt of the ſeven it was required, "That no Biſhop ſhould "grant any Patent to any Chancellor, Commiſſary, or Official, for "any longer time than the life of the Grantee only; That in all ſuch *Can.* 11. "Patents the Biſhops ſhould reſerve to themſelves and their Succeſſors "the power of giving inſtitution to Benefices, of giving Licenſes "to teach School or Preach, as alſo of exereiſing their Juriſdiction, "either alone, or with the Chancellor, at his own diſcretion, all the "accuſtomed Fees to be reſerved unto the Chancellor, *&c.* as in for-"mer times; That no Dean and Chapter ſhould confirm any Patent to "any Chancellor, *&c.* wherein the ſaid conditions were not expreſt, "under pain of Suſpenſion to be inflicted on them ſeverally by their "*Metropolitan*; And finally, That under the heavieſt Cenſures no re-"ward ſhould be taken for any of the Offices and Places abovemen-"tioned. In the compoſure of which Canon, as the firſt branch was made to cut off Reverſions, ſo was the laſt added to prevent corruptions; For he moſt commonly ſells Juſtice that hath bought his Office. *Can.* 12. "In the ſecond it was ordered, That no Chancellor, Commiſſary, or "Official, unleſs he be in Holy Orders, ſhould proceed to Suſpenſion, "or any higher Cenſure againſt any of the Clergy in any criminal "cauſe other than neglect of appearance upon legal Citing: but that "all ſuch caſes ſhould be heard by the Biſhop in perſon, with the aſſi-"ſtance of his Chancellor, or Commiſſary, or if the Biſhops occaſi-"ons will not permit, then by his Chancellor, or Commiſſary, and "two grave dignified or benficed Miniſters of the Dioceſs to be aſ-"ſigned by the Biſhop, under his Epiſcopal Seal, who ſhall hear and "cenſure the ſaid cauſe in that Conſiſtory. By the third it was or-"dained, That no Excommunications or Abſolutions ſhould be good "or valid in Law except they be pronounced either by the Biſhop in "perſon, or by ſome other in holy Orders having *Eccleſiaſtical* Juriſ-"diction, or by ſome grave Miniſter beneficed in the Dioceſs, being a "Maſter of Arts at leaſt, and appointed by the Biſhop, the name of *Can.* 13.

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PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

"the said Priest or Minister being expressed in the Instrument under "the Seal of the Court; And that no such Minister should pronounce "any such Sentence but in open Consistory, or at least in some Church "or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving and taking Absolution up- "on his knees. By the fourth it was provided, That no Chancellor, "*&c.* should have power to commute any Penance in whole or in part, *Can.* 14. "but either together with the Bishop in person, or with his privity in "writing; That if he do it by himself, he should give up a full and just "account of such Commutations once every year at *Michaelmas* to "the Bishop, under pain of being suspended from his Jurisdiction for "the space of a year; the said Commutations to be disposed of by the *Can.* 15. "Bishop and Chancellor in such charitable and pious uses as the Law "requires; and that Commutation to be signified to the place from "whence the complaint proceeded, in case the crime were publickly "complained of, and approved notorious.

For preventing those vexations and inconveniencies which formerly had been occasioned by concurrent Jurisdictions, It was decreed by the fifth Canon, under the several penalties therein contained, "That no Register or Clerk should give, nor Apparitor execute a Ci- "tation upon any Executor to appear in any Court or Office till ten "days after the Death of the Testator; And that nevertheless it "might be lawful for any Executor to prove such Wills when they "think good, within the said ten days before any Ecclesiastical Judge "respectively, to whose Jurisdiction the same might or did appertain. "By the sixth it was ordained for the better preventing of any fur- "ther invasions to be made on the Prerogative of the See of *Canter-* *Can.* 16. "*bury*, and of many other inconveniencies which did thence arise, "no License of Marriage should be granted from any Ordinary, in "whose Jurisdiction one of the parties hath not been Commorant for "the space of a month, immediately before the same shall be desired, "under pain of such Censure as the Archbishop should think fit to in- "flict; And that the said Parties being commorant in the said Juris- "diction, as before is said, shall be made one of the Conditions of the "Bond accustomably given for securing that Office. And for pre- "venting of vexatious Citations for the time to come, it was required "by the last *Canon*, That no Citation should from thenceforth be "issued out of any Ecclesiastical Court, except it be upon Present- "ment, but such as should be sent forth under the Hand and Seal of "the *Chancellor*, within thirty days after the fault committed; the "Return thereof to be made on the first or second Court-day after "the serving of the same: And that the Party so cited, not being con- "vinced by two Witnesses, on his denial of the Fact by his corporal "Oath, should be forthwith dismissed without any payment of Fees. "Provided, That this Decree extend not to any grievous Crime; as "Schism, Incontinence, Misbehaviour at the Church in the time of "Divine Service, obstinate Inconformity, or the like. Finally, For preventing all unnecessary Tautologies and Repetitions of the same thing, it was declared once for all, "That whatsoever had been de- "clared in the former Canons, concerning the Jurisdiction of the

"*Bishops*,

"*Biſhops*, their *Chancellors*, or *Commiſſaries*, ſhould be in force (as far "as by Law it was appliable) concerning all *Deans*, *Deans* and *Chap-*"*ters*, *Collegiate Churches*, *Archdeacons*, and all in Holy Orders, ha-"ving exempt of peculiar Juriſdiction, and their ſeveral Officers re-"ſpectively.

To the Proceedings of this Committee in digeſting theſe *Canons*, the interpoſing of another buſineſs gave no ſtop at all, though it ſeemed to be of more weight then all the reſt. His Majeſty on the twentieth of *May* directed his Letters ſealed with his Royal Signet, and atteſted by his Sign Manual, to the Biſhops and Clergy aſſembled in *Convocation*, Requiring and thereby Authoriſing them to proceed in making *Synodical Conſtitutions*, for Levying the ſix *Subſidies* formerly Granted. This the moſt eaſie Task of all. The Grant of the ſix *Subſidies* had been drawn before; and there was nothing now to be altered in it, but the changing of the name of *Subſidy* into that of *Benevolence*, according to the Advice of the Council-Learned; by whom it was reſolved, That no Moneys could be raiſed in the name of a *Subſidy*, but by Act of Parliament. And for the *Synodical Acts* or *Conſtitutions* for the Levying of it, they were made to their hands; So that there was nothing left for them to do, but to follow the Precedent which was laid before them out of the Record of *Convocation*, *Anno* 1585. and to tranſcribe the ſame (the names and Sums being only changed) without further trouble. So that it was diſpatched by the *Committee*, Voted by the *Clergie*, and ſent up to the *Biſhops* before the end of the next day. Nor did the framing or compiling of the Book of *Articles*, give any ſtop at all to him, to whom the digeſting of them was committed, from attending the Service of the *Committee* and the Houſe upon all occaſions; though for the better Authoriſing of them he had placed in the Margin before every *Article*, the *Canon*, *Rubrick*, *Law*, *Injunction*, or other Authentick Evidence upon which it was grounded. Which being finiſhed in good time was by him openly read in the Houſe, and by the Houſe approved and paſſed without alteration: but that an Exegetical or Explanatory Clauſe, in the fourth *Article* of the fourth *Chapter*, touching the Reading of the Second or *Communion-Service* at the *Lords Table*, was deſired by ſome to be omitted, which was done accordingly; Which *Articles* being too many and too long to be here inſerted, the Reader may conſult in the Printed Book, firſt publiſhed for the Viſitation of the Biſhop of *London*, and by him fitted in ſome points for the uſe of that Dioceſs. The ſaid Clerk brought a *Canon* alſo with him, "For enjoying the ſaid Book to be only uſed "in all *Parochial Viſitations*, for the better ſettling of an Uniformity "in the outward Government and Adminiſtration of the Church, "and for the preventing of ſuch juſt Grievances, which might be laid "upon Churchwardens and other ſworn men, by any impertinent, "inconvenient, or illegal *Inquiries* in the *Articles* for *Eccleſiaſtical* "*Viſitations*: The ſame to be depoſited in the Records of the Arch-"biſhop of *Canterbury*. To which a Clauſe was added in the Houſe "of Biſhops, giving a Latitude to themſelves for adding ſome *Arti-*"*cles* peculiar to their ſeveral Juriſdictions, for the ſpace of three years;

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"The ſame to be allowed by their *Metropolitan*: And aferwards to content themſelves with the ſaid *Articles*, ſo enlarged and accommodated, for all times ſucceeding.

Some other things there were in Propoſition and Deſign, that never ripened into Act or Execution. There had been a Deſign in deliberation, touching the drawing and digeſting of an *Engliſh Pontifical*, to be approved by this *Convocation*, and tendred to his Majeſties Confirmation. Which ſaid *Pontifical* was to contain the form and manner of his Majeſties late Coronation, to ſerve for a perpetual ſtanding Rule on the like ocaſions; Another form to be obſerved by all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for Conſecrating Churches, Church-yards, and Chappels; and a third for Reconciling ſuch *Penitents* as either had done open *Penance*, or had Revolted from the Faith to the Law of *Mahomet*. Which three, together with the form of *Confirmation*, and that of *Ordering Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons*, which were then in force, were to make up the whole Body of the Book intended. But the Troubles of the Time growing greater and greater, it was thought expedient to defer the Proſecution of it till a fitter conjuncture. Many had took exception againſt the tying up of Preachers to the Form of Prayer appointed to be uſed before their Sermons, *Can.* 55. For whoſe Relief therein, a ſhort Prayer was drawn, containing all the Heads of that in the *Canon*: And being ſo drawn up, it was to have been tendred by the hands of one of the *Clergie*, who would have undertaken that it ſhould be univerſally received by all thoſe which diſlike the other. But the Archbiſhop choſe rather to adhere to the *Canon*, than to venture on any new Experiment; that *Canon* being founded on the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Edward* vi. at the firſt Reformation. And ſo the Propoſition fell without moving further. *Gryffith* a Clerk for one of the *Welſh* Dioceſſes, a moderate and ſober man, propoſed unto the Houſe, That a new Edition might be made of the *Welſh* Church-Bible, the old one being corrupt in ſome places and defective in others, which he inſtanced in. The Motion well aproved by the *Clergie*, and by the Houſe of Biſhops committed to the care of the four *Welſh* Biſhops; of whoſe proceeding in the Work, by reaſon of the following Troubles, there was little hope. Nor did the Archbiſhop ſpeed much better in a Motion of his, which was, That his Majeſty might be moved for the new Printing of the *Common-Prayer Book* in the *Latin* Tongue, to the end (though I cannot poſitively ſay that he expreſſed ſo much at that time) that it might be uſed in all *Colledges* and *Halls*, in Officiating the *Morning-Prayer*, at which none are bound to be preſent, but ſuch as are preſumed to underſtand the Languge. For doing whereof, he conceived he had good ground in the firſt *Rubricks* after the *Preface* to the *Common-Prayer Book*; in which it is declared, *That though it be apppointed in the aforeſaid Preface, that all things ſhould be Read and Sung in the* Engliſh *Tongue, to the end that the Congregation may be thereby Edified: yet it is not meant, but when men ſay Morning and Evening Prayer privately, they may ſay the ſame in any Language that they themſelves do underſtand.* And he had alſo the conſtant example of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxon.*

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in which the firſt *Morning-Prayers* were continually Officiated in the *Latin* Tongue, for the *Prebends*, *Students*, and others of the Foundation; and at the Cathedral-hours, in the *Engliſh* only, for Inſtruction and Devotion of the *Choir-men*, *Alms-men*, *Servants*, and all others which reſort unto them.

It is a matter which deſerves no ſmall Admiration, That theſe *Canons* (like the firſt building of the Temple, without the noiſe of Ax and Hammer) ſhould paſs the Houſe with ſuch a general calm and quiet, and be received with ſo many Storms and Tempeſts when they went abroad. The very ſitting of the *Convocation* condemned for an illegal Act; as if it were a Crime to outlive the Parliament. And much ſport made by ignorant and malicious men, touching the Metamorphoſis of an old *Convocation*, into a new *Synod*, as they ſcoffed it; which hath ſufficiently been anſwered in that before. The whole Body of the *Canons* Voted by the Houſe of Commons in the following Parliament, *to be againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, againſt the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and to tend to Faction and Sedition*; which ſhall be anſwered as ſufficiently in that which follows. The ſeven laſt paſſionately oppoſed by *Martin*, and ſome other Eccleſiaſtical Judges, before they paſſed the *Royal Aſſent*, as tending to the viſible diſcouragment, if not the plain overthrow of their Profeſſion. To which it was anſwered by the Archbiſhop, and the Council too, That nothing but their Excreſcences and Exorbitances, were by thoſe *Canons* pared away; all their Preferments, with the Profits and Lawful Fees which belonged unto it, remaining as before they were. Yet the *Civilians* made not ſo much noiſe as ſome *Common Lawyers*, who looked upon the Granting of a Benevolence by *Convocation*, and the Levying of it by *Synodical Acts* and *Conſtitutions*, as being an Incroachment on the Priviledges and Rights of Parliament, without the Midwifery whereof, the *Clergie* could Enact no *Canons* to bind the Subjects, in ſuch Pecuniary Payments as were laid upon them. Which were it ſo, and that the *Clergie* could not give away their own without leave from others, they muſt needs be the greateſt Slaves the Sun ever ſhined on: Whereas in truth, the *Clergie* in *Convocation* have as much power to give away the mony of the *Clergie* by whom they are choſen to that Imployment; as the Commons in Parliament have to command the mony of the Cities, Towns, and Counties for which they ſerve. For in the chooſing of the Clerks for the *Convocation*, there is an Inſtrument drawn and ſealed by the *Clergie*, in which they bind themſelves to the *Archdeacon* or *Archdeacons* of their ſeveral Dioceſſes, upon pain of forfeiting all their Lands and Goods, to allow, ſtand to, and perform whatſoever their ſaid *Clerks* or *Proctors* ſhall ſay, do, or condeſcend to on their behalf, Greater Authority than this, as the Commons have not; ſo why the *Clergie* in the *Convocation* ſhould not make uſe of this Authority as they ſee occaſion, I can find no reaſon. Nor is it a ſpeculative Authority only, and not reducible unto Practice; an Authority which was then in force, but not in uſe, as is diſtinguiſhed in ſome Caſes. They had a Precedent for it in Queen *Elizabeths* time,

Hiſt. K. Ch. by H. L. p. 208.

Se ratum, gratum & acceptum habere, quicquid dicti Procuratores conſtituerint: fecerint, vel ſui dixerint,

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640. as before was noted: not then beheld as an Incroachment on the Right of Parliaments. But then was then, and now is now; the change of Times (without any alteration of the Laws) diverſifying the ſame Action into good and bad.

But nothing raiſed ſo much noiſe and clamour, as the Oath required by the ſixth *Canon*; Exclaimed againſt both from the *Pulpit* and the *Preſs*; Reproached in Printed Pamphlets, and Unprinted Scribbles; and glad they were to find ſuch an excellent Advantage, as the diſcovering of an *&c.* in the Body of it, did unhappily give them. This voiced abroad to be the greateſt *Myſtery of Iniquity* which theſe laſt Ages had produced, containing in it ſo much of the *Depths of Satan*; that as no man could ſee the bottom of the Iniquity: ſo neither they that made the Oath, nor they that were to take it, underſtood the Myſtery. But unto this it hath been anſwered, as unto the fact, That in all the *Canons* which were made before this being five in number) there was a particular enumeration of all the perſons, veſted with any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; that is to ſay, *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, *Deans and Chapters*, and other perſons having peculiar or exempt Juriſdiction; which having been repeated diſtinctly or particularly in ſuch of the *Canons* as were firſt made, was in the firſt drawing of their Oath, for avoiding of a Tautologie ſo often iterated, cut off with this *&c.* with an intention nevertheleſs to make the Enumeration perfect (and conſequently to expunge this unlucky *&c.*) before it came to be Engroſſed. But the King being weary of the Charge and Clamour, which the keeping of a Guard on the *Convocation* did expoſe him to, did haſten them to a Concluſion by ſo many Meſſages brought by *Vane* and others, that in the haſte this unlucky *&c.* was forgotten, and ſo committed to the Preſs accordingly. It hath been ſecondly anſwered, as in point of Reaſon, That the *&c.* as it ſtands in that part of the Oath, is ſo reſtrained and limited by the following words, *viz. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed*, that there can be no danger of any *Myſtery of Iniquity* in it: So that in the Conſtruction of this Text, the *&c.* as it now remains, is a meer impertinency: For being left in, it ſignifieth nothing, in the regard of the *reſtriction* following; and being left out, the ſenſe is currant and compleat without it. Which all thoſe witty Gentlemen who ſo often ſpoke, and others of leſs wit and quality, which ſo frequently writ againſt this Oath, could not chuſe but ſee: but that they were not willing to ſee any thing which might make againſt them. The Paramount Objection being thus refell'd, the reſt which have been made againſt it will be eaſily ſatisfied. It hath been charged by ſome. That the exacting of an Oath not to conſent to the Alteration of the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* is an affront to the Fundamental Rules of Civil Politie. To which it hath been anſwered, That it is indeed *an affront to Government*, not to ſubmit or yield Obedience unto *Civil Sanctions* when made, and legally eſtabliſhed: But it is no *affront* not to give *conſent* to any ſuch *Eſtabliſhments*, while they are in Treaty; for then the liberty of aſſenting or diſſenting, of Yea or Nay, would be taken away from every Member in the Houſes of Parliament,

liament, and every man muſt give *conſent* to every Bill which is offered to him. But beſides this, there were but few of the *Convocation* whoſe conſent was likely to be asked, when any change of Church-Government ſhould be ſet on foot; ſo that their diſſenting or aſſenting was not much material: but only ſo far as by their readineſs of conſenting to ſuch Innovations in the Publick Government, they might encourage others to proceed againſt it. Here then is no affront to Government, much leſs to the Fundamentals of it; the Oath not binding any man not to yield Obedience, but not to give conſent to ſuch Alteration. As for the laſt Objection, That he who takes the Oath declares therein, *That he takes it willingly*, being conſtrained ſo to do under grievous Penalties. This as it comes laſt, is the leaſt conſiderable; for if this were a Crime in the *Convocation*, it was ſuch a Crime as the high Court of Parliament hath been guilty of, in drawing up the Oath of Allegiance in the third year of King *James*; in which the Party is to ſwear, That he makes *that Recognition* not only *heartily* and *truly*, but alſo *willingly*: and yet the taking of that Oath, is impoſed on all the Subjects, under ſeveral Penalties, if any of them ſhall refuſe it. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

And yet theſe Quarrels at the Oath, the Unparliamentary Levying of the ſaid Benevolence, and the pretended Illegality of their very Sitting after the Parliament expired, were but the out-ſides of the buſineſs, but only colours and diſguiſes to conceal the chief cauſe of their diſpleaſure from the publick view. Somewhat there was which galled them more than all theſe together; that is to ſay, the *Propoſitions* for aſſerting the *Regal Power*, making it abſolute and independent with reference both to *Pope* and *People*, to the great diſcontent and trouble of the Popular Party, ſince better known by the name of *Commonwealths-men*. Which ſince the *Engliſh* were not confident enough to ſpeak out at firſt, we muſt take their meaning from the *Scots*, who in the Articles exhibited againſt our Archbiſhop by their Commiſſioners, have expreſly charged them with this Crime, *viz. That he made Canons and Conſtitutions againſt them, their juſt and neceſſary defence; Ordaining under all higheſt Pain, That hereafter the Clergie ſhould Preach four time in the year ſuch Doctrine as was contrary not only to their Proceedings, but to the Doctrine and Proceedings of other Reformed Kirks, to the Judgment of all ſound Divines and Politicks; as tending to the utter ſlavery and ruining of all Eſtates and Kingdoms, and to the diſhonour of Kings and Monarch.* This the true cauſe of thoſe high Diſpleaſures, conceived by ſome prevailing Members of the Houſe of Commons, and openly declared by their Words and Actions, branding thoſe innocent *Canons* for a tendency to *Faction* and *Sedition*, which they moſt laboured to ſuppreſs; condemning all that Voted to them, in great ſums of Money; and afterwards deſtroying them one by one, as they came in their way. Compared with this, neither the Benevolence, nor the Oath, nor any thing elſe before objected, was eſteemed conſiderable; though all were joyned together to amuze the People, and make them fearful of ſome Plot, not only to ſubvert Religion, but their Civil Rights. *Cant. Doom.* p. 56.

But the beſt is, that howſoever ſome few men for their private ends reproached

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reproached these *Canons*, as before; his Sacred Majesty, the Lords of his most Honourable Privy-Council, the Reverend Judges, and the Great Lawyers of the Council-Learned, conceived otherwise of them; in the hearing of all which they were publickly read by the Archbishops procurement, before they were tendred to the Clergy to be subscribed: and by all which they were approved, not without thanks to the Archbishop from the King himself, for his pains therein. And certainly it had been strange that they should pass the Approbation of the Judges and Learned Lawyers, had they contained any thing *against the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the Property of the Subject, and the Rights of Parliaments*; or been approved by the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council, had any thing been contained in them derogatory to the Kings Prerogative, or tending to *Faction* and *Sedition*. So far they were from being liable to Condemnation in those respects, that Justice *Crook* (whose Argument in the Case of Ship-money was Printed afterwards by Order from the House of Commons) is credibly affirmed to have lifted up his hands, and to have given hearty Thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to see so good Effects of a *Convocation*. On these Encouragements, and such a solemn Approbation, the Clergy were called up to the House of Bishops, to be present at the subscribing of them; which was accordingly performed *May* 29. by the Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons in their Seniority, and promiscuously by the rest of the Clergy, till all the Members had Subscribed; every mans heart going together with his hand, as it is to be presumed from all men of that holy Profession. Recusant there was none, but the Bishop of *Gloucester*, suspected of some inclinations to the *Romish* Religion in the Times preceding; which inclinations he declared more manifestly by this Refusal; for which there could be no imaginable Reason to prevail upon him, but the severity of the *Canon* for suppressing the Growth of *Popery*. Some pains was taken with him in the way of perswasion, and some Commands laid on him by his Metropolitan, as President of the *Convocation*: But when neither of the two Endeavours could remove him from his former obstinacy, the Prolocutor and Clergy were required to return to their House again, and to consider of the Penalty which he had incurred, according to the Rules and Practice of the Catholick Church in National and Provincial Councils. Which being done, the Prolocutor had no sooner put the Question, but the Clergy unanimously condemned him to a Suspension *a Beneficio & Officio*; and found at their return, that the House of Bishops (who had had some speech thereof before) had pronounced the same Sentence against him also. A Sentence which might have produced more dangerous effects on this obstinate Prelate, if he had not prevented it in time by his submission. For the Sentence being reduced into Writing, subscribed by the Archbishops hand, and publickly pronounced in the *Convocation*, his Majesty took such just offence at so great a scandal, that he committed him to Prison, where he staid not long; for on the tenth of *July* he made acknowledgment of his fault before the Lords of the Council, and took the Oath injoyned in the sixth *Canon*, for preserving the Doctrines

ctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, againſt all *Popiſh* Doctrines which were thereunto repugnant. Upon the doing whereof, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to reſtore him to his former Liberty; though this Submiſſion appeared within few years after, to be made either with ſome mental Reſervation, or Jeſuitical Equivocation, which he came prepared with. For in the time of his laſt Sickneſs, he declared himſelf to be a Member of the Church of *Rome*, and cauſed it ſo to be expreſſed in his laſt Will and Teſtament, that the news thereof might ſpread the further, and his Apoſtacy ſtand upon Record to all future Ages. A Scandal ſo unſeaſonably given, as if the Devil himſelf had watched an opportunity to deſpite this Church.

But theſe things hapned not till after. The Sentence of Suſpenſion was no ſooner pronounced, but the Archbiſhop giving great thanks to the Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy for their pains and diligence, in doing ſo much Work in ſo little time, produced his Majeſties Writ for diſſolving the ſaid *Convocation*; which he accordingly executed, and diſſolved the ſame. The Acts whereof being tranſmitted unto *York*, were by the *Convocation* for that Province peruſed, debated, and approved without any diſputing; and ſo preſented to his Majeſty with their Names ſubſcribed, according to the antient Cuſtom. There remained now nothing more to do, for giving theſe *Canons* the Authority and Reputation of his Majeſties Eccleſiaſtical Laws, but the ſignifying of his Royal Aſſent, and confirming them by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*. And this, his Majeſty, upon mature deliberation, was graciouſly pleaſed to do, commanding in the ſame, *That they ſhould be diligently obſerved, executed, and equally kept by all his Subjects, both within the Provinces of* Canterbury *and* York *reſpectively*: *That for the better obſervation of them, all Miniſters ſhould audibly and diſtinctly read all the ſaid Canons in the Church or Chappel in which they Miniſter, at the time of Divine Service*; *The Book of the ſaid Canons to be provided before* Michaelmas, *at the charge of their Pariſhes*: *And finally, That all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and others having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall take ſpecial care that the ſaid* Canons *and* Ordinances *be in all points duly obſerved; not ſparing to execute the Penalties in them ſeverally mentioned, upon any that ſhall wittingly or wilfully break or neglect to obſerve the ſame, as they tendred the honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and their Duties and Service to his Majeſty their King and Sovereign.* With which his Majeſties Letters Patents, bearing date on *June* 13. confirmatory of the Acts of the ſaid *Convocations*, I conclude the fourth and buſieſt part of this preſent Hiſtory.

THE

THE LIFE OF The most Reverend FATHER in GOD WILLIAM Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. V.

Extending from the end of the Convocation, Anno 1640. *till the day of his Death*, Jan. 10th 1644.

THus have we brought this Renowned Prelate, and with him the Church unto the very Battlement and Pinacle of External Glories. But such is the vicissitude of humane affairs, that being carried to the height they begin to fall; it being no otherwise with the fortunes of States or Men, then it is with Plants, which have their times of taking Root, their Growing, Flourishing Maturity, and then their Fading, and decay. And therefore it was very well observed by *Paterculus*, an old *Roman* Historian, that when either Emulation or natural Courage had given to any man an edge to ascend to the highest, after they had (a) attained that height, they were according to the course of Nature to descend again; and that it was no otherwise (b) with States and Nations then with Private men. It was just fourscore years from the beginning of the *Reformation* under Queen *Elizabeth*, to the Pacification made at *Berwick*, when the King so unfortunately dismist his Forces, and thereby left himself and his party in a worse condition then before the raising of his Army. The Church till then might seem

Anno Dom. 1640.

(a) *Naturaliter quod procedere non potest, recedit.* Vell. Pat. Hist. Lib. 1.

(b) *Gentium, urbium, ut virorum nunc stet fortuna, nunc senescit, aliquando interit.* Ibid.

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to be in the *Aſcendant* in the point of *Culminating*; and was then ready to decline, which our Judicious *Hooker* (*c*) had before preſaged: Who had aſſigned her fourſcore years for her growth and flouriſhing, and nothing afterwards but ſorrow and diſconſolation. For taking notice of the inclination of the times to Sacriledge, and Spoil and Rapine; and finding nothing more frequent in the mouths of men, then this, "that they which endowed Churches with Lands poiſoned "Religion, that Tithes and Oblations are now in the ſight of God but "as the ſacrificed blood of Goats; and that fulneſs of bread having "made the Children wanton, it was without any ſcruple to be taken "away from them, He made upon the whole matter, this enſuing "Judgment: By this means (ſaith he) or the like ſuggeſtions received "with all joy, and with like ſedulity practiced in certain parts of the "Chriſtian World, they have brought to paſs that as *David* doth ſay "of man, ſo it is in hazard to be verefied concerning the whole Reli-"gion and ſervice of God, *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to "be threeſcore and ten years, or if ſtrength do ſerve unto fourſcore*, what "followeth is like to be ſmall joy for them whoſoever they be that be-"hold the ſame. An Obſervation which ſeems to ſavour more of the Prophet, then it did of the Prieſt; and to have as much Divination, as Divinity in it.

(c) *Eccleſiaſt. Polit. Lib.* 5. *Sect.* 79.

Thus alſo in reference to himſelf, he was now growing towards the term of 70 years, which the *Pſalmiſt* had aſſigned to the Life of man; and there wanted not many ſad Preſages of his Fall and Death. He was much given to take notice of his Dreams, and commit them to writing, Amongſt which I find this for one, that on *Friday* night the 24 of *Jan.* 1639. his father (who died 46 years before) came to him, and that to his thinking he was as well, and as chearful, as ever he ſaw him; that his Father asked him what he did there; that after ſome ſpeech he demanded of his Father how long he would ſtay there; and that his Father made this Anſwer, that he would ſtay till he had him along with him. A dream which made ſuch Impreſſion on him as to adde this Note to it in his Breviate, that *though he was not moved with Dreams, yet he thought fit to remember this.* On *Friday* night juſt a Month before, being the 27th of *December* and the night following the day of St. *John* the Evangeliſt, there was raiſed ſuch a violent Tempeſt that many of the Boats which were drawn to Land at *Lambeth*, were daſht one againſt the other, and were broke to pieces; and that the ſhafts of two Chimneys were blown down upon the Roof of his Chamber, and beat down both the Lead and Rafters upon his bed, in which ruine he muſt needs have Periſhed, if the Roughneſs of the water had not forced him to keep his Chamber at *Whitehall*. A miſchance ſomewhat of this nature befel the ſame night at *Croyden* (a retiring place belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) where one of the Pinacles fell from the Steeple, beat down the Lead and Roof of the Church above twenty foot ſquare. But that which was more remarkable then either of theſe, happened the ſame night at the Metropolitical Church in the City of *Canterbury*; where one of the Pinacles upon the top of the *Bell-frey* Tower, which carried a vane, with this Archbi-

ſhops

ſhops Arms upon it, was violently ſtruck down, but born a good diſtance from the Steeple, to fall upon the Roof of the Cloyſter under which the Arms of the Archiepiſcopal See it ſelf, were engraven in ſtone; which Arms being broken to pieces by the fall of the other, gave occaſion unto one who loved him not, to collect this Inference, that the *Arms of the preſent Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *breaking down the Arms of the See of* Canterbury, *not only portended his own fall, but the Ruine of the Metropolitcal dignity by the weight thereof.* Of theſe misfortunes, (which ſome men perhaps may call Preſages) he took not ſo much notice, as he did of an accident which happened on St. *Simon* and *Jude's* eve, not above a week before the beginning of the late long Parliament, which drew him to his final Ruine. On which day going into his upper ſtudy to ſend ſome Manuſcripts to *Oxon*, he found his Picture at full Length, and taken as near unto the life as the Penſil was able to expreſs it, to be fallen on the Floor, and lying flat upon its face, the ſtring being broke by which it was hanged againſt the wall. At the ſight whereof he took ſuch a ſudden apprehenſion, that he began to fear it as an *Omen* of that ruine which was coming toward him, and which every day began to be threatned to him, as the Parliament grew nearer and nearer to conſult about it. Which accidents happening one in the neck of another, gave him ſome occaſion to look back on a former misfortune, which chaneed on the 19th of *September* 1633. being the very day of his Tranſlation to the See of *Canterbury*; When the Ferry Boat tranſporting his Coach and Horſes with many of his Servants in it, ſunk to the bottom of the *Thames*. And though he loſt neither Man nor Horſe by the miſadventure, yet much diſcourſe was made upon it, and moſt beheld it, as a ſign of no good Fortune, which ſhould befal him in the courſe of his Future Actions.

But worſe Preſages then all theſe, were the breaking out of divers Plots and Practices againſt him, by the Oppoſite Factions; not only the *Puritans* but the *Papiſts*, conſpiring againſt him, and both Reſolved to bring him to his Fatal end by ſome means or other. The Papiſts which had hope to effect great matters by the Power and Prevalency of the Queen, found the Archbiſhop ſo averſe from their courſes, and the King ſo reſolute in the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed, that they perceived it neceſſary to remove them both out of the way, before any thing could be effected anſwerable to their expectation. A confederacy was formed amongſt them, conſiſting of ſome of the moſt ſubtle heads in the whole Jeſuitical party, by whom it was concluded to foment the broils began in *Scotland*, and to heighten the combuſtions there, that the King being drawn into a War might give them the opportunity to effect their enterpriſe for ſending him and the Archbiſhop to the other World. Which being by one of the party on compunction of Conſcience, made known to *Andreas ab Habernfield*, who had been Chaplain as ſome ſaid to the Queen of *Bohemia*, they both together gave intimation of it, to Sir *William Boſwel*, his Majeſties Reſident at the *Hague*; having firſt bound him by his Oath not to reveal the ſame to any man Living

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but to the Archbiſhop himſelf, and by the Archbiſhop to the King. This ſignified by *Boſwel's* Letters of the 19th of *Septemb.* Together with a general draught of the deſign tranſmitted to *Canterbury* under the hand of *Haberfield* himſelf, the firſt diſcoverer of the plot. On the Receipt of which diſpatches the Archbiſhop giving directions to *Boſwel* to proceed to a further diſcovery of it, ſends the Intelligence with all ſpeed imaginable, by his Letters of the 11th of the ſame Month to the King at *York*; beſeeching nothing more then his ſecreſie in it, that he would not truſt his Pockets with thoſe dangerous Papers; and finally, that he would declare what his Pleaſure was for the Proſecution of the buſineſs. And ſo far both the King and he had very good Reaſon to be ſenſible of the dangers which were threatned to them. But when the large diſcovery was brought unto him tranſmitted in *Boſwel's* letter of the 15th of *October.* he found ſome names in it, which diſcredited the whole Relation as well in his Majeſties Judgment as his own. For beſides this naming of ſome profeſt *Papiſts*, as the Dutches of *Buckingham*, the Gounteſſes of *Arundel* and *Newport*, *Mountague*, *Digby*, and *Winter*, of whoſe Fidelity the King was not willing to have any ſuſpition, he named the Earl of *Arundel*, *Windebank*, Principal Secretary of State, and *Porter* on of the Grooms of the *Bed-Chamber*, whom he charged to be the Kings utter enemies, and ſuch as betrayed his ſecrets to the Popes *Nuncio* upon all occaſions; all which his Majeſty beheld as men of moſt approved Loyalty and affections to him; By reaſon whereof no further credit being given to the Advertiſement, which they had from *Boſwel*, the danger ſo much feared at firſt, became more ſlighted and neglected then conſiſted with his Majeſties ſafety, and the condition of the times which were apt to miſchief; For though the Party who firſt brake the Ice to this Intelligence, might be miſtaken in the names of ſome of the Accomplices, which were intereſſed in the deſign, whoſe Relations unto thoſe of the Church of *Rome* might give ſome ground for the miſtake; yet the calamities which ſoon after fell upon them both, the deplorable death of the Archbiſhop firſt, and his Majeſty afterwards, declare ſufficiently, that there was ſome greater Reality in the Plot then the King was willing to believe. But it had been a Maxime with King *James*, his Father, *That Suſpition was the ſickneſs and diſeaſe of a Tyrant*; which laid him open to all the ſubtle Practices of malicious cunning. And it had been taken up by this King for an *Axiom* alſo, *That it was better to be deceived than to diſtruſt*; which paved a plain and eaſie way to all thoſe misfortunes which in the whole courſe of his Reign, eſpecially for ten years laſt paſt, had been brought upon him.

And as for *Canterbury* himſelf he had ſo many dangers threatned from the *Puritan* Faction as made him bend his whole thoughts to prevent their Practices, who had already declared their Purpoſe towards his Deſtruction. For a brute being maliciouſly ſpread abroad, that the late Parliament had been diſſolved by his Procurement, the Rabble became ſo inflamed, that a Paper was paſted up at the *Exchange*, on *Saturday* the ninth of *May*, adviſing and animating the Apprentices

tices to Sack his House at *Lambeth* on the *Munday* following. This gave him a sufficient warning to expect a storm, and to prepare himself against it; which he did with so much care and courage, that though he was assaulted that night with a confused Raskal Rabble of five hundred persons, yet they were not able either to force the House, or do any visible harm unto it. The next day he procured some pieces of Canon, which he caused to be planted for defence of the great Gate which leads into the house, and strengthened all the lesser doors which opened towards the Garden, and other places; so that there was no danger to be feared from the like alarms, though prudently he withdrew to his Chamber at *Whitehall* till the Rage of the People was blown over. Some of the principal Actors in this Sedition being apprehended and committed to the Goal in *Southwark*, were forcibly delivered by others of their Accomplices, who brake open that and all other Prisons in that *Precinct*; for which one *Benstead*, who appeared in the head of that Riot, was on the 21 of *May* condemned for Treason, and was accordingly drawn, hanged, and quartered, for a terrour to others. Which seasonable Execution put an end to the Outrage, but not to the malice of the People; Libels against him being scattered in most parts of the City. For though about the end of *August* a Paper was dropt in the *Covent Garden*, encouraging the Souldiers and Apprentices to fall upon him in the Kings Absence (his Majesty being then newly gone against the *Scots*) yet there was no Tumult raised upon it; the People standing in more fear of the Hangman than to expose themselves again to the Knife and Halter. Howsoever thinking it as unsafe as it was imprudent to tempt the Rabble to bestow another visit on him at his house in *Lambeth*, he gave order that the *High Commission* should be kept in St. *Pauls*, and he did well and wisely in it. For the Commissioners sitting there, on *Octob.* 22. were violently assaulted by a mixt multitude of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Puritans*, of all sorts to the number of 2000. and upwards, crying out they would have no *Bishops*, nor no *High Commission*. In which Tumult, having frighted away the Judges, Advocates, and Officers of the Court, they brake down all the Seats and Benches which they found in the *Consistory*, putting the King to a new necessity of keeping a Guard upon that *Church*, as before at *Westminster*, not only at the next sitting of the said Commissioners, but at the first meeting of the *Convocation*, which soon after followed. And though one *Quatreman* had appeared in the head of this company, and animated all the rest to commit these insolencies; yet there was nothing done in order to his Punishment or Apprehension; the Party being grown so audacious in their disorders, partly upon the near approach of the Parliament, but principally by the coming in of the *Scots*, that they contemned the Law, and defied the Magistrates.

LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

For the *Scots*, being put into a stock of Reputation by the Kings Recalling of his Forces the year before, had took up store of Arms and Ammunition (as before was said) upon days of Payment. Advertised of his *Majesties* Preparation to make war upon them, and confident of a strong party which they had in *England*, they entred the *Realm* in hostile manner;

PART II. manner, taking in all places of importance which they found in their way. And having put by his Majesties Forces near a place called *Newbourn*, they past over the *Tine*, and presently made themselves Masters of the strong Town of *New-Castle*, by which they put a bridle into the mouths of the *Londoners*, his Majesties Forces looking on, or not very far distant. The news of this Invasion being brought to the King, on *August* 20. he began a Posting Journey towards his Army in the *North*: But he neither found the same men, nor the same affections, as he had so unfortunately discharged the year before. Many of these Souldiers being so ill principled, or so ill perswaded, that in their marchings through the Country they brake into Churches, pulled up the Railes, threw down the Communion Tables, defac'd the Common-Prayer-Books, tore the Surplices, and committed many other Acts of outragious insolence. The chief Command he had entrusted to the Earl of *Northumberland*, whom he had before made Admiral of his Royal Navy for defence of the Kingdom, honoured him with the *Order* of the *Garter*, and made him one of the Lords of his *Privy Council*; so that no greater characters of Power and Favour could be imprinted on a Subject. The Office of Lieutenant General he had committed unto the Earl of *Strafford* Lord *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*, of whose Fidelity and Courage he could make no question; And the Command of the Horse to *Edward* Lord *Conway*, whose Father had been raised by King *James* from a private condition to be one of his principal Secretaries, and a Peer of the Realm. Of which three great Commanders it was observed, that one had sufficient health, but had no will to the business; That another had a good will to it, but wanted health; and that a third had neither the one nor the other. And yet as crasie and infirm as the Earl of *Strafford* found himself, he chearfully undertook the charge of the Army in the Generals absence, and signified by Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he durst venture upon the peril of his head to drive the *Scots* out of *England*: but that he did not hold it Counsellable, as the case then stood. If any other of the Lords had advised the King to try his Fortune in a Battel, he doubted not of sending them home in more haste than they came: but the *Scots* had rendred him unfit to make the motion, for fear it might be thought that he studied more his own Concernments, than he did the Kings.

Anno Dom. 1640.

For these Invadors, finding by whose Counsels his Majesty governed his Affairs, resolved to draw them into discredit, both with Prince and People. And to that end it was declared in a Remonstrance published before their taking Arms, "That their Propositions "and Desires, so necessary and vital unto that Kingdom, could find "no access unto the ears of the gracious King by reason of the powerful Diversion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, who (strengthned with the high and mighty Faction of *Papists* "near his Majesty) did only side in all matters of Temporal and Spiritual affairs; making the necessity of their Service to his Majesty to "appear in being the only fit Instruments (under the pretext of vindicating his Majecties Honour) to oppress both the just Liberties of his

Remonst. of the Scots, p. 7

"his Free Subjects, and the true Reformed Religion in all his King- LIB. IV.
"doms. Seconding this *Remonſtrance* with another Pamphlet, called, *Anno Dom.*
The *Intention* of the Army; they ſignified therein to the good People 1640.
of *England*, that they had no deſign either to waſte their Goods, or ſpoil their Country: but only to become Petitioners to his Sacred Majeſty to call a Parliament, and to bring the ſaid Archbiſhop and Lord *Lieutenant* to their condign Puniſhments. In which thoſe modeſt men expreſs, "That as they deſired the unworthy Authors of their *Intent. of the*
"trouble, who had come out from themſelves, to be tried at home, *Army.* p. 7.
"according to their own Laws; ſo they would preſs no further Pro-
"ceſs againſt *Canterbury*, and the *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*, and the reſt
"of thoſe pernicious Counſellors in *England*, whom they called the
"Authors of all the miſeries of both Kingdoms, than what their own
"Parliament ſhould diſcern to be their juſt deſerving. And that the *Engliſh* might ſee the better whom they chiefly aimed at, a book was publiſhed by the name of *Laudenſium Autocatacriſis*, or the *Canterburians Self-conviction*; in which the Author of it did endeavour to prove, out of the Books, Speeches, and Writings of the Archbiſhop himſelf, as alſo of ſome Biſhops, and other learned men, who had exerciſed their Pens in the late diſputes, That there was a ſtrange deſign in hand for bringing in *Superſtition*, *Popery*, and *Arminianiſm*, to the ſubverſion of the Goſpel, and of ſuppreſſing the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed.

But as theſe Reproaches moved not him, ſo neither did their *Remonſtrance*, or any other of their Scribbles diſtract his Majeſties Reſolutions, until he found himſelf aſſaulted by a Petition from ſome Lords in the South, which threatned more danger at his back than he had cauſe to fear from the Northern Tempeſt which blew directly in his teeth; Complaint was made in this Petition of the many inconveniences which had been drawn upon this Kingdom by his Majeſties engagings againſt the *Scots*; as alſo of the great encreaſe of *Popery*; the preſſing of the preſent payment of *Ship-money*; the diſſolving of former Parliaments; Monopolies, Innovations, and ſome other grievances, amongſt which the *Canons* which were made in the late *Convocation* could not be omitted. For Remedy whereof, his Majeſty is deſired to call a Parliament, to bring the Authors of the ſaid pretended grievances to a legal Trial, and to compoſe the preſent War without Bloudſhed; Subſcribed by the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Hartford*, *Rutland*, *Bedford*, *Exeter*, *Warwick*, *Moulgrave*, and *Bullingbrooke*, the Lords *Say*, *Mandevil*, *Brooke*, and *Howard*; preſented to the King at *York* on the third of *September*; and ſeconded by another from the *City* of *London* to the ſame effect. His Majeſty, being thus between two Milſtones, could find no better way to extricate himſelf out of theſe perpexlities, than to call the great Council of his Peers, to whom at their firſt meeting, on the 24 of the ſame Month, he ſignified his purpoſe to hold a Parliament in *London* on the third of *November*; and by their Counſel entertained a Treaty with thoſe of *Scotland*, who building on the confidence which they had in ſome Lords of *England*, had petitioned for it. According unto which Advice a Commiſſion

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

miſſion is directed to eight Earls, and as many Barons of the Engliſh Nation, (ſeven of which had ſubſcribed the former Petition) enabling them to treat with the *Scots* Commiſſioners, to hear their Grievances and Demands, and to report the ſame to his Majeſty, and the Lords of his Council. Theſe points being gained, which the *Puritan* Faction in both Kingdoms had chiefly aimed at, the *Scots* were inſolent enough in their Propoſals, requiring freedom of Commerce, Reparation of their former Loſſes, and moſt eſpecially the maintenance of their Army at the charge of the *Engliſh*; without which no Ceſſation would be harkned to. Satisfaction being given them in their laſt Demand, and good Aſſurances for the two firſt, they decline *York*, as being unſafe for their Commiſſioners, and procure *Rippon* to be named, for the place of the Treaty; where the Lord Lieutenant was of leſs influence then he was at *York*; and where being further from the King, they might ſhuffle the Cards, and play the Game to their beſt contentment. The reſt of *October*, from the end of the firſt week of it, when they excepted againſt *York*, was drilled on, in requiring that ſome perſons of quality, intruſted by the *Scottiſh* Nation, might have more Offices than he had about his Majeſty, and the Queen, and in the Court of the Prince. That a Declaration might be made for naturallizing and ſettling the Capacities and mutual Priviledges of the Subjects in both Kingdoms: but chiefly that there might be an Unity and Uniformity in Church-Government, as a ſpecial means for conſerving of the Peace between the two Nations. And thus they entertained the time till the beginning of the Parliament, which removed the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, where the *Scots* were ſure of more Friends, and of warmer Quarters, than the Northern Counties could afford them.

In the mean time it may be asked what became all this while of the *Iriſh* Army, conſiſting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, which had been raiſed with ſo much zeal by the Earl of *Strafford* at the beginning of the Spring; and by the Power whereof (kept ever ſince in conſtant pay and continual exerciſe) his Majeſty might have reduced the *Scots* to their due obedience, as was declared by the Earl at the Council Table on *May* 6. being the next day after the diſſolving of the former Parliament. Which Army if it had been put over into *Cumberland* (to which from the Port of *Carick fergus* in *Ireland* is but a ſhort and eaſie paſſage) they might have got upon the back of the *Scots*, and caught the wretched People in a pretty Pitfall; ſo that having the *Engliſh* Army before them, and the *Iriſh* behind them, they could not but be ground to powder as between two Milſtones. But this deſign, if it were ever thought of, was never put in execution; ſo as that Army was diſſolved without doing any thing in order to his Majeſties Service: the Commons in the following Parliament not thinking themſelves or their affairs in any ſecurity as long as thoſe Forces were maintained and held together. It may be askt in the next place, why the Parliament, called at ſuch a time, and on ſuch an occaſion, (that is to ſay, the over-running of the Northern parts of the Kingdom by a *Scottiſh* Army) ſhould be held at *Weſtminſter*; when *York* (where the King

King was then in Perſon) lay nearer to the danger and the Scene of Action, and to the place of Treaty betwixt the Nations. Theſe Reaſons were ſufficient to have moved the King to hold this Parliament at *York*, and not at *Weſtminſter*, had he known nothing of the diſſaffections and engagements of the neighbouring City, as he knew too much. And he had ſome good Preſidents too, which might have added no ſmall weight to the conſideration: For when King *Edward* was buſie in the Conqueſt of *Wales*, he called his Parliament to *Acton Burnel*, being in the *Marches* of that Country; and when he turned his Forces to the Conqueſt of *Scotland*, he called his Parliament to *Carliſle* (if my memory fail me not) being on the borders of that Kingdom. Had the King made choice of the like Place for this preſent Parliament (which he did afterward endeavour to alter when it was too late (he had undoubtedly prevented all thoſe inconveniences (or rather miſchiefs) which the Pride, Purſe, Faction, and Tumultuouſneſs of the *Londoners*, did afterwards inforce upon him. And finally, It might be asked, What might move his Majeſty to transfer the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, where the Commiſſioners of the *Scots* were Complemented, Feaſted, and preſented by the wanton Citizens; Their Lodgings more frequented for Prayers and Sermons, than the houſes of Foreign Embaſſadors had ever been for hearing *Maſs* by any of the *Engliſh Papiſts*. By means whereof they had the greater opportunity to enflame that City, and make it capable of any impreſſion which they thought fit to imprint upon it; expreſt not long after by their going down in ſuch huge multitudes after Alderman *Pennington*, to preſent a Petition to the Parliament, ſubſcribed by ſome Thouſands of hands againſt the Government of Biſhops here by Law eſtabliſht; as afterwards in no leſs number to clamour at the Parliament doors for Juſtice on the Earl of *Strafford*, which were the points moſt aimed at by the *Scottiſh* Covenanters. To which no Anſwer can be given, but that all theſe things were ſo diſpoſed of by the ſupreme and over-ruling power of the Heavenly Providence, contrary to all reaſon of State, and Civil Prudence.

But to proceed, the third of *November* drawing on, when the Parliament was to take beginning, A Letter was writ to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, advertiſing, that the Parliament of the twentieth year of King *Henry* viii. which began in the Fall of Cardinal *Wolſey*, continued in the Diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Clergy, and ended in the diſſolution of the *Abbeys* and Religious Houſes, was begun on the third day of *November*; and therefore that for good-luck ſake he would move the King to Reſpite the firſt ſitting of it for a day or two longer; But the Archbiſhop not harkning to this Advertiſement, the Parliament had its firſt ſitting at the time appointed. Which Parliament as it began in the Fall and Ruine of the Archbiſhop himſelf, and was continued in the total Diſſipation of the remaining *Rites* and Priviledges of the *Engliſh* Clergy; ſo did it not end till it had ſubverted the *Epiſcopal* Government, diſſolved, as much as in them was, all *Capitular* Bodies, and left the *Cathedrals* of this Land (not preſently ruined I confeſs, but) without means to keep them up

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640. for the time to come. The day appointed being come, his Majesty declined the accustomed way of riding in a Magnificent Pomp from *Whitehall* to the Church of *Westminster*, and making his entry there at the great Western Gate: but rather chose to pass thither privately by water, attended by such of the Lords as could accommodate themselves with convenient Barges. Entring the Church at the Little door which openeth toward the East, he was received by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries under a Canopy of State, and so conducted to the place where he heard the Sermon; the performance of which work was commended by his Grace of *Canterbury* to the Bishop of *Oxon.* and by him learnedly discharged. The Sermon being done, his Majesty, attended by the Peers and Prelates, returned the same way to *Westminster Hall*, and from thence went to the Parliament House; where causing the Commons to be called before him, he acquainted both Houses with the Insolencies committed by the *Scots*, who not content to embroyle their own Country had invaded this; requiring their timely assistants to drive the Rebels out of the Kingdom, and casting himself upon the good affections of his *English Subjects*. The Commons were not more willing to hear that his Majesty was resolved to cast himself wholly on their good affections, than many zealous Patriots seemed to be troubled at it; knowing how ill it sorts with Kings when they have no way to subsist, or carry on their great Designs, but by casting themselves wholly on the love of the People. These on the other side were no better pleased with hearing his Majesty call the *Scots* by the name of *Rebels*, whom he had too long courted by the name of his *Scottish Subjects*, than the Prevailing Members in the House of Commons were offended at it; the name of *Rebels* rendring them uncapable of those many Favours which were designed them by that House. And the displeasure went so high, that his Majesty finding into what condition he had cast himself, was fain to call both Houses before him within two days after, (*a*) there to Explain, or rather to Retract so harsh a Title, calling them afterwards by the name of his *Subjects* of *Scotland*, as he used to do; which gave the Commons such a sense of their Power, and of his Compliance, that they resolved to husband both to their best advantage, and not so easily to part with their Friends of *Scotland*, as his Majesty first hoped they would. The differences might have been agreed at *York* or *Rippon*, if the Commissioners of the *Scots* had been as forward as the *English*; but the *Scot so delayed them* (as his Majesty noted in that Speech) *that it was not possible to end it there.* The *Scots* had other work to do besides their own, and must be kept in pay at the charge of the *English*, till they had brought his Majesty into such a condition, that it was not safe for him to deny them any thing, which they had the confidence to require. Such a beginning had this long and unhappy Parliament, unhappy to the King, and to all that loved his Power or Person; most men who looked on his Affairs with the eye of Judgment, presaging that this thrifty omission of the Publick Pomp in the present Conjunctures, would prove as inauspicious to him as the like neglect had done at his Coronation; and that this Parliament which began without solem-

(a) *Reliquiæ Carolinæ*, p. 3.

ſolemnity would prove a Parliament of ſorrows unto him and his.

With little better Fortune did the Convocation take beginning at St. *Pauls* Church on the morrow after, handſelled at their firſt meeting by the ſad news of the Deceaſe of Dr. *Neile*, Archbiſhop of *York*, which had been brought unto the Town the day before. A man he was who had paſt through all Degrees and *Orders* in the Church of *England*, and thereby made acquainted with the conveniencies, or diſtreſſes, incident to all conditions. He had ſerved the Church as Schoolmaſter, Curate, Vicar, Parſon, Maſter of the *Savoy*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Clerk of the Cloſet to both Kings ſucceſſively, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Lichfield*, *Lincoln*, *Durham*, and *Wincheſter*, and finally, Archbiſhop of *York*, in which place he died. Many good Offices he had done to the Church and Church-men in his attendance at the Court, croſſing the *Scots* in moſt of their ſuits, their Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, which greedily and ambitiouſly they hunted after, and thereby drawing on himſelf the general hatred not only of the *Scots*, but *Scotizing Engliſh*. But of this Prelate we have ſpoke ſo much upon other occaſions, that we may ſave the labour of any further addition, than that he died as full of years as he was of honours, an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful Patron to his Chaplains, and a true friend to all which relied upon him; more fortunate in the time of his death than the courſe of his life, in being prevented by that bleſſed opportunity from ſeeing thoſe calamities which afterwards fell upon the King, the Church, and all that wiſh well to either of them; which muſt have been more grievous to him than a thouſand deaths. But this bad news retarded not the Convocation from proceeding forwards, the Prelates and Clergy attending the Archbiſhop from the Chapter-houſe into the Choire, where they heard the Sermon, Preached at the time by *Bargrave* then Dean of *Canterbury*; which done, the Clergy ſetled to the choice of a Prolocutor, electing the ſame man who had before diſcharged the Place with ſo much dexterity. Adjourned to *Weſtminſter*, and Proteſtation made by the Sub-Dean and Prebends, according to the uſual cuſtom, the Prolocutor was preſented to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops in the Chappel of King *Henry* vii. at what time the Archbiſhop in an eloquent but ſad Oration, bemoaned the infelicities which he ſaw hanging over the Church, adviſing every one there preſent to perform their Duties, and not to be wanting to themſelves, or the cauſe of Religion, as far forth as they were concerned in their ſeveral places. Nothing more done of any moment in this Convocation, but that a motion was made by *Warmſtre*, one of the Clerks for the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, to this effect; *viz.* That they ſhould endeavour (according to the *Levitical* Laws) *to cover the Pit which they had opened*, and to prevent their Adverſaries intention by condemning ſuch offenſive Canons as were made in the laſt Convocation. He had before offered at many things in that Convocation, but ſuch was his ill-luck, that the Vote was for the moſt part paſſed before he ſpake; nor had he better fortune in his motion now, than his offers then, the Members of that houſe not being willing to condemn themſelves till they were accuſed. So that not having

PART II. *Anno Dom* 1640. having any other way to obtain his purpoſe, he cauſed a long Speech, which he had made upon this occaſion, to be put in Print; bitter enough againſt ſome Canons and Proceedings in the former Seſſion: but ſuch as could not ſave him from a Sequeſtration, when the reſt of the Clergy were brought under the ſame condition.

Whilſt theſe thing were acting on the Stage of *Weſtminſter*, the Earl of *Strafford* was not Idle in acting his part at *York*, amongſt the Souldiers, whoſe affections he had gained ſo far, that he was generally beheld with eſteem and veneration. He had before ſufficient proof, how ſtrongly the *Scots* aimed at his deſtruction, expreſſed in their Remonſtrance, and the *Intentions* of their Army, (as they called the Pamphlet) but more eſpecially by the refuſal of the *Scots* Commiſſioners to hold the Treaty at *York*, and the reaſons given for their refuſal; for in a Paper of theirs, preſented on *October* 8. *They had inſiſted on the danger apprehended by them in going to* York, *and caſting themſelves and others, who might be joyned with them, into the hands of an Army commanded by the Lord* Lieutenant *of* Ireland, *againſt whom (as a chief Incendiary according to their demands, which was the ſubject of the Treaty it ſelf) they reſolved to proceed.* They complained alſo in that Paper, That in the Parliament of *Ireland*, he had proceeded againſt them as *Traytor and Rebels*; That he honoured them in his common talk with no better Titles: That his Commiſſion was to deſtroy them; And that by all means, and by all occaſions, he had hindred all Propoſitions tending to a Pacification, for fear himſelf might be excluded from the benefit of it. He was not without a ſtrong preſumption, that the *Scots* were animated unto thoſe Demands, and incouraged to invade the Kingdom, by ſome of thoſe which were of greateſt Prevalency in both Houſes of Parliament. And lying ſo near the *Scots*, in the head of his Army, he had not only gained aſſurance (as he conceived) in many particulars to confirm it, but that there was a Confederacy made between the Heads of the *Covenanters* and ſome of the leading Members of both Houſes, his moſt Capital Enemies, to ſubject the Government of the Church, and innovate in that of the Civil State; which Intelligence being digeſted into the Form of an Impeachment, he intended to preſent to the Houſe of Peers as ſoon as he had taken his place amongſt them: and to that end prepared for his laſt Journey to *London*, from whence he never was to return alive. Calling together ſome of his eſpecial Friends, and many of the chief Officers and Commanders which remained in the Army, he made them acquainted with his purpoſe of going to *Weſtminſter* to attend the Parliament, leaving to them the Charge of his Majeſties Forces, and the preſerving of thoſe parts from the ſpoyl of the Enemy. An Enterpriſe from which he was diſſwaded by moſt of his Friends, alledging that he could not chuſe but know, that the *Scots*, and *Scotizing Engliſh* had moſt infalliby reſolved on his deſtruction; and that innocency was no Armour of Proof againſt the fiery Darts of malicious Power; That ſeeing ſuch a ſtorm hang over his head, rather keep himſelf in the *Engliſh* Army, (being under his Command, which he had gained upon exceedingly

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by his noble carriage) or paſs over into *Ireland*, where the Army reſted wholly at his Devotion; or tranſport himſelf to ſome Foreign Kingdom, till fairer weather here (in reference to his own ſafety and the publick peace) ſhould invite him home; That it was no betraying of his innocency to decline a Trial where Partiality held the Scales, and Self-ends backt with Power, and made blind with Prejudice, were like to over-ballance Juſtice; That if Sentence ſhould be paſſed againſt him for default of appearance (which was the worſt that could befal him) yet he would then keep his head on his ſhoulders until better times, and in the mean ſeaſon might do his Majeſty as good Service in the Courts of many Foraign Princes, as if he were ſitting in *White-hall* at the Council-Table. LIB. IV. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

Turning a deaf ear to theſe conſiderations, he Reſolved to proſecute his deſign, but was ſcarce entred into the Houſe of Peers, when followed at the heels by *Pym* (whom it concerned as much as any) who fearing or knowing his intendments, impeacht him of high Treaſon, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, requiring in their names that he might be ſequeſtred from the Houſe, and Committed to Cuſtody. And here again it was conceived that the Earl ſhewed not that *præſentiam animi*, that readineſs of Courage and Reſolution, which formerly had conducted him through ſo many difficulties, in giving over his deſign; For though he loſt the opportunity of ſtriking the firſt blow, yet he had time enough to ſtrike the ſecond, which might have been a very great Advantage to his preſervation. For had he offered his impeachment, and proſecuted it in the ſame paces and method as that was, which was brought againſt him, it is poſſible enough that the buſineſs on both ſides might have been huſhed up without hurt to either. And for ſo doing he wanted not a fair Example in the ſecond Parliament of this King, when the Earl of *Briſtol* being impeached of high Treaſon by the Kings Attorney at the inſtance and procurement of the Duke of *Buckingham*, retorted preſently a recrimination or impeachment againſt the Duke, and by that means took off the edge of that great Adverſary from proceeding further. Nor gave it little cauſe of wonder unto many wiſe men, that a perſon of ſo great Spirit and knowledge, ſhould give himſelf up ſo tamely on a general accuſation only, without any particular Act of Treaſon charged upon him, or any proof offered to make good that charge; not only to the loſs of his Liberty as a private Perſon: but to the forfeiture of his Priviledge as a Member of Parliament. But the impeachment being made, his Reſtraint deſired, and nothing by him offered to the Contrary, he was committed the ſame day (*Novemb.* 11.) to the Cuſtody of the Gentleman *Uſher*, called the Black-rod, and not long after to the Tower; Sir *George Retcliff* one of his eſpecial confidents, being preſently ſent for out of *Ireland* by a Serjeant at Arms, as concriminal with him. In this condition he remained, till the 16th of *December*, without any particular Charge againſt him; Which at the laſt was brought into the Houſe of Peers by the *Scots*, and preſented in their Names by Lord *Paget* one of the Members of that Houſe. In which they did inform againſt him, in reference

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reference to matters which concerned Religion, that in promoting the late pretended Innovations he had been as forward as *Canterbury* himself; and to that end had preferred his Chaplain *Bramhall* to the See of *Derrie*, and *Chappel* to the Colledge of *Dublin*; that he had threatned to burn the Articles of *Ireland*, agreed upon in Convocation *Anno* 1615. by the hand of the Hangman, and would not hearken to the *Primate*, when he desired a Ratification of them by Act of Parliament, for preventing and suppressing the said Innovations; that he countenanced divers books against them and their Covenant, which were Printed at *Dublin*, and caused all Persons above the age of sixteen years, to abjure the said Covenant by a solemn Oath, or otherwise to be Imprisoned or to flye that Kingdom; that at his last coming into *England* he had openly said, that if ever he returned unto the Honourable Sword he would not leave any of the *Scots* in that Kingdom, their Root or Branch; and that he did advise the great Council of Peers assembled at *York*, to send them back again in their own blood, and that he might whip them out of *England*.

In further pursuance of this Charge, it was prest against him in the Articles Exhibited by the House of Commons on the 16th of *February* (for so long it was, before he heard any more news from them) That he maintained a correspondence with the *Papists* of *Ireland*, endeavoured to raise hostility between *England* and *Scotland*, and had consented to the betraying of *New-Castle* into the hands of the *Scots*; to the end that the *English* being netled by so great a loss, might be more Cordially engaged in the War against them; that he gave a Warrant under his hand to some Bishops in the Church of *Ireland*, and their Chancellors and other Officers, to arrest the Bodies of such of the meaner sort, as after Citation, should refuse to appear before them, or should refuse to undergo and perform all lawful decrees and sentences, given or issued out against them, and the said persons to keep in the next Common Gaol, till their Submission to the said Orders and Decrees, and otherwise shew some Reason to the Contrary to the Lords of the Counsel; that in the Month of *May* in the year 1639. he caused a new Oath to be contrived, Enforced especially upon those of the *Scottish* Nation in the Realm of *Ireland*, by which the party was obliged to Renounce the Covenant, and to swear that he would not *Protest* against any of his Majesties Royal Commands, but submit himself in all obedience thereunto, and had put divers grievous fines upon many of them on their Refusal of the same; that he required the like Oath for the Observation of all Rites and Ceremonies then established, or from thenceforth to be established, by the Kings Authority, saying, that he would prosecute all Repugners of them to the very Blood. The Rest of the Articles relating unto Civil matters I omit of purpose, as neither being pertinent or proper to my Present History; observing only in this place, that for the better carrying on of their charge against him, they had gained two points, more necessary to be craved than fit to be granted; The first was (which they carried in the House of Lords by a Major Vote) that no Bishop should be of that Committee for the Preparatory Examinations in the pre-

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ſent caſe, under colour that they were excluded from acting in it by ſome Antient Canons, as *in Cauſa ſanguinis*, or the cauſe of blood; concerning which a brief diſcourſe entituled *De jure Paritatis Epiſcoporum*, was preſented to his Grace of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Biſhops for aſſerting all their Rights of *Peerage* (and this of being of that Committee amongſt the reſt) which either by Law or Ancient Cuſtom did belong unto them. The ſecond was that the Lords of the Council ſhould be examined upon Oath, for any thing which was ſaid or done by the Earl of *Strafford* at the Council Table, Which being yielded by the King; though tending viſibly to the Derogation of his Power, and the diſcouragement of all ſuch as either were or ſhould be of his Privy Council, the Archbiſhop was acccordingly Examined on *December* 4th being the next day after the ſaid Condeſcenſion. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

Nor was it long before the like Oath was required and obtained by them againſt the Archbiſhop himſelf, being the next man whom the *Scots* and their Confederates in both houſes, had an eye upon. He knew there was ſome danger coming toward him by the ſaid combination, but thought not at the firſt it would reach ſo far, as to touch his Life. The moſt he looked for, as he told the Author of theſe Collections on the ſecond or third day after the beginning of the Parliament, was to be ſequeſtred from his Majeſties Councils, and confin'd to his Dioceſs, to which he profeſt himſelf as willing as any of his Enemies were deſirous of it. As it ſeems his Enemies at the firſt had no further thoughts. For it appeareth by a paſſage in his *Diary*, that on *Thurſday December* 24. four Earls of Great Power in the Upper Houſe declared unto a Parliament man, that they were reſolved to Sequeſter him only from the Kings Council, and deprived him of the Archiepiſcopal dignity, and no more then ſo; which though it were too much, and ſavoured of two little Juſtice to ſo be reſolved before any particular charge was brought againſt him: yet I conſider as an Argument of their firſt intentions, that they aimed not at his Life, but at his removal. In order whereunto it was thought expedient, that his Majeſty ſhould be moved to releaſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* from his long Impriſonment, and to reſtore him to his place in the houſe of Peers; knowing full well how Active an Inſtrument they were ſure to find him, by reaſon of ſome former grudges, not only againſt the Archbiſhop but the Earl of *Strafford*. Which motion being made and granted he was conducted into the Abby Church by ſix of the Biſhops, and there officiated (it being a day of Humiliation) as Dean of *Weſtminſter*; more honoured at the firſt by the Lords and Commons, then ever any of his Order, his perſon looked upon as Sacred, his words deemed as Oracles. And be continued in this height, till having ſerved their turn againſt the Archbiſhop, and the Lord Lieutenant, he began ſenſibly to decline, and grew at laſt to be generally the moſt hated man of all the *Hierarchy*. Orders are alſo made by the Houſe of Commons for releaſing ſuch as were Impriſoned by the *Star-Chamber*, *Council-Table*, or *High-Commiſſion*; and more particularly for the remanding of *Baſtwick*, *Prynne*, and *Burton*, from the ſeveral Iſlands,

to

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to which they were before confined. Upon which general Goal-delivery, *Burton* and *Prynne* had ſo contrived it as to come together, met on their way as far as *Brainford* by ſome thouſands of the *Puritan* Faction out of *London*, and *Southwark*, and by them ſilently conducted with Bays and Roſemary in their hands, to their ſeveral Houſes to the Intolerable affront of the Courts of Juſtice, and his Majeſties Government, his Majeſty conniving at the inſolency or not daring to puniſh it. Not well repoſed after the toil and trouble of ſo long a journey, *Prynne*, joyns himſelf with *Bagſhaw* before remembred, and both together are admitted to a private conference with the Biſhop of *Lincoln* in the beginning of *December*, which boded no great good to the Church or State, or any who had formerly appeared in defence of either.

Theſe preparations being made, the Project was carried on a main; For on the 16th of that month the Canons made in the late Convocation, were condemned in the Houſe of Commons, as being againſt the *Kings Prerogative, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and containing divers other things tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence.* A Vote was alſo paſt for making *Canterbury* the Principal Author of the ſaid Canons; for a Committee to be nominated to enquire into all his former Actions; and for preparing a Bill againſt all thoſe of the ſaid Convocation by whom theſe Canons were ſubſcribed: but the ſorrows of that day, did not end there neither. For on the ſame, a charge was laid againſt him in the houſe of Peers by the *Scots* Commiſſioners (that being the day in which they had accuſed the Earl of *Strafford*) for doing ill offices, and being an Incendiary between the Nations. And in purſuance of the plot, on *Friday* the 18th of the ſame Moneth, he was Impeacht by *Hollis* in the name of all the Commons of *England*, of no leſs then Treaſon; and thereupon, without any particular charge againſt him, he was committed to the cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher, leave only being granted him, to repair to his houſe at *Lambeth*, for the Collecting of ſuch Papers as were neceſſary for his Juſtification. At *Maxwells* houſe (for ſo was the Uſher of the Black-Rod called) he remained ten weeks, before ſo much as any General charge againſt him, was brought up to the Lords. During which time he gained ſo much on the good opinion of the Gentlewoman of the Houſe, that ſhe reported him to ſome of her Goſſips, to be one of the goodeſt men, and moſt Pious Souls, but with all one of the ſillieſt fellows to hold talk with a Lady that ever ſhe met with in all her life. On the 26 of *Feb.* This charge was brought up to the Lords by *Vane* the younger, conſiſting of fourteen General Articles, which Generals he craved time to prove in particular; and thereupon a Vote was paſſed for tranſmitting the Priſoner to the Tower, with leave however to remain at *Maxwell's* till the *Munday* following. Which day being come, he was conveyed in *Maxwell's* Coach without any diſturbance, till he came to the end of *Cheapſide*, from whence he was followed by a railing Rabble of rude and uncivil People, to the very Gates of the Tower: Where having taken up his Lodging, and ſetled his ſmall Family

Family in Convenient Rooms, he diligently reſorted to the publick Chappel of that place at all times of Worſhip, being preſent at the Prayers and Sermons, and ſometimes hearing himſelf uncivilly reviled, and pointed at as it were, by ſome factious Preachers, ſent thither of purpoſe to diſgrace and vex him. All which Indignities he endured with ſuch Chriſtian meekneſs, as rendred him one of the great Examples both of Patience and Piety in theſe latter Times. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1640.

The principal things contained in the Charge of the *Scots* Commiſſioners, were theſe that follow; *viz. That he had preſs'd upon that Kirk many Innovations in Religion, contained in the Liturgie and Book of Canons, contrary to the Liberties and Laws thereof; That he had written many Letters to* Ballentine *Biſhop of* Dumblane, *and Dean of the Kings Chappel in* Scotland, *in which he required him and the reſt of the Biſhops to be preſent at the Divine Service in their* Whites, *and blamed the ſaid Biſhop for his negligence and ſlackneſs in it, and taxing him for Preaching Orthodox Doctrine againſt* Arminianiſm; *That he had cauſed the ſaid Biſhop to be reprehended for commanding a Solemn Faſt to be kept in his Dioceſs on the Lords day, as if they had offended in it againſt Chriſtianity it ſelf; That he gave order for the taking down of Stone Walls and Galleries in the Churches of* Edenborough, *to no other end but for the ſetting up of Altars, and Adoration toward the Eaſt; That for their Supplicating againſt theſe Novations, they were encountred by him with terrible Proclamations from his Majeſty, declared Rebels in all the Pariſh-Churches of* England, *and a War kindled againſt them by his Arts and Practices; That after the* Pacification *made at* Berwick, *he frequently ſpake againſt it as diſhonourable, and unfit to be kept; their Covenant by him called ungodly, and divers Oaths impoſed upon their Countrymen to abjure the ſame; That he ſpared not in the preſence of the King and their Commiſſioners to rail againſt the General Aſſembly held at* Glaſco, *and put his Hand unto a Warrant for Impriſoning ſome of thoſe Commiſſioners, ſent from the Parliament of* Scotland *for the Peace of both Nations; That when the late Parliament could not be moved to aſſiſt in the War againſt them, he had cauſed the ſame to be diſſolved, and continued the Convocation to make Canons againſt them and their Doctrines, to be publiſhed four times in every year; That he had cauſed ſix Subſidies to be Levied on the Clergie for maintaining the War, and Prayer to be made in all Pariſh-Churches,* That ſhame might cover their faces, as Enemies to God and the King: *And finally, That he was ſo induſtrious in advancing* Popery *in all the three Kingdoms, that the Pope himſelf could not have been more Popiſh, had he been in his place.* Such was the Charge exhibited by the *Scots* Commiſſioners; in which was nothing criminal enough to deſerve Impriſonment, much leſs to threaten him with Death. And as for that brought up from the Houſe of Commons, it conſiſted of fourteen General Articles, as before was ſaid, uſhered in with a ſhort Preamble made by *Pym*, and ſhut up with a larger Aggravation of the Offences comprehended in the ſeveral Articles; the ſubſtance of which Articles was to this effect: 1. *That he had Traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and to*

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perſwade his Majeſty, That he might Lawfully raiſe Money of the Subject, without their common Conſent in Parliament. 2. *That to this end he had cauſed divers Sermons to be Preached, and Books to be Printed, againſt the Authority of Parliaments, and for aſſerting an abſolute and unlimited Power over the Perſons and Goods of the Subjects, to be not only in the King, but alſo in himſelf and the reſt of the Biſhops; and had been a great Promoter of ſuch by whom the ſaid Books and Sermons had been made and publiſhed.* 3. *That by ſeveral Meſſages, Letters, Threatnings,* &c. *he had interrupted and perverted the Courſe of Juſtice in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *whereby ſundry of his Majeſties Subjects had been ſtopp'd in their juſt Suits, and thereby made ſubject to his will.* 4. *That he had traiterouſly and corruptly ſold Juſtice to ſuch as had Cauſes depending before him, and taken unlawful Gifts and Bribes of his Majeſties Subjects; and had adviſed and procured his Majeſty to ſell Places of Judicature and other Offices.* 5. *That he had cauſed a Book of Canons to be Compoſed and Publiſhed without lawful Authority, in which were many things contained contrary to the Kings Prerogative, the Fundamental Laws,* &c. *and had cauſed many of the ſame to ſurreptitiouſly paſſed, and afterwards by fear and compulſion to be ſubſcribed by the Prelates and Clerks there aſſembled, notwithſtanding they had never been Voted and Paſſed in the Convocation.* 6. *That he hath aſſumed to him a Papal and Tyrannical Power, both in Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Matters, over his Majeſties Subjects in this Realm, and other places, to the diſheriſon of the Crown, diſhonour of his Majeſty, and derogation of his Supreme Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Matters.* 7. *That he had endeavoured to alter and ſubvert Gods true Religion, by Law eſtabliſhed in this Realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet up Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry; and to that end had maintained many Popiſh Doctrines, enjoyned many Popiſh and Superſtitious Ceremonies, and cruelly vexed and perſecuted ſuch as refuſed to conform unto them.* 8. *That in order thereunto he had intruded into the Rights of many of his Majeſties Officers and Subjects, in procuring to himſelf the Nomination of divers Perſons to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; and had taken upon him the commendation of Chaplains to the King, promoting and commending none but ſuch as were Popiſhly affected, or otherwiſe unſound in Doctrine, or corrupt in Manners.* 9. *That to the ſame intent he had choſen ſuch men to be his Chaplains, whom he knew to be notoriouſly diſaffected to the Reformed Religion; and had committed unto them, or ſome of them, the Licenſing of Books to be Printed, whereby many falſe and Superſtitious Books had been Publiſhed, to the great ſcandal of Religion, and the ſeducing of many of his Majeſties Subjects.* 10. *That he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of* England *to the Church of* Rome, *confederating to that end with divers Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuites, holding Intelligence with the Pope, and permitting a Popiſh Hierarchy or Eccleſiaſtical Government to be eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom.* 11. *That in his own Perſon, and by others under his Command, he had cauſed divers Godly and Orthodox Miniſters of Gods Word to be Silenced, Suſpended, and otherwiſe grieved, without any lawful or juſt cauſe, hindred the Preaching of Gods Word, cheriſhed Prophaneneſs and Ignorance amongſt the People, and compelled many of his Majeſties Subjects to forſake the Kingdom.*

Kingdom. 12. *That he had endeavoured to cause discord between the Church of* England, *and other Reformed Churches; and to that end had suppressed and abrogated the Priviledges and Immunities which had been by his Majesty and his Royal Ancestors granted to the* Dutch *and* French *Churches in this Kingdom.* 13. *That he had endeavoured to stir up War between his Majesties Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland; *and to that end had laboured to introduce into the Kingdom of* Scotland *divers Innovations both in Religion and Government: for their refusing whereof, he first advised his Majesty to subdue them by force of Arms, and afterwards to break the Pacification made between the Kingdoms; forcing the Clergie to contribute toward the Maintenance of the War.* 14. *And finally, That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his traiterous courses, he had laboured to divert the ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments.* This was the substance of the Charge, to which afterwards they added other which were more Particulars, when they found themselves ready for his Tryal, *Anno* 1644. and there we shall hear further of them. I note here only by the way, That one of those which had been added to make up the Tale, and create a greater hatred of him, as *selling Justice, taking Bribes*, &c. (for which never any Man of Place and Power was more clearly innocent) was found so far unfit for a Prosecution, that it was suppressed. An excellent Evidence of his Integrity and Uprightness, in such a long continued course of Power and Favour.

But Sorrows seldom come alone. The Danger first, and afterwards the questioning of so great a Prelate, left the Church open to the Assaults of a potent Faction, and the poor Clergy destitute of a constant Patron. The first Assault against the Church, was made at St. *Margarets* Church in *Westminster*, on a day of Publick Humiliation, *November* 17. the same on which the Bishop of *Lincoln* was re-estated with such Triumph in the *Abby-Church*: At what time the Minister Officiating the Second Service at the Communion-Table, according to the ancient Custom, was unexpectedly interrupted by the naming and singing of a Psalm, to the great amazement of all sober and well-minded men. And at the Meeting of some *Anabaptists* to the number of 80. at a House in *Southwark*, it was Preached, That the Statute 35 *Eliz. for restraining the Queens Majesties Subjects in their due Obedience*, was no good Law, because made by Bishops; striking at once both at the *Liturgie* and Government of the Church by Law established. The Bishops left out of the Committee for Examinations, in the business of the Earl of *Strafford*; and in all other Committees, by the fraud and artifice of the Clerk of the Parliament, not named in such proportion to the Temporal Peers, as had been accustomed. The same Clerk at the Reading of such Bills as came into that House, turned his back toward them in disdain, that they might not distinctly hear what he read; as if their consenting or dissenting to the point in question, had been judged unnecessary. And to prepare the way the better for their Declination, *Pennington* attended by some hundreds of the Raskle Rabble, presents a Petition to the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1640. Commons, in the name of the City of *London*, ſubſcribed by 15000 hands of ſeveral qualities, moſt of them indigent in Eſtate, and of known diſaffections to the preſent Government. In which Petition it was prayed, That the Government of Biſhops might be aboliſhed; That Rites and Ceremonies might be preſs'd no longer upon the conſciences of the weak; and that many other things at which they found themſelves grieved, might be alſo abrogated. After which followed many bitter Speeches made againſt them by the Lord *Faulkland*, *Bagſhaw*, *White*, and others, in the Houſe of Commons; by the Lords *Say* and *Brook* in the Houſe of Peers; by *Brook* alone in a Printed Pamphlet, in which he reproacheth them as born of the Dregs of the People: the names of the Lords Spiritual being deſpitefully left out of all Bills which paſſed this Seſſion, to ſhew how inſignificant they were in an Act of Parliament. And all this ſeconded by many Petitions of like nature, in the name of many whole Counties and Populous Cities, and in their names preſented to the Houſes of Parliament; though the ſaid Petitions, for the moſt part, were never either ſeen or heard of by the greateſt and moſt conſiderable number of thoſe in whoſe names they were ſubſcribed. Which coming to his Majeſties knowledge, he called both Houſes unto *Whitehall*, *January* 25. "Where he informed "them of the Diſtractions that were then occaſioned through the con-"nivence of the Parliament, there being ſome men who more malici-"ouſly than ignorantly, would put no difference between Reforma-"tion and Alteration of Government; from whence it came, that Di-"vine Service was irreverently interupted, and *Petitions* in an indirect "way procured and preſented; That he was willing to concur with "them for reforming all Innovations both in Church and Common-"wealth, and for reducing all things to the ſame condition in which "they ſtood in the beſt and happieſt times of Queen *Elizabeth*; That "he could not but take notice of many Petitions given in the name "of divers Counties, againſt the eſtabliſhed Government of the "Church; and of the great threatnings againſt the Biſhops. That "they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at leaſt their Voices to "be taken away; That if upon ſerious debate, they could ſhew him "that the Biſhops had ſome Temporal Authority not ſo neceſſary for "the Government of the Church, and upholding Epiſcopal Juriſdi-"ction, he would not be unwilling to deſire them to lay it down: "And finally, If they had encroached too much upon the Tempora-"lity, he was content that all Abuſes of that kind ſhould be redreſs'd; "and that he would go with them ſo far, and no further. And to ſay truth, it concerned the King to look about him, when his own Regal Power, not that of the Biſhops only, was ſo openly ſtrook at; it being Preached by the ſaid *Anabuptiſts* but the Week before, *That he could not make a good Law, becauſe not* PERFECTLY REGENERATE; *and was only to be obeyed in Civil Matters.* But all this little edified with ſuch of the Lords and Commons as had the carrying on of the Plot againſt Epiſcopacy: they found the temper of the King; and having got him on the Anvile, they reſolved to hammer him.

As

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As an Expedient to the Work, it was found necessary to question and disgrace all those, who either had been active in advancing those Publick Orders, which were now branded by the name of Innovations or otherwise industrious in his Majesties Service; some to be sacrificed to the pleasure of particular Persons, others to satisfie the fury or discontentments of the People generally. Of the first sort were *Pocklington* and *Bray*, both Doctors in Divinity; the first of late made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, the second Chaplain of long time to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This last had Licenced two of *Pocklington's* Books, the one being a Sermon Preached at a Visitation before the Bishop of *Lincoln*, the other a Discourse of *Altars*, and the most proper situation of the Lords Table, in which were many Passages against that Bishop: To pacifie which offended *Deity*, *Pocklington* must be sacrificed on his own *Altar*, deprived of all his Preferments at the present, and made uncapable of receiving others for the time to come: *Bray* being enjoyned to Preach a Recantation-Sermon in St. *Margarets* Church, and therein to retract one and thirty Arcles which the Bishop had collected out of those Books, *Heylyn* had been Petitioned against by *Prynne* at his first coming home, as a subservient Instrument (under the Archbishop himself) of all his Sufferings; and was kept four days in Examination: but finally dismiss'd without shame or Censure. *Cosens* (informed against by *Smart* (who had been deprived for his factious Inconformity, of some good Preferments in the Bishoprick and Church of *Durham*) was under a great Storm at first: but being one that would not shrink in the wetting, he stood stoutly to it, and in conclusion was dismissed without any other loss but of Time and Charges. The like happened also unto *Heywood* Vicar of St. *Giles's* in the Fields, *Squire* of St. *Leonard's* in *Shoreditch*, and *Finch* of *Christchurch*. The Articles against which four, and some others more, being for the most part of the same nature and effect, as namely, Railing in the Communion-Table, Adoration toward it, Calling up the Parishioners to the Rail to receive the Sacrament, Reading the Second Service at the Table so placed, Preaching in Surplices and Hoods, Administring the Sacrament in Copes, Beautifying and Adorning Churches with Painted Glass, and others of the like condition; which either were to be held for Crimes in the Clergy generally, or else accounted none in them. And though the Informations were so slight and inconsiderable, that none of those who were impeach'd, could legally be made obnoxious to any Punishment; and that the credit of the Informers, not proved by Oath (which the Commons had no power to give) was the chief ground of their Proceedings: yet that these poor men might appear more monstrous in the eye of the World, the Articles against *Pocklington*, *Cosens*, *Heywood*, *Squire*, *Finch*, *&c.* were ordered to be put in Print, without care taken whether they were true or not. They knew full well, that when dirt was once thrown upon any man, (a) some of it must needs stick upon him, or about his Garments, how careful soever he might be to wipe it off.

(a) *Audaciter calumniare, necesse est aliquid hæreat.*

This course they also held with the Bishop of *Ely*, impeaching him 1641

of

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Report of the Com. againſt Wren.

of many pretended Miſdemeanors in the See of *Norwich, viz.* That he deprived or baniſhed within the ſpace of two years, fifty *godly, learned, painful, Miniſters*; His placing the Communion-Table Altar-wiſe, and cauſing a Rail to be ſet before it; The practicing of Superſtition in his own Perſon, his bowing toward it, Conſecrating the Bread and Wine at the Weſt-ſide of the Table, with his back toward the People, and elevating the ſame above his head, that the People might ſee it, (which laſt Points, as they made moſt noiſe, ſo they found leaſt proof) cauſing the Seats in all places to be ſo contrived, that the People muſt of neceſſity kneel toward the Eaſt, according to the pious Cuſtom of the Primitive Times; Turning all afternoons Sermons into Catechiſings by Queſtion and Anſwer, according to the Kings *Inſtructions*; Appointing no Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons, but that preſcribed by the Canon; and that the Bells ſhould give no other warning for Sermons, than they did for Prayers, that the People might reſort unto the Church at all times alike, as by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm they were bound to do. In conſideration whereof, it was reſolved upon the Queſtion to be the Opinion of that Houſe, That the ſaid Biſhop was unfit to hold or exerciſe any Office or Dignity in the Church or Commonwealth: and that a Meſſage ſhould be ſent to the Lords, deſiring them to joyn with the Commons in Petitioning his Majeſty to remove him both from his Perſon and Service. By which this wiſe Prelate underſtood, that his nearneſs to the Kings Perſon was his greateſt Crime; and thereupon, in imitation of the Caſtor (having firſt obtained his Majeſties conſent thereto) he diſcontinued that attendance which might occaſion more danger to him than it brought in profit. Which Proſecutions of the Clergy, but this laſt eſpecially, have brought me unto the year 1641. Which brought more trouble to the Country Clergy than the laſt year had done to thoſe which lived in *London*. The *Committee* Authoriſed by the Houſe of Commons for Affairs of Religion, finding their work begin to fail them, and that *Informations* came not up ſo faſt as had been expected, diſpatched *Inſtructions* into all parts of the Kingdom for an *enquiry* to be made into the *Lives* and *Actions* of the Clergy in their ſeveral Pariſhes. And that the Inquiſition might be made with the greater diligence, not only *ſuch as were in Authority*, but *every ingenious Perſon was required to be very active in improving the preſent opportunity, by giving true Information of all the Pariſhes in their ſeveral Counties.* I know it was pretended by the ſaid *Inſtructions*, that enquiry ſhould be made into *Pluralities* and *deſect of maintenance*, as well as into *ſcandalous* and *unpreaching* Miniſters; yet the main buſineſs was to bring the Clergy on the Stage, and find ſome matter of complaint againſt them. Quite contrary in this to the Emperour *Trajan*, who in the midſt of the Perſecutions, which he had raiſed againſt the Church, commanded by his Imperial *Edict*, (a) *That no ſtrict Inquiſition ſhould be made of thoſe who did profeſs the Faith of Chriſt; but only that they ſhould be puniſhed, if accidentally or by the voice of Common Fame they ſhould be offered into judgment.* What miſ-

(a) *Chriſtianorum genteм exquirendam non eſſe; ſi verò indicium aliqui, puniri debere.* Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

miſchief hereupon enſued in animating the Pariſhioners againſt their Miniſter, ſeducing Servants to accuſe and betray their Maſters, alienating the affections of the Clergy from one another, and by that means ſubjecting them to that diſſipation which ſoon after followed, ſhall be ſhewn hereafter, ſo far forth as it comes within the compaſs of this preſent Hiſtory.

But whilſt theſe clouds were gathering together in the Country, as great a tempeſt ſeemed to be brewing in the City, which threatned no leſs danger to the Church it ſelf than thoſe proceedings to the Clergy. For in the beginning of this year we find ſome Divines of name and note, convened in the Dean of *Weſtminſters* Lodgings, to conſult about matters of the Church; the occaſion this: The Convocation was then ſitting, but not impowred by his Majeſties Commiſſion to act in any thing of concernment. It was therefore ordered by the Peers *March* 21. That a Committee of ten Earls, ten Biſhops, and ten Barons ſhould be nominated, in the name of the reſt, for ſetling the affairs of the Church; by whom a Sub-Committee was the ſame day named to prepare ſuch matters as were to be diſcourſed and concluded by them, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* being in the Chair for both. Which *Sub-Committee* being made up of the Divines above-mentioned, conſiſted of three Biſhops, nine Doctors in Divinity, and four of ſome inferiour Degree in the Univerſities; ſome of them being Prelatical, and ſome Presbyterian in point of Government, but all of them *Calviniſts* in point of Doctrine. Beginning firſt with points of Doctrine, complaint was made that the whole body of *Arminianiſm*, and many particular points of *Popery* (for ſo they called all which agreed not with *Calvin*'s ſince) had been of late maintained in Books and Sermons, and ſometimes alſo in the Divinity Schools. And then deſcending to matter of Diſcipline, they diſcourſed of many Innovations, which they conceived to have been thruſt upon the Church, moſt of them in diſpoſing and adorning the Communion-Table, and the more reverent adminiſtration of the holy Sacraments; ſome of them poſitively required, or at leaſt directed by the Laws of the Land, as reading the Communion Service at the Lords Table on Sundaies and Holidaies, reading the Litany in the middeſt of the Church, the Miniſters turning toward the Eaſt in the Creed and Prayers, and praying no otherwiſe before Sermons than in the words of the *Canon*; ſome of them never having been diſuſed in many Parochial Churches, and retained in moſt Cathedrals ſince the Reformation, as ſtanding at the Hymns, and the *Gloria Patri*, placing the Table Altarwiſe, and adoring toward it; ſome being left indifferent at the choice of the Miniſter, as the ſaying or ſinging of the *Te Deum* in Parochial Churches, officiating the Communion and the daily prayers in the Latine tongue, in ſeveral Colledges and Halls, by and amongſt ſuch as are not ignorant of that Language; And others not of ſo great moment, as to make any viſible alteration in the face of the Church, or ſenſible diſturbance in the minds of the People. Which therefore might have been as well forborn as practiced, till confirmed by Authority, or otherwiſe might have been borne without any ſuch clamour,

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mour, as either out of ignorance or malice had been raiſed againſt them.

They alſo took into conſideration ſome Rubricks in the Book of Common Prayer, and other things, which they thought fit to be rectified in it. Amongſt which they adviſed ſome things not to be utterly diſliked, *viz.* That the Hymns, Sentences, Epiſtles and Goſpels, ſhould be reprinted according to the new Tranſlation; That the Meeter in the Pſalms ſhould be corrected, and allowed of Publickly; and that no Anthems ſhould be ſung in Colledges or Cathedral Churches but ſuch as were taken out of the Scripture, or the publick Liturgy; That fewer Leſſons might be read out of the Books called Apocryphal, and the Leſſons to be read diſtinctly, excluſive of the Liberty which is given to ſing them as appears by the Rubrick; That the Rubrick ſhould be cleared concerning the Miniſters power for repulſing ſcandalous and notorious ſinners from the holy Communion; and that the general Confeſſion before the Communion be ordered to be ſaid by the Miniſter only, the People repeating it after him; That theſe words in the Form of Matrimony, viz. *With my body I thee Worſhip*, may be explained and made more intelligible; And that inſtead of binding the married Couple to receive the Communion on their Wedding day (which is ſeldom done) they may be obliged to receive it on the Sunday after, or the next Communion-day following; That none be licenſed to marry, or have their Banes asked, who ſhall not firſt bring a Certificate from their Miniſter, that they are inſtructed in the Catechiſm; and that it be not required that the Infant be dipt in the water (as is injoyned by the Rubrick) in the caſe of extremity. Some Paſſages they obſerved impertinently, and not worth the altering, as the expunging of ſome Saints (which they falſly called *Legendaries*) out of the Kalendar; The conſtant adding of the Doxology at the end of the *Pater noſter*; Reading of Morning and Evening Prayer daily by the Curate, if not otherwiſe letted; The leaving out of the *Benedicite*, and the changing of the Pſalm uſed in the Churching of Women; That thoſe words (*which only worketh great marvels*) be left out of the Prayer for the Biſhops and Clergy; That *Grievous ſins* inſtead of *Deadly ſins* be uſed in the Letany; That the *ſanctifying* of the Flood *Jordan*, be changed into *ſanctifying* the Element of Water, in the Form of Baptiſm; That thoſe words, *In ſure and certain hope of Reſurrection*, which are uſed at Burials, may be changed to theſe, *Knowing aſſuredly that the dead ſhall riſe again*; And that the Commination ſhould be read at the Desk, and not in the Pulpit: all which remaining as they did could give no offence, and might have eaſily been changed to give ſome content. And finally, ſome things there were of which they deſired a Reformation, which ſeemed to have ſo much of the *Anti-Papiſt*, that they came cloſe to the *Puritan*, *viz.* That the Veſtments preſcribed by the firſt Liturgy of King *Edward* vi. ſhould not be required, and the rule in that caſe to be altered; That the Alms ſhould be gathered rather after, than before the Communion; Theſe words, *This is my Body, This is my Bloud*, not to be Printed in great Letters; and that a Rubrick be inſerted to declare,

clare, that kneeling at the Communion is required only in relation to the Prayer of the diſtribution, *Preſerve thee body and ſoul*, &c. That weekly Communion every Sunday be changed to monthly in Colledges and Cathedral Churches; That the *Croſs* in Baptiſm be either explained, or quite diſuſed; and that in the Form of Confirmation theſe words importing, that Children baptized, are *undoubtedly ſaved*, be no longer uſed; That no times of Reſtraint may be laid on Marriage; and that the *Authoritative* Form of *Abſolution* in the Viſitation of the ſick may be turned to a Pronouncing or declaring of it.

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I have the longer ſtood on the reſult of theſe Conſultations, becauſe of the different apprehenſions which were had of the Conſequents and Iſſue of them. Some hoped for a great Reformation to be prepared by them, and ſetled by the Grand Committee both in Doctrine and Diſcipline; and others as much feared (the affections of the men conſidered) that Doctrinal *Calviniſm* being once ſetled, more alterations would be made in the Publick Liturgy than at firſt appeared, till it was brought more near the Form of the *Gallick* Churches, after the Platform of *Geneva*. Certain I am, that the impriſoned Archbiſhop had no fancy to it, fearing leaſt the *Aſſembly* of Divines in *Jeruſalem*-Chamber (ſo the place was called) might weaken the foundations of *Jeruſalem* in the Church of *England*; That this Aſſembly on the matter might prove the National *Synod* of *England*, to the great diſhonour of the Church; and that when their Concluſions were brought unto the great Committee, the buſineſs would be over-ruled by the Temporal Lords, as double in number to the *Biſhops*. But whatſoever his fears were they were ſoon removed, that Meeting being ſcattered, about the middle of *May*, upon the bringing in of a Bill againſt Deans and Chapters; which ſo divided the *Convenors* both in their perſons and affections, that they never after met together. Concerning which we are to know, that not only moſt of the *Lords of the Lower Houſe*, and many *Lower-Houſe Lords* in the Upper Houſe, reſolving to pull up Epiſcopacy by the very roots, thought it convenient to begin with lopping the Branches as laying no pretence to Divine Inſtitution. The voting of which Bill exceedingly amazed all thoſe of the Prelatical Clergy, as knowing at what Root it ſtruck; though none ſeemed preſently concerned in it but ſuch as had ſome benefit or ſubſiſtance in thoſe foundations. To ſtill the great noiſe which was raiſed about it, the Commons ſeemed not unwilling that ſome of the Cathedral Clergy ſhould advocate for the continuance of thoſe Capitular Bodies, and others of the contrary Party to preſent their Reaſons for their Diſſolution. The time appointed being come, *Hacket*, Archdeacon of *Bedford*, and one of the Prebends of St. *Pauls*, pleaded both learnedly and ſtoutly in behalf of thoſe Churches; and *Burges* of *Watford*, who not long before brought down his *Myrmidons* to cry for Juſtice againſt *Strafford*, to the Parliament doors, was all for *down with them, down with them to the very ground*. But though they differed in their Doctrine, yet they agreed well enough in their applications: *Burges* declaring it unlawful, as well as *Hacket*, that the

PART II. Anno Dom. 1641. Revenues of those Churches should otherwise be imployed than to pious uses. This seemed to put the business to a stand for the present time, but *Canterbury* knowing with what ease it might be resumed, advised the drawing of a Petition to both Houses of Parliament in the name of the University of *Oxon.* which had a great stock going in the Ship of the Church, not only for the preservation of the Episcopal Government, but of those Foundations, as being both the Encouragements and Rewards of Learning. In which Petition having spoken in few words of the Antiquity and Succession of Bishops from the Apostles themselves, they insist more at large upon such Suggestions as might best justifie and endear the cause of Cathedral Churches; which being the most material of all those motives, which were laid before them to that purpose, we shall here subjoyn.

And we become further suiters (saith that University) for the continuance of the Pious Foundations of Cathedral Churches with their Lands and Revenues: As Dedicate to the Service and Honour of God, soon after the Plantation of Christianity in the English *Nation; As thought fit and usefully to be preserved for that end, when the Nurseries of Superstition were demolished, and so continued in the last and best times since the Blessed Reformation under King* Edward *the sixth, Queen* Elizabeth, *and King* James, *Princes Renowned through the World for their Piety and Wisdom; As approved and confirmed by all the Laws of this Land, Ancient and Modern: As the Principal and outward motive, and encouragements of all Students, especially in Divinity, and the fittest Reward of some deep and Eminent Schollars: As Producing or Nourishing in all Ages, many Godly and Learned men who have most strongly asserted the truth of the Religion we Profess, against the many fierce oppositions of our Adversaries of* Rome: *As affording a Competent Portion in an Ingenious way to many younger Brothers of good Parentage, who devote themselves to the Ministry of the Gospel: As the only means of subsistance to a multitude of Officers, and other Ministers, who with their families depend upon them, and are wholly maintained by them: As the main Authors or upholders of divers Schools, Hospitals, High-ways, Bridges, and other Pious works: As special causes of much Profit and advantages to those Cities where they are situate; Not only by Relieving the Poor, and keeping convenient Hospitality: but by occasioning a frequent Resort of strangers from other parts to the great benefit of all Trades-men and Inhabitants, in those places: As the goodly Monuments of our Predecessors Piety, and present Honour of this Kingdom in the Eye of Foreign Nations: As the Chief support of many thousand families of the Layety who enjoy fair Estates under them in a free way: As yielding a constant and ample Revenue to the Crown: And as by which many of the Learned* Professors *in our Universities are maintained. The subversion or alienation whereof must (as we conceive) not only be attended with such consequences as will redound to the Scandal of many well affected to our Religion, but open the mouths of our Adversaries, and of Posterity against us, and as likely in time to draw after it harder conditions upon a considerable part of the Layety, and Universal cheapness and contempt upon the Clergie, a lamentable drooping and defection of Industry and know-*

knowledge in the Universities; which is easie to foresee but will be hard to Remedy.

The like petition came from *Cambridge*, as much concerned in this common cause, as their sister of *Oxon*. But neither of them could prevail so far as to take off the edge of the Ax, which had been thus laid at the Root of the Tree, though it did blunt it at the present. For they which had the managing of the Design, finding that the Cathedral Churches were too strongly Cemented, to be demolished at an Instant, considered seasonably for themselves, that the furthest way about, did many times prove the neareſt way to the journeys end; A Bill was therefore passed in the House of Commons and sent up to the Lords by which it was to be Enacted (if their Vote had carried it); First, that the Bishops should have no Voices in Parliament; Secondly that they should not be Commissioners for the Peace, or Judges in any Temporal Courts; and that they should not sit in the *Star-Chamber* nor be Privy Counsellors. Which Bill being Voted part by part; The two last parts were passed, by a general consent, not above one or two dissenting: But the first branch was carried in the Negative by such an Unison consent in the Lords then present, that if the Bishops had not voted in defence of themselves, the Temporal Lords alone who appeared for them, had carried it by sixteen Voices. The point being still upon debate, those Lords which had shewed themselves against the Bishops, resolved to put it to the Fortune of another day, protesting that the Former manner of Voting the said Bill by *Branches* was both *Unparliamentary* and *Illegal*; and therefore that the *Bill* was either *wholly* to be passed, or ejected *wholly*: which being condescended to, the whole *Bill* was utterly cast out of the House by so many voices, that the Bishops might have spared their own till another time. And though according to the Rules of all former Parliaments that a Bill which had been once cast out of the House, should never be prest again the same Session; yet this Bill found a way to it within few moneths after, and almost twelve years before the end of this Session, as we shall see too soon in the course of this History. In the mean time, the *Anti-Prelatical* party in the house of Peers so bestirred themselves, that they prevailed upon the Rest to put a lower valuation on the Bishops then they had done formerly; insomuch, that at a Solemn Fast following not long after, the Temporal Lords took Precedence of the Bishops, contrary to the Custom of their Predecessors in all times foregoing: the Bishops not thinking it convenient to contend for place, at such time as their whole *Order* was in danger of *Falling*. Which being observed by the Lord *Spencer*; *Is this*, said he, *a day of Humiliation, wherein we shew so great a Pride, in taking place of those to whom it was allowed by all our Ancestors?* A day of *Humiliation* if it might be called; it was made such to the Bishops only, the Temporal Lords being never higher in their Exaltation.

But now we must look back on the Earl of *Strafford*, the prosecution of whose Impeachment had been long delaid upon some probable hope, that the displeasures of his greatest Adversaries might be miti-

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641. gated by some Court-preferments. In Order whereunto it was agreed upon (if my intelligence or memory fail not;) that the Earl of *Bedford* should be made Lord *Treasurer*, and *Pym Chancellor* of the Exchequer, the Earl of *Essex* Governour of the Prince, and that *Hambden* should be made his Tutor, the Lord *Say* Master of the *Wards*, and *Hollis* Principal Secretary in the Place of *Windebank*; the *Deputiesship* of *Ireland* was disposed of also, and some command appointed for the Earl of *Warwick* in the Royal Navy. Which Earls together with the Earl of *Hartford*, and the Lord *Kimbolton* (eldest Son to the Earl of *Manchester*) were taken at this time into his Majesties Council, that they might witness to the Rest of that Party, with what sincerity and Piety his Majesties Affairs were Governed at the Council-Table. And in Relation to this purpose the Bishop of *London* delivered to the King the *Treasurers Staff*, the Earl of *New-Castle* relinquished the Governance of the Prince, and the Lord *Cottington* resigned his Offices both in the *Exchequer*, and the Court of *Wards*, there being no doubt but that Bishop *Duppa* in Order to so good a work, would relinquish the Tutorship of the Prince, when it should be required of him: So gallantly did these great persons *deny themselves* to advance the *Service of their Master*. But before all these things were fully setled and performed, the Kings mind was altered, (but by whom altered, hath been more conjectured then affirmed for certain) which so exasperated them who were concerned in this designation, that they persued the Earl of *Strafford* with the great eagerness. And somewhat to this purpose was hinted in the Kings Declaration of the 18th of *August*; in which he signified *what overtures had been made by them, and with what importunity for Offices and Preferments, what great services should have been done for him, and what other undertaking even to have saved the Life of the Earl of* Strafford. By which discovery as he blemished the Reputes of some Principal Members in the eyes of many of the people; so he gave no small cause of wonder to many others, when they were told from his own Pen, at how cheap a *Rate* (a *Rate* which would have cost him nothing) he might have saved the Life of such an able and deserving Minister.

This design being thus unhappily dasht, the Earl was called unto his Tryal on the 22 day of *March* last past; which being continued many days with great expectation, his Adversaries (though the ablest men in the House of Commons) perceived that his Defences were so strong, and their proof so weak that they thought it not safe to leave the Judgment of the Cause to the House of Peers in way of Judicature. For finding that their proofs amounted not to a *Legal Evidence*; and that nothing but *Legal Evidence*, could prevail in a Court of Judicature, they Resolved to Steer their course by another wind, and to call the *Legislative* power to their assistance; according unto which both *Lords*, and *Commons* might proceed by the Light of their own Understanding without further Testimony. And so it was declared by *Saint-Johns* then Solicitor General in a conference between the Committees of both Houses, *April.* 29. 1641. Where it is said, *That although*

although single Testimony might be sufficient to satisfie private Consciences, yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way, where forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill, private satisfaction to each mans Conscience, is sufficient, although no Evidence had been given in at all. Thus they resolved it in this Case. But knowing of what dangerous consequence it might be to the Lives, and Fortunes of themselves and the Rest of Subjects, a *saving* clause was added to the Bill of *Attainder*, that it should not be drawn into Example for the time to come. By which it was Provided, *That no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any Act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, nor in any other manner, then he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made.*

His Majesty understanding how things were carried, Resolved to use his best endeavours to preserve the man, who had deserved so bravely of him. And therefore in a Speech to both Houses of Parliament on the first *May*, absolved him from all Treasons charged upon him; conjuring them by the merit of his former graces, and the hopes of greater, not to compel him to do any thing against his conscience, to which no worldly consideration whatsoever, should be able to tempt him. This put the Lords to such a stand, who were before enclinable enough to that unfortunate Gentleman, that multitudes of the Rabble were brought down out of *London* and *Southwark*, to cry for speedy Justice, and Execution; the names of such as had not voted to the Bill, being posted up in the Palace-yard, by the Title of *Straffordians*, and Enemies to the Commonwealth. Which course so terrified the Lords, that most of them withdrawing themselves from the House of Peers, the *Attainder* passed, and certain Bishops nominated to attend the King, for satisfying his Conscience, and perswading him to sign that Destructive Bill. Never was Poor Prince, brought to so sad an Exigent, betwixt his Conscience on the one side, and the Fears of such a Publick Rupture on the other, as seemed to threaten nothing but destruction to himself and his Family. But humane frailty, and the continual Solicitation of some about him, so prevailed at last, that on *Munday* morning the 9th of *May*, he put a most unwilling hand to that fatal Bill, Issuing a Commission unto certain Lords to pass the same into an Act, and with the same to speed another (which he had also signed with the some Penful of Ink) for the continuance of the present Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses. The Act thus past on *Monday* morning, the Earl was brought unto the Scaffold on the *Wednesday* following, desiring earnestly, but in vain, to Exchange some words with the Archbishop before his Death; which gave occasion to a report, that a little before his Death he had charged his misfortunes, over-sights and misdemeanours upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as the Prime Author of the same; and had bitterly Curst the day of their first acquaintance: Which being so scandalous and dishonourable to this great Prelate, I shall lay down the whole truth in this particular, as it came from the Archbishops own mouth,

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mouth, in the presence of *Balfore* a *Scot*, and then Lieutenant of the Tower, who was required to attest to each period of it.

Relation of the Answers, &c. of the Earl of Strafford. p. 99.

The Lord *Strafford* the night before the Execution, sent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and asked him whether it were possible he might speak with the Archbishop: The Lieutenant told him, he might not do it without Order from the Parliament. Whereupon the Earl replied, You shall hear what passeth between us; for it is not a time now either for him to plot Heresie, or me to plot Treason. The Lieutenant answered, That he was limited; and therefore desired his Lordship would Petition the Parliament for that Favour. No (said he) I have gotten my dispatch from them, and will trouble them no more; I am now Petitioning an Higher Court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor Error feared. But my Lord, said he, (turning to the Primate of *Ireland*, whose company he had procured of the Houses in that fatal Exigent) I will tell you what I should have spoken to my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*. You shall desire the Archbishop to lend me his Prayers this night, and to give me his Blessing when I do go abroad to morrow; and to be in his Window, that by my last Farewel I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former Favours. The Primate having delivered the Message without delay, the Archbishop replyed, That in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second: but he feared his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last Departure. The next morning at his coming forth he drew near to the Archbishops Lodging, and said to the Lieutenant, Though I do not see the Archbishop, yet give me leave I pray you to do my last observance towards his Rooms. In the mean time the Archbishop, advertised of his approach, came out to the Window; Then the Earl bowing himself to the ground, My Lord (said he) *your Prayers and your Blessing*. The Archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both: but overcome with grief, fell to the ground *in Animi deliquio*. The Earl bowing the second time, said, Farewel my Lord, God protect your Innocency. And because he feared, that it might perhaps be thought an effeminacy or unbecoming weakness in him to sink down in that manner, he added, That he hoped by Gods Assistance, and his own Innocency, that when he came to his own Execution (which he daily longed for) the World should perceive he had been more sensible of the Lord *Strafford's* Loss, than of his own: And good reason it should be so (said he) for the Gentleman was more serviceable to the Church (he would not mention the State) than either himself, or any of all the Church-men had ever been. A gallant Farewel to so eminent and beloved a Friend.

Thus march'd this Great Man to the Scaffold; more like a General in the Head of an Army, to breath out Victory; than like a Condemned Man, to undergo the Sentence of death. The Lieutenant of the Tower desired him to take Coach, for fear the People should rush in upon him and tear him in pieces. No (said he to the Lieutenant) I dare look Death in the face, and I hope the People too; Have you a care I do not escape, and I care not how I dye, whether by the hand of

of the Executioner, or the madness and fury of the People; If that may give them better content, it is all one to me. In his last Speech upon the Scaffold, he declared, That in all his Imployments, since he had the honour to serve his Majesty, he never had any thing in the purpose of his heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual prosperity both of King and People; That he was so far from being an Enemy to Parliaments (which had been charged amongst his Crimes) that he did always think the Parliaments of *England* to be the most happy Constitution that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and People happy; That he acquitted all the World for his death, heartily beseeching the God of Heaven to forgive all them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of his heart, he was not guilty of the Offences which he was to die for; That it was a great comfort to him, that his Majesty conceived him not meriting so severe and heavy a Punishment, as the utmost execution of this Sentence: And finally, (after many other Expressions) That he died a true Son of the *Church* of *England*, in which he had been born and bred; for the Peace and Prosperity whereof he most heartily prayed. Turning his eyes unto his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, he desired him to charge his Son to fear God, to continue an obedient Son to the Church of *England*, and not to meddle with Church-Livings, as that which would prove a Moth or Canker to him in his Estate. And having several times recommended his prepared Soul to the Mercies of God, he submitted his Neck with most Christian Magnanimity to the stroke of the Axe, which took his Head from him at one blow, before he had filled up the number of fifty years. "A man on whom his Majesty looked as "one whose great Abilities might rather make a Prince afraid, than "ashamed to employ him in the greatest Affairs of State: For those "were prone to create in him great confidence of Undertakings, and "this was like enough to betray him to great Errors, and many Ene-"mies; whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving "in so high a Sphere, and with so vigorous a Lustre, he must needs "(as the Sun) raise many envious Exhalations, which condensed by a "Popular *Odium*, were capable to cast a Cloud upon the highest Me-"rit and Integrity. So far he stood commended by the Pen of his sorrowful Sovereign, who never could sufficiently bewail his own infelicity, in giving way unto an Act of such high Injustice (as he calls it there) of which he gives this Testimony in his *Meditation* on the Death of this unfortunate Earl, "That he was so far from excusing "or denying that Compliance on his part (for plenary consent it was "not) to his destruction, whom in his own judgment he thought not "by any clear Law, guilty of death; that he did never bear any touch "of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a sign of his Repen-"tance, he had often with sorrow confessed both to God and Men, as "an Act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Man than "of God, whose Name and Place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, "who will avoid Inconveniences of State by Acts of so high Injustice, "as no Publick Convenience can compensate.

Eicon. Basil. P. 5.

The

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The loss of this Gentlemans Life after such a manner, so terrified the rest of his Majesties Servants; that as some had deserted him in the first appearance of his Troubles: so there were few that durst stand to him, or put him upon resolute or courageous Counsels, when he most wanted such Assistance. In which respect, it was no hard matter for the Houses of Parliament to wire-draw him by degrees to such Condescensions, as finally left the Church without any Authority, and the Crown with little more Prerogative than a Titular and precarious Empire. He had before passed an Act for Triennial Parliaments, to be called in his default by Sheriffs and Constables; and signed a Bill for the continuance of the present Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses, at such time as he passed away this poor Gentlemans Life. He must now give up so much of his Power at once, as would disable him from subsisting by any other means than the Alms of his Parliament; or keeping down those factious and seditious Humours, for which the ordinary Courts of Justice, tied to Formalities of Law, could provide no remedy. In reference to the first, having kept him hungry and in appetite for seven Months and more, from their first meeting in *November*, they present him with a Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, to be paid only for the three Months following; and that too clogged in the Preamble with such a Condition, as to disclaim all such Right unto it, as had been formerly enjoyed by his Predecessors. They prepared also other Bills, for Repealing the Statute concerning *Knighthood*, made by King *Edward* ii. and then made rather for the ease of the Subject, than the advancing of the Crown; as also, For abolishing his Pretensions to the Raising of *Ship-mony*, For retrenching the *Perambulations* of his Forests, for suppressing the Court of *Stanneries* in *Cornwal*, And the long-continued Jurisdiction of his Clerk of the Market. And in relation to the other, they prepared two Bills more; the one for putting down the Court of *Star-Chamber*, the other for destroying the *High-Commission*, without which bridles there had been no ruling of the *Puritan* Faction. But as in the Bill for putting down the *Star-Chamber*, there were some Clauses which extended to the overthrow of the Court of the *Marches*, and the Council established in the North, and for Regulating the Authority of the Council-Table; so in that for destroying the *High-Commission*, there was a Clause which took away the Coercive power of Bishops, Chancellors, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Judges. To these two last (the Royal Assent having been passed unto all the former without any difficulty) the King was pleased to demur, which bred such a heat amongst the Commons, that he was forced on *Munday* the fifth of *July*, (being but two days after his passing of the other) to make an excuse for this final delay; the business being of such importance as the Altering in a great measure those Fundamental Laws, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, which so many of his Predecessors had established. How great a blow was given by the first Act to the Royal Authority I leave to be considered by our Civil Historians. What the Church suffered by the second will appear by these words, in which it was Enacted (under the several penalties therein contained) "That from the fifth

day

"day of *Auguſt* then next following no Archbiſhop, or Biſhops, or a-
"ny other Perſon or Perſons, having or exerciſing any Eccleſiaſtical
"Jurisdiction under the Kings Majeſty, within the Realm of *England*,
"and Dominion of *Wales*, ſhould award, impoſe or inflict any Pain,
"Penalty, Fine, Amercement, Impriſonment, or any Corporal Pu-
"niſhment for any Contempt, Miſdemeanour, Crime, Offence, Matter,
"or Thing whatſoever, belonging to Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Cogni-
"zance or Juriſdiction; or ſhould *Ex Officio*, or at the inſtance or pro-
"motion of any perſon whatſoever; urge, enforce, tender, give, or mini-
"ſter unto any Churchwarden, Sideman, or perſon whatſoever, any
"Corporal Oath, whereby they ſhall be obliged to make any Preſent-
"ment concerning others, or confeſs any thing againſt themſelves, which
"might make them lyable, or expoſe them to any Cenſure, Pain, Penal-
"ty of what ſort ſoever. Which in effect was to take away the Pow-
er of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, belonging naturally and originally to the
Epiſcopal Function, that is to ſay, Suſpenſions, Excommunications, De-
privations, and Degradations, (all which are both inflicted and re-
nounced as Pains or Penalties) to the no ſmall encouragement of In-
conformity, Incontinency, and all other irregular Courſes, both in
Clergy and Laity, becauſe it nouriſht an opinion of impunity in the
hearts of thoſe who formerly had been awed reſpectively by thoſe ſe-
veral Cenſures. For when the Subject fears neither Pain nor Penalty,
the Superiour under whom he lives will find little obedience, and the
Laws much leſs.

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Bibl. Regia. p. 308.

But we have too long left our Archbiſhop in his cares and ſor-
rows, and therefore muſt return to eaſe him of ſome part of his cares,
though his ſorrows continued as before. Hitherto he had given
himſelf no improbable hopes of being called unto his Trial, and given
ſuch ſtrong proof of his integrity and innocence from the Crimes ob-
jected, as might reſtore him to a capacity of doing thoſe good offices
to the Uniuerſity as that place of *Chancellor* did require. But finding
by the late proceedings of the Houſes of Parliament in the buſineſs of
his dear Friend the Earl of *Strafford*, that his affairs were like to grow
from bad to worſe, he would no longer undergo the name of that Of-
fice which he was not able to perform. Reſolved to put the Univerſi-
ty into ſuch a condition as might enable them to proceed in the choice
of a more fortunate Patron, he acquaints the King with his intent by
the Biſhop of *London*; and finding his Majeſties Concurrence in opi-
nion with him, he ſends his Reſignation in his Letter of *June* 28.
Which being publiſhed, and excepted in the Convocation of the
Univerſity on *July* 1. The Earl of *Pembroke* was now elected to ſucceed
him, who had before been named in competition for the Office with
him.

My Preſent Condition (ſaith the Letter) *is not unknown to the whole World, yet by few pitied or deplored; The righteous God beſt knows the Juſtice of my ſufferings, on whom both in life and death I will ever depend: the laſt of which ſhall be unto me moſt welcome, in that my life is now burdenſome unto me, my mind attended with variety of ſad and grievous thoughts, my ſoul continually vexed with Anxieties & troubles,*

PART II. Anno Dom. 1641. *groaning under the burden of a diſpleaſed* Parliament, *my name aſperſed and groſly abuſed by the multiplicity of Libellous Pamphlets, and my ſelf debarred from wonted acceſs to the beſt of Princes, and it is* Vox Populi *that I am* Popiſhly affected. *How earneſt I have been in my Diſputations, Exhortations, and otherwiſe to quench ſuch ſparks, leſt they ſhould become Coals, I hope after my death you will all acknowledg; yet in the midſt of all my afflictions there is nothing more hath ſo nearly touched me as the remembrance of your free and joyful acceptance of me to be your* Chancellour, *and that I am now ſhut up from being able to do you that Service which you might juſtly expect from me. When I firſt received this honour I intended to have carried it with me to my Grave; neither were my hopes any leſs, ſince the Parliament (called by his Majeſties Royal Command) committed me to this Royal Priſon. But ſith (by reaſon of matters of greater conſequence yet in hand) the Parliament is pleaſed to procraſtinate my Tryal, I do hereby as thankfully reſign my Office of being Chancellor, as ever I received that Dignity, entreating you to Elect ſome Honourable Perſon, who upon all occaſions may be ready to ſerve you; and I beſeech God ſend you ſuch an one as may do all things for his glory, and the furtherance of your moſt famous Univerſity. This is the continual Prayer of*

Tower, June 28. 1641.

Your dejected Friend and Chancellour,

Being the laſt time I ſhall write ſo,

Will. Cant.

This Reſignation having eaſed him of ſome part of his cares, it was no ſmall refreſhment to him in the midſt of his ſorrows, that notwithſtanding all the clamour about *Innovations*, the Parliament had made no Order to alter any thing which he had laboured to eſtabliſh. The Commons might perhaps have ſome thoughts that way, but they either kept them to themſelves, or found but little comfort in them when they ſuffered them to go abroad, or ſhew themſelves in any motion to the Houſe of Lords. The Peers were then ſo far from entertaining any ſuch extravagant Fancies, that taking notice of the Irregular Zeal of ſome forward men, who had not patience enough to attend the leiſure of Authority, they joyned together with the Prelates, in this Order of *January* 16. for putting a ſtop to their Exorbitancies at the firſt breaking out. For by that Order it was ſignified to be the pleaſure of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament, "That the Divine Service be performed as it "is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this Realm: And that all "ſuch as ſhall diſturb that wholſom Order, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed "according to the Law: And the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates in the "ſeveral Pariſhes ſhall forbear to introduce any Rites or Ceremonies "that may give offence, otherwiſe than thoſe which are eſtabliſhed by "the Laws of the Land. Which laſt Clauſe being couched in ſuch general terms, related only to ſuch Rites and Ceremonies, as otherwiſe

wiſe might have been introduced for the time to come, not unto ſuch as had been entertained and ſetled by any former Authority. Countenanced and ſecured by which Declaration, the Ordinaries went on chearfully in the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction, ſuffering no alteration or diſturbance to paſs unqueſtioned, if any troubleſome or unquiet perſon did begin to ſtir. But no ſooner was the Coercive power of Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges reſtrained, or rather utterly aboliſhed, by the late Act of Parliament; and the Kings journey into *Scotland* left men and matters at more liberty than before they were: but preſently the Houſe of Commons took upon them ſuch a Reformation (ſo it muſt be called) in which they neither found concurrence of the Houſe of Peers, or could expect it from the King. But finding that they were ſtrong enough to ſet up for themſelves, without working Journey-work any longer unto either of them, they made the following Order of *September* 8. to be the firſt Experiment or Eſſay of their undertakings. For though in a Conference, had the ſame day with the Lords, they deſired their conſent therein, and that the Lords returned them no other Anſwer than by ſending them the next day (being the day of the Receſs) a Copy of the former Order of *January* 16. in which they deſired then to concur; yet *Pym*, who governed the Committee during that Receſs, diſpatcht his Mandate of the 29th of the ſame month over all the Kingdom, requiring all Miniſters and Churchwardens to publiſh the ſaid Order in their ſeveral Churches, to ſee it put in execution, and cauſe Certificates to be made thereof by the time appointed. Which Order being the Leading Card to the Game that followed, was *verbatim* thus: *viz.*

WHereas divers Innovations in or about the Worſhip of God have been lately practiſed in this Kingdom, by enjoyning ſome things, and prohibiting others, without warrant of Law, to the great grievance and diſcontent of his Majeſties Subjects; For the ſuppreſſion of ſuch Innovations, and for preſervation of the Publick Peace, It is this day Ordered by the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That the Churchwardens of every Pariſh Church or Chappel reſpectively doth forthwith remove the Communion Table from the Eaſt end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel into ſome other convenient place, and that they take away the Rails, and Level the Chancels as heretofore they were before the late Innovations. That all Crucifixes, ſcandalous Pictures, of any one or more Perſons of the Trinity, and all Images of the Virgin Mary *ſhall be taken away and aboliſhed; and that all Tapers, Candleſticks, and Baſons be removed from the Communion Table. That all Corporal Bowing at the Name of* Jeſus, *or toward the Eaſt end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion Table be henceforth forborn. That the Orders aforeſaid be obſerved in all the ſeveral Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom, and all the Colledges, Churches, or Chappels in the two Univerſities, or any other part of this Kingdom, and in the* Temple-Church, *and the Chappels of other Inns of Court, by the Deans of the ſaid Cathedral Churches, by the Vice-Chancellours, of the ſaid Univerſities, and by the Heads and Governours of the ſeveral Colledges and Halls aforeſaid, and by the Benchers and Readers in the ſaid*

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Inns of Court reſpectively. That the Lords day ſhall be duly obſerved and ſanctified: All Dancing, or other Sports either before or after Divine Service be forborn and reſtrained; and that the Preaching of Gods Word be permitted in the Afternoon in the ſeveral Churches and Chappels of this Kingdom, and that Miniſters and Preachers be encouraged thereunto. That the Vice-Chancellours of the Univerſities, Heads, and Governours of Colledges, all Parſons, Vicars, Churchwardens, do make Certificate of the performance of theſe Orders: and if the ſame ſhall not be obſerved in any places aforementioned, upon complaint thereof made to the two next Juſtices of the Peace, Major, and other Head-Officer of Cities and Towns Corporate, It is ordered, That the ſaid Juſtices, Major, and other Head-Officer reſpectively ſhall examine the truth of all ſuch complaints, and certifie by whoſe default the ſame are committed. All which Certificates are to be delivered in Parliament before the thirtieth of October *next enſuing*, Anno 1641.

It may be juſtly wondred at, that all this while we have heard nothing of the *Scots*, the chief promoters of theſe miſchiefs; but we may reſt our ſelves aſſured that they were not idle, ſolliciting their affairs both openly and underhand, *inſtant in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon*, till they had brought about all ends which invited them hither. They had made ſure work with the Lord Lieutenant, and feared not the Reſurrection of the Lord Archbiſhop though *Doomed* at that time only to a Civil death. They had gratified the Commons in procuring all the Acts of Parliament before remembred, and paring the Biſhops nails to the very quick, by the only terrour of their Arms; and were reciprocally gratified by them with a gift of three hundred thouſand pounds of good Engliſh money, in the name of a *brotherly aſſiſtance*, for their pretended former loſſes, which could not rationally be computed to the tenth part of that Sum. And in relation to that Treaty they gained in a manner all thoſe points which had been firſt inſiſted on in the meeting at *Rippon*, and many additionals alſo, which were brought in afterwards by *London*. In their *Demand* concerning Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in Church-Government, the Anſwer ſavoured rather of delay than ſatisfaction; amounting to no more than this, "That his Majeſty, with the Advice of both Houſes of Parlia-"ment, did well approve of the affections of his Subjects of *Scotland*, "in their deſires of having a Conformity of Church-Government be-"tween the two Nations; and that as the Parliament had already "taken into conſideration the Reformation of the Church-Govern-"ment, ſo they would proceed therein in due time as ſhould beſt con-"duce to the glory of God, and peace of Church and of both "Kingdoms. Which Condeſcenſions and Concluſions being ratified on *Auguſt* 7. by Act of Parliament in *England*, a Proviſion was alſo made for the ſecurity of all his Majeſties Party in reference to the former troubles, excluding only the Scottiſh Prelates, and four more of that Nation, from the benefit of it. And that being done, his Majeſty ſet forwards toward *Scotland* on *Tueſday* the tenth of the ſame month, giving order as he went for the Diſbanding of both Armies, that they might

might be no further charge or trouble to him. Welcomed he was with great joy to the City of *Edenborough*, in regard he came with full desires and resolutions of giving all satisfaction to that People which they could expect, though to the Diminution of his Royal Rights and just Prerogative. He was resolved to sweeten and Caress them with all Acts of Grace, that so they might reciprocate with him in their Love and Loyalty, though therein he found himself deceived. For he not only ratified all the Transactions of the Treaty confirmed in *England* by Act of Parliament, in that Kingdom; but by like Act abolished the Episcopal Government, and yielded to an alienation of all Church-Lands, restored by his Father or himself for the maintenance of it. A matter of most woful consequence to the Church of *England*. For the House of Commons being advertised of these Transactions, prest him with their continual importunities after his Return, to subvert the Government of Bishops here in *England*, in the destruction whereof he had been pleased to gratifie his *Scottish* Subjects, which could not be reputed so considerable in his estimation, nor were so in the eye of the World as the English were. What followed hereupon we may hear too soon. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

This good success of the *Scots* encouraged the *Irish Papists* to attempt the like, and to attempt it in the same way the *Scots* had gone; that is to say, by seising his Majesties Towns, Forts and Castles, putting themselves into the body of an Army, banishing and imprisoning all such as opposed their Practices, and then Petitioning the King for a publick exercise of their Religion. And they had this great furtherance to promote their hopes; For when the King was prest by the Commons for the disbanding of the *Irish* Army, a suite was made unto him by the Embassadour of *Spain*, that he might have leave to list three or four thousand of them for his Masters Service in the Wars; to which motion his Majesty readily condescending gave order in it accordingly. But the Commons never thinking themselves safe, as long as any of that Army had a Sword in his hand, never left importuning the King (whom they had now brought to the condition of denying nothing which they asked) till they had made him eat his word, and revoke those Orders to his great dishonour; which so exasperated that Army consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, that it was no hard matter for those who had the managing of that Plot to make sure of them. And then considering that the *Scots* by raising of an Army had gained from the King an abolition of the *Episcopal* Order, the Rescinding of his own and his Fathers Acts about the reducing of that Church to some Uniformity with this, and setled their Kirk in such a way as best pleased their own humours, Why might not the *Irish Papists* hope, that by the help of such an Army, ready raised to their hands, or easily drawn together, though dispersed at present, they might obtain the like indulgences and grants for their Religion? The 23 of *October* was the day designed for the seizing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and many places of great Importance in that Kingdom: But failing in the main design, which had been discovered the night before by one *O Conally*, they brake out into open Arms, dealing no

better

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641. better with the Protestants there, than the Covenanters had done with the Royal Party in *Scotland*. Of this *Rebellion* (for it must be called a *Rebellion* in the *Irish*, though not in the *Scots*) his Majesty gives present notice to the Houses of Parliament, requiring their Counsel and assistance for the extinguishing of that Flame, before it had wasted and consumed that Kingdom. But neither the necessity of the Protestants there, nor the Kings importunity here, could perswade them to Levy one man toward the suppression of those Rebels, till the King had disclaimed his power of pressing Souldiers in an Act of Parliament, and thereby laid himself open to such Acts of violence, as were then hammering against him.

But to proceed, his Majesty having settled his affairs in *Scotland* to the full contentment of the People by granting them the Acts of Grace before remembred, and giving some addition of Honour to his greatest enemies, (amongst whom *Lesly*, who commanded their two late Armies, most undeservedly was advanced to the Title of Earl of *Leven*) prepared in the beginning of *Novemb.* for his journey to *London*; where he was welcomed by the Lord Mayor, and Citizens with all imaginable expressions of Love and Duty. But the Commons at the other end of the Town entertained him with a sharp Declaration, Entituled, *The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, which they presented to him at *Hampton-Court*, with a Petition thereunto annexed, within few days after his return; In which it was desired amongst other things, that he would please to pass an Act for depriving the Bishops of their place and Vote in Parliament: which Bill had formerly been cast out of the House of Peers, as before was said, and was not by the course of Parliaments to be offered again. To this Demand and others which concerned Religion he returned this Answer, "That "for preserving the peace and safety of this Kingdom from the designs "of the Popish party, he had and would still concur with all the just "desires of his people, in a Parliamentary way; That for the depriv- "ing of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, he wisht them to "consider that their right was grounded upon the Fundamental Law "of the Kingdom, and constitution of Parliament; That he conceiv- "ed the taking away of the *High Commission* had well moderated the "*Inordinate* power of the Clergy, but if there continued any usur- "pations or Excesses in their *jurisdictions*, he then neither had nor "would protect them; That he would willingly concur in the remo- "val of any illegal *Innovations*, which had crept into the Church; "That if the Parliament should advise to call a National *Synod*, which "might duely Examine such Ceremonies, as gave just cause of offence "to any he would take it into consideration and apply himself to give "due satisfaction therein; That he was very sorry to hear *Corruptions* "in *Religion* to be Objected in such General terms, since he was per- "swaded in his Conscience that no Church could be found upon earth, "that professed the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine then "the Church of *England* at that time; That by the grace of God he "was resolved to maintain both the Government and Doctrine of it in "their Glory and Purity, and not only against all invasions of *Popery*, but

Bibl. Reg. Sect. 4. c. 4.

"but from the Irreverence of those many *Schismaticks*, and *Separatists* "wherewith of late this Kingdom and the City of *London* did so "much abound, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church "and State, for the suppressing of whom he required their aid and "timely assistance.

This Resolute, and Religious Answer did not so satisfie the Commons, but that they were Resolved to pursue the Enterprize till they had gained the Point they aimed at. Some endeavours had formerly been used by the Earl of *Essex* and the Baron of *Kimbolton* to perswade the Bishops, so far to gratifie the importunate desires of the house of Commons, as voluntarily to Relinquish their Votes in Parliament; upon assurance that the Peers would be bound in Honour to preserve them in all the essential parts of their calling and Function. But the Bishops who had little or nothing left to keep them up in Reputation amongst the People, but their Rights of Peerage, could not be easily entreated to betray themselves, and become *Felones de se* (as the Lawyers Phrase it) as long as his Majesty would be pleased to maintain their Interest, and in theirs His own. Doubly Repulst, the Apprentices are drawn in huge multitudes to cry at the Parliament doors *No Bishops*, *No Bishops*; Petitions daily brought against them as the *Common Grievances*, imputing to them the decay of Trade, and the obstruction of all businesses in both Houses of Parliament; their Persons presented with Revilings, and sometimes with stones, so that they could neither come out of their Coaches if they came by Land, nor out of their Barges if they came by water, without manifest danger of their lives; the *Abby* of *Westminster* Violently Assaulted, and as Couragiously defended by the Scholars, Choiremen, Officers, and other Servants, concluding in the death of *Wiseman* a Knight of *Kent*, who having taken on himself the Conduct of the Tumult, was killed by one of the Defendants, with a Tile from the Battlements. Hereupon *Williams* the Late Bishop of *Lincoln* having been translated unto *York*; invites as many of the Bishops as were left in *London* to a Private Conference to be held amongst them in the Lodgings of the Dean of *Westminster*; where they subscribed to a *Protestation*, and Petition to be presented to his Majesty in the House of *Peers*, containing a Relation of the abuses offered them for some days last past, together with a Declaration of their sense and meaning, for the time to come. The Apprehension of their own dangers inclined them willingly to any such course, as visibly conduced to the preservation of their Rights as Bishops, and their lives as men; For both which the subscribing of this Petition and Protestation, and the entring of it in the Journal of the House of Lords, seems to have provided. It was about the middle of *Christmas*, when some of the Bishops were retired into the Country, others not returned from their *Recess*, and no fewer then five Sees, either vacant, or not filled Actually, at the present; so that no more of them met at this Assembly, then the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *Durham*, *Lichfield*, *Glouceſter*, *Norwich*, *Asaph*, *Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxon*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, and *Landaff*; all which subscribed this last preservative for their Place and Persons. And being it was the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641. the last *flash* of their dying *light*, I shall not think it improper to keep it from *Expiring*, as long as I can, by serving as a *Prolonger* to it in this present History; Now the Petition, and Protestation was as followeth.

Huch. Exact. Collect. p. 41.

WHereas the Petitioners are called up by Several and Respective Writs, and under great Penalties to attend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in Bills and other matters whatsoever, Debateable in Parliament by the Ancient Customs, Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be Protected by your Majesty quietly to attend and prosecute that Great Service. They humbly Remonstrate and Protest before God, Your Majesty, and the Noble Lords and Peers now Assembled in Parliament; that as they had an Indubitate Right to sit and Vote in the House of Lords; so are they, if they may be Protected from force and violence, most Willing and Ready to Perform their Duties accordingly. And that they do abominate All Actions or Opinions tending to Popery or the maintenance thereof, as also all propension and Inclination to any Maligant Party or any other Side or Party whatsoever, to the which their own Reasons and Conscience shall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at several times Violently Menaced, Affronted, and Assaulted by multitudes of People in their coming to perform their Services in that Honourable House, and lately chased away and put in danger of their lives, and can find no Redress or Protection upon sundry Complaints, made to both Houses in these particulars; They humble protest before your Majesty and the Noble House of Peers, That, saving unto themselves all their Right, and Interest of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not Sit or Vote in the House of Peers, until Your Majesty shall further secure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers in the Premises. Lastly, Whereas these fears are not built upon Conceits, but upon such Grounds and Objects as may well terrifie Men of Resolution and much Constancy, they do in all Humility and Duty Protest before Your Majesty and the Peers of the Most Honourable House of Parliament, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as of themselves Null and of None Effect, which in their Absence, since the 27th of this Instant Moneth of December, 1641. *have already passed; As likewise, that all such as shall hereafter Past in the Most Honourable House, during the time of this their Forced and Violent Absence from the said Most Honourable House: not denying but if their absenting of themselves were Wilful and Voluntary, that Most Honourable House might Proceed in all their Premises, their Absence or this Protestation Notwithstanding. And humbly beseeching Your Most Excellent Majesty to Command the Clerk of the House of Peers, to Enter this their Petition and Protestation among his Records.*

They will ever pray God to bless, *&c.*

This Petition being presented to his Majesty, was by him delivered to the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, to be Communicated the next day, being the 30th of *Decemb.* to the House of Peers: But the Lord Keeper contrary to his Majesties directions, did first impart it to some of the Preaching

Preaching party in both Houſes of Parliament; and after, as the plot was laid, to the *Peers* in general. Upon the Reading whereof a conference was deſired with the Houſe of Commons, to whom the Lord Keeper whom they had under the Laſh, was pleaſed to ſignifie, that this Petition, and Proteſtation of the twelve Biſhops, *contained matters of high and dangerous conſequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the Fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament.* Whereupon the ſaid twelve Biſhops were Impeached by the Commons of high Treaſon. The Uſher called Black-Rod, Commanded to find them out, and to bring them to the Bar in the Houſe of *Peers*, which by reaſon of their ſcattered and divided Lodgings, could not be effected till eight of the clock at night, at what time being brought together their offence was ſignified unto them, and an Order preſently made for their commitment to the Tower, whether they were all carried the next day. Except the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Litchfield* who found the favour (the one by reaſon of his Eminent Learning, and both of them in regard of their Age and Infirmities) to ſtand committed to the cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher. Our Archbiſhop had now more Neighbours then he deſired, but not more company than before, it being prudently Ordered amongſt themſelves, that none of them ſhould beſtow any viſits on him, for fear of giving ſome advantage to their common enemy; as if they had been hatching ſome conſpiracy againſt the Publick: But they refrained not on either ſide from ſending Meſſages of Love and conſolation unto one another; thoſe mutual civilities being almoſt every day performed betwixt the two Archbiſhops alſo, though very much differing both in their Counſels and Affections in the times foregoing. The Archbiſhop of *York* was now ſo much declined in favour, that he ſtood in as bad termes with the Common People, as the other did. His Picture cut in Braſs, attired in his Epiſcopal Robes, with his ſquare Cap upon his head, and Bandileers about his Neck, ſhouldring a Musket upon one of his ſhoulders in one hand, and a Reſt in the other, either preſaging that which followed, or elſe relating unto that which had paſſed in defence of the Abbey; Together with which a book was Printed, in which he was Reſembled to the *Decoy-Duck*, (alluding to the *Decoyes* in *Lincolnſhire* where he had been Biſhop) reſtored to Liberty on deſign, that he might bring more Company with him at his coming back, and a device Ingraven for the Front of the Book, which repreſented the conceit; and that not unhappily. Certain I am that our Archbiſhop in the midſt of thoſe ſorrows ſeemed much pleaſed with the Fancy, whither out of his great Love to wit, or ſome other ſelf-ſatisfaction which he found therein, is beyond my knowledge.

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Theſe Biſhops being thus ſecured, and no body left in a manner to ſolicite the Common Cauſe but the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Bill againſt their Votes paſſed currantly in the Houſe of Peers on *February* 6. the Citizens who before had feaſted the King with ſuch ſigns of Affection, now celebrating the Concurrence of the Houſe againſt his Intereſt, with Bells and Bonfires. Nor was it long before the King gave over the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641. Cauſe, for which he had ſo long contended; For either terrified with the Apprehenſion of his own Dangers, or wrought on by the importunity of ſome about him, he ſigned the Bill at *Canterbury* on *February* 14. to which place he had accompanied the Queen in her way toward *Holland*: And by that Bill it was deſired to be Enacted, "That "no Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or any other Perſon in Holy Orders, from "*February* 15. then next following, ſhould have any Seat or Place, "Suffrage or Voice, uſe or execute any Power or Authority in the "Parliaments of this Realm; nor ſhould be of the Privi-Council of "his Majeſty, his Heirs, or Succeſſors, or Juſtices of the Peace of "*Oyer* and *Terminer*, or *Gaol-delivery*; or execute any Temporal "Authority, by vertue of any Commiſſion: but ſhould be wholy "diſabled, or be uncapable to have, receive, uſe or execute any of "the ſaid Offices, Places, Powers, Authorities, and things aforeſaid. The paſſing of which Act, what ſpecious Pretences ſoever were given out for it, redounded little to his Majeſties Benefit, and far leſs to his Comfort. For by cutting off ſo many of his Freinds at a blow, he loſt his Power in the Houſe of Peers, and not long after was deprived of his Negative Voice, when the great Buſineſs of the *Militia* came to be diſputed. And though he pleaſed himſelf ſometimes with this perſwaſion of their *contentedneſs in ſuffering a preſent diminution of their Rights and Honours, for his ſake and the Commonwealths*; yet was it no ſmall trouble to his Conſcience at other times, that he had added this to the former injury, in conſenting to the taking away of the Coercive Power of their Juriſdiction, for this we find to be one of thoſe three things which lay heavieſt on him, in the time of his Solitude and Sufferings, as appears by this paſſage in one of his Prayers, *viz. Was it through ignorance that I ſuffered innocent Blood to be ſpilt by a falſe pretended Juſtice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Worſhip to be ſet up in* Scotland? *Or injured the Biſhops in* England? By which we ſee, that the *Injury* done unto the Biſhops of *England*, is put into the ſame ſcale with his permitting a *wrong way of Worſhip* to be ſet up in *Scotland*, and the ſhedding of the *innocent Blood* of the Earl of *Strafford*. And if this Act proved ſo unpleaſing to the King, it muſt needs be grievous to the Biſhops themſelves; to none more then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had ſet ſo great a part of his affections on the preſerving of this Church in her Power and Glory. Whoſe ſenſe hereof is thus expreſs'd, by one who for the time was his greateſt Adverſary, (a) *That it ſtruck prond* Canterbury *to the heart, and undermined all his Prelatical Deſigns to advance the Biſhops Pomp and Power*; whether with greater bitterneſs or truth, is hard to ſay.

Bibl. Regia:

Eicon Baſil. c. 17.

(a) *Breviate* p. 35.

Their great *hope* was (though it was ſuch a *hope* as that of *Abraham*, which the Scripture calls *a hope againſt hope*) that having pared the Juriſdiction of the *Biſhops*, and impaired their Power, they would have ſuffered them to enjoy their Function with Peace and quiet, as the only remaining Ornament and Honour of the Chuch of *England*. Conform therein unto the gallantry of the Ancient *Romans*, who when they had brought the *Carthaginians* unto that condition,

as

as to compel them to deliver up their Ships, Arms, and Elephants, and to make neither War nor Peace without their permiſſion, (a) eſteemed it an eſpecial honour to their Commonwealth, to preſerve the City which was no longer to be feared, though formerly it had contended for the Superiority. But the Biſhops Crimes were ſtill unpuniſhed: And as the old *Roman* Citizen cried out upon his fine Country-houſe and pleaſant Gardens, when he found his name poſted up amonſt the *Proſcripts*, in the time of *Sylla*; ſo might theſe Holy men complain of thoſe fair Houſes and goodly Manors which belonged to their Epiſcopal Sees, as the only means of the Subverſion of their Sacred Calling. This had been formerly reſolved on, but was not to be done at once, as before was noted; nor to be followed now, but on ſome ſuch colour as was pretended for depriving them of their Juriſdiction and Place in Parliament. It was pretended for ſuppreſſing the Court of *High-Commiſſion*, and the coercive Power of Juriſdiction, That the Prelates had abuſed them both, *to the inſufferable wrong and oppreſſion of his Majeſties Subjects*; And for the taking away of their Votes in Parliament, with all other Civil Power in Church-men, That it was found to be an occaſion of great miſchief both to Church and State, *the Office of the Miniſtry being of ſuch great importance as to take up the whole Man.* And now to make way for the Abolition of the Calling it ſelf, it was given out amongſt the People to have been made of no uſe to the Church, by the Biſhops themſelves; againſt whom theſe Objections were put in every mans mouth, That they had laid aſide the uſe of *Confirming* Children, though required by Law, whereby they had deprived themſelves of that dependence, which People of all ſorts formerly had faſtned on them; That they had altogether neglected the duty of Preaching, under the colour of attending their ſeveral Governments; That in their ſeveral Governments they ſtood only as Cyphers, tranſmitting their whole Juriſdiction to their Chancellors and under-Officers; That none of them uſed to ſit in their *Conſiſtories*, for hearing Grievances, and Adminiſtring Juſtice to the Subject, whether Clergy or Laity, leaving them for a prey to Regiſters, Proctors, and Apparitors, who moſt unconſcionably extorted from them what they pleaſed; That few or none of them held their Viſitations in perſon, whereby the face of the Biſhop was unknown to the greateſt part of the Clergy, and the greateſt part of the Clergy was unknown to him, to the diſcouragement of the Godly and painful Miniſters, and the encouragement of vicious and irregular Perſons; That few of them lived in their Epiſcopal Cities, and ſome there were who had never ſeen them, whereby the Poor (which commonly abound moſt in populous places) wanted that Relief, and thoſe of the better ſort that Hoſpitality, which they had reaſon to expect! the Divine Service in the mean time performed irreverently and perfunctorily in the Cathedrals of thoſe Cities, for want of the Biſhops Reſidence and Superinſpection; That they had transferred the ſolemn giving of *Orders* from the ſaid Cathedrals, to the Chappels of their private Houſes, or ſome obſcure Churches in the Country, not having nor requiring the

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1641. 1.

(a) *Nihil ſpecioſius Carthagine quæ non timeretur.* *L. Flor* Hiſt. l. 2.

Act of Parl. 16. *Car.*

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1641. Assistance of their Deans and Chapters, as they ought to do; That they engrossed a sole or solitary Power to themselves alone, in the Sentence of Deprivation and Degradation, without the Presences and Consents of their said Deans and Chapters, or any Members of the same, contrary to the *Canons* in that behalf; by which last Acts they had rendred those Capitular Bodies as useless to the Church as they were themselves: And finally, That seeing they did nothing which belonged unto the place of a Bishop, but the receiving of their Rents, living in ease and worldly pomp, and domineering over the rest of their Brethren, it was expedient to remove the Function out of the Church, and turn their Lands and Houses unto better uses. This I remember to have been the substance of those Objections made by some of the Gentry, and put into the mouths of the Common People; in which if any thing were true (as I hope there was not) such Bishops as offended in the Premises, or in any of them, have the less reason to complain of their own misfortunes, and the more cause to be complained of, for giving such Advantages to the Enemies of their Power and Function. Nor was the alienating of their Lands and Houses the Total Sum of the Design, though a great part of it. As long as the *Episcopal* Jurisdiction stood, much *Grist* was carried from the *Mills* in *Westminster-Hall*, *Toll* whereof was taken by the Bishops Officers; Therefore those Courts to be suppressed (which could not be more easily done, than in abolishing the Bishops whose Courts they were) that so the managing of all Causes, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, might be brought into the hands of those who thought they could not thrive sufficiently by their own Common Law, as long as any other Law was Common, besides their own. By means whereof, all Offices and Preferments in the Admiral, Archiepiscopal, and Diocesan Courts, being taken from the Civil Lawyers, nothing can follow thereupon but the discouragement and discontinuance of those Noble Studies, which formerly were found so advantagious to the State and Nation.

It is not to be thought that such a general Concussion should befal the Church, so many Practices entertained against it, and so many endeavours used for the Ruine of it; and that no man should lend a helping hand to support the Fabrick, or to uphold the Sacred Ark when he saw it tottering. Some well-affected in both Houses, appeared stoutly for it; amongst which, none more cordially than the Lord *George Digby*, in a Speech made upon occasion of the City-Petition, and Sir *Lucius Cary* Viscount *Faulkland*, both Members of the House of Commons: Which last, though he expressed much bitterness against the Bishops, in one of his Speeches made in the first heats and agitation of business; yet afterwards in another of them he shewed himself an especial Advocate in behalf of the Episcopal Order. In which Speech of his it is affirmed, "That the ground of this Government by Epis-"copacy is so ancient, and so general, so uncontradicted in the first and "best times that our most laborious Antiquaries can find no Nation, no "City, no Church, no Houses under any other, that our first Ecclesia-"stical Authors tell us of; That the Apostles not only allowed but "founded

" founded Biſhops, ſo that the Tradition for ſome Books of Scripture, " which we receive as Canonical, is both leſs ancient, leſs general, and leſs uncontradicted than that is. So he when he was come again to his former temper, and not yet entred nor initiated into Court preferments. Nor was the point only canvaſed within thoſe walls, but managed in a more publick way by the Pens of ſome, than there it had been toſſed on the Tongues of others. The Biſhop of *Exon.* leads the way, preſenting *An humble Remonſtrance* to the High Court of Parliament in behalf of *Liturgie* and *Epiſcopacy*, which preſently was encountred with an anſwer to it, wherein the *Original of Liturgie and Epiſcopacy* is pretended to be *diſcuſſed*, &c. This anſwer framed by a Junćto of five Presbyterian Miniſters in or about the City of *London*, the firſt Letters of whoſe names being laid together made up the word *Smectymnuus*, which appears only for the Author. The Biſhop hereupon replies in a *Vindication* (by which name he called it) which *Vindication* had an Anſwer or Rejoynder to it, by the ſame *Smectymnuus*. During which Interſeats of Arms, and exchange of Pens, a Diſcourſe was publiſhed by Sir *Thomas Aſhton* Knight and Baronet. In the firſt part whereof he gives us *A ſurvey of the Inconveniences of the Presbyterian Diſcipline, and the inconſiſtences thereof, with the conſtitution of this State.* And in the ſecond, *The Original Inſtitution, Succeſſion, and Juriſdiction of the ancient and venerable order of Biſhops.* This laſt part ſeconded within the compaſs of this year by the *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy*, firſt publiſhed as the work of *Theophilus Churchman*, and not till many years after, owned by the Authors name. The next year bringing forth a book of Dr. *Taylors*, called *Epiſcopacy aſſerted*, and the *Aeromaſtix* of *John Theyer*, &c. All of them backt, and the two laſt encouraged by many Petitions to his Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament, not only from the two Univerſities, whom it moſt concerned; but from ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, of which more hereafter.

I ſhall conclude this year with a remembrance of ſome change of Officers in the Court, but of more in the Church. *Windebanke*, Secretary of State, being queſtioned for releaſing divers Prieſts and Jeſuits, contrary to the eſtabliſhed Laws, conveyed himſelf over into *France*; and *Finch* Lord Keeper, on ſome diſtruſt which he had of his ſafety, for acting too zealouſly in the Forreſt-buſineſs, and the caſe of *Shipmoney*, withdrew at the ſame time into *Holland*. *Pembroke*, Lord *Chamberlain* of the houſhold, was diſcharged of his Office by the King upon juſt diſpleaſures, before his late going into *Scotland*; The Earl of *Newcaſtle* for the Reaſons before remembred, had relinquiſhed his charge of the Princes Perſon, and *Cottington* his Offices in the *Exchequer* and the Court of *Wards*; *Neile* Archbiſhop of *York* died ſome few days before the beginning of the Parliament, *Mountague* of *Chicheſter*, *Bancroft* of *Oxon.* *Davenant* of *Salisbury*, *Potter* of *Carliſle*, and *Thornborough* of *Worceſter* within few months after. Nature abhorreth nothing more than *Vacuity*, and it proved to be very agreeable to the Rules of *Polity*, not to ſuffer their preferments to lye longer in a ſtate of *Vacancy*. To fill theſe Places, the Earl of *Hertford* (about that time advanced to the Title of *Marquiſs*) was made and ſworn Governour of

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of the Prince; *Essex*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold; *Say*, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries; *Littleton*, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, preferred to the honour of Lord Keeper; *Faulkland* made Secretary of Estate, and *Culpepper* Chancellour of the Exchequer: Which two last being Members of the House of Commons, and well acquainted with such designs as were then in Project, and men of good parts withal, were thought worth the gaining, and fastned to the Court by these great Preferments. Next for the *Vacancies* in the Church they were supplyed by preferring *Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, to the See of *York*; and *Winiff*, Dean of St. *Pauls*, to the See of *Lincoln*; *Duppa* of *Chichester*, to *Salisbury*, and *King*, then Dean of *Rochester*, to succeed at *Chichester*; *Hall*, Bishop of *Exon.* translated to *Norwich*; and *Brownrigg*, Master of *Catharine* Hall in *Cambridge*, preferred to *Oxon.* *Skinner* of *Bristol* removed to *Oxon.* and *Westfield*, Archdeacon of St. *Albans*, advanced to *Bristol*; the Bishoprick of *Carlisle* was given in *Commendam* to the Primate of *Ireland*, during the troubles in that Kingdom; and *Worcester*, by the power of *Hamilton*, conferred on *Prideaux*, who formerly had been his Tutor; all of them of good parts and merit, and under some especial Character of esteem and favour in the eyes of the People, though some of them declined afterwards from their former height. Nor were there more Changes after these, till the suppressing of Episcopacy by the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, bearing date *October* 9. *Anno* 1646. but that *Frewen* Dean of *Gloucester*, and President of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxon.* was consecrated Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* on the death of *Wright*, in the beginning of the year 1644. and *Howel*, one of the Prebends of *Windsor*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Bristol* on the death of *Westfield*, before the end of the same year.

1642.

The passing of this Act forementioned, put the imprisoned Bishops in some hope of a speedy deliverance, though it proved not so quick as they expected. For though on *Munday February* 14. an Order came that they might put in bail if they would, that they should have their hearing on the *Friday* following, and that some of them went out of the *Tower* the morrow after, as appears by *Breviate*, fol. 25. yet the Commons took it so indignly, that either that Order was revoked, or the Bishops had some private Advertisement to return and continue where they were. The Bishops being deprived of their right of Peerage, must be supposed to stand on the same ground with the rest of the People; and consequently to be accountable for their Actions to the House of Commons, whose Priviledges, if the Peers invade, they must look to hear of it, as well as the poor Bishops had done before. And on these terms the business stood till *May* 5. being just eighteen weeks from their first Imprisonment; at which time, without making suite to the House of Commons, the Peers releast them upon Bail, and dismist them to their several dwellings. There they continued all of them at their own disposing, till the War forced them to provide themselves of safer quarters, except the Bishop of *Ely* only, who, within few months after he was discharged from the Tower, was

was ſeiſed on by a party of Souldiers at his houſe of *Downham*, and brought back again to the *Tower*, where he continued till the end of the year 1659. without any Charge or Accuſation produced againſt him. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

But as for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as he firſt took poſſeſſion of that fatal lodging before any of the reſt came to him; ſo he continued there after their diſmiſſion, without hope of finding his paſſage out of it by any other door than the door of death: which as he did not look for before it came, ſo when it came he did not fear it. He had then been fifteen months a Priſoner ſince his firſt Commitment to that place, as far from being brought unto his Tryal as he was at the firſt; and is to lye there as much longer before he ſhould hear any thing of them which might tend that way: only they had ſome pulls at him from one time to another, to keep him in remembrance of his preſent condition, and to prepare him by degrees to his laſt diſſolution. For on *Octo.* 23. in the year foregoing, the Houſe of Peers ſequeſtred his Juriſdiction from him, conferring it on *Brent*, and others of his under-officers; and ordered that he ſhould beſtow none of the Benefices within his gift without acquainting them with the name and quality of the party whom he intended to prefer, leaving to them the Approbation, if they ſaw cauſe for it. And on *October* 15. this preſent year, for ſo long he remained without further diſturbance, it was reſolved upon the Queſtion, That the Fines, Rents, and Profits of Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, ſhould be ſequeſtred for the uſe and ſervice of the Commonwealth. In which though he was no more concerned, yet he was as much concerned as any other of the Epiſcopal Order; ſo much the more, as being ſure to find leſs favour, whenſoever that Vote ſhould be put in execution by them that made it. For on the ninth of *November* following, his houſe at *Lambeth* was forcibly poſſeſſed by a Party of Souldiers to keep it for the publick Service, and 78 pounds of his Rents as forcibly taken from ſome of his Officers, by an Order under the hands of ſome of the Lords upon pretence of imploying it to the maintenance of his Majeſties Children. But upon his Petition, ſhortly after he had an Order for ſecuring of his Goods and Books; though he ſecured them rather from the power of the Souldiers than from the hands of any other on whom the Houſes ſhould beſtow them, when they ſaw time for it. Upon the neck of that came another Order to bar him from having Conference with any of the other Priſoners; or ſpeaking with any other, but in the preſence of the Warder who was appointed to attend him; and from having the Liberty of the Tower; or from ſending any of his Servants into the City but on occaſion of providing Victuals, and other neceſſaries. Not long after, the Souldiers brake open the doors of his Chappel in *Lambeth* houſe, and began to make foul work with the Organs there: but before any great hurt was done, their Captain came, and put a period to their fury. On *December* 21. his Saddle-horſe was ſeiſed on by Order from ſome Members in the Houſe of Commons; and on 23. *Leighton* the Schiſmatick, who had before been ſentenced in the *Star-Chamber* for his libellous and ſeditious Pamphlets, came with an

PART II. Anno Dom. 1642. an Order from that house to dispossess the Souldiers of their quarters there, and turn his house into a Prison. His Wood and Coals seised on, without any permission to make any use of them for himself. On *March* 14. he had word brought him of a plot for sending him and Bishop *Wren*, his fellow Prisoner to perpetual Exile in *New-England*; and that *Wells*, a Factious Preacher, which came lately thence, had laid wagers of it: but when the matter came in agitation in the House of Commons, it appeared to be so horrible and foul a practice, that it was generally rejected. In the beginning of *May* 1643. the Windows in his Chappel were defaced, and the steps torn up; his Goods and Books seised on by *Leighton*, and some others. And on the sixteenth of the same month he was served with an Order of both Houses, debarring him from bestowing any of his Benefices, which either were or should be vacant for the time to come. And on the last day of the same an Order issued from some Members of that close Committee, directed unto *Prynne* and others, to seise on all his Letters and Papers, to be perused by such as should be Authorised to that end and purpose.

So far they had proceeded in pulling him from himself piece-meal, before they were ready for his Tryal, or seemed to have any thoughts which might look that way. They had then a greater game to play, and on this occasion. His Majesty at his late being in *Scotland* expostulated with some of the chief amongst them touching their late coming into *England* in an hostile manner, and found that some who were now leading men in the Houses of Parliament had invited them to it; and having furnished himself with some proofs for it, he commanded his Atturney General to impeach some of them of High Treason; that is to say, the Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of the House of Peers, *Hollis*, *Pym*, *Hasterig*, *Stroud*, and *Hambden*, of the House of Commons. But sending a Serjeant at Arms to Arrest their persons, there came a countermand from the House of Commons, by which the Serjeant was deferred from doing his office, and the Members had the opportunity of putting themselves into the Sanctuary of the City. The next day, being *January* 4. his Majesty being no otherwise attended than with his ordinary Servants, and some few Gentlemen, armed no otherwise than with Swords and Courage, went to the House of Commons to demand the five Members, that he might proceed against them in a way of Justice; but his intention was discovered, and the birds flown before his coming. And this was voted by the House of Commons for such an unexpiable breach of Priviledge, that neither the Kings qualifying of that Action, nor his desisting from the prosecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction; nothing must satisfie their *Jealousies*, and secure their *Fears*, but the putting the *Tower* of *London* in their hands, together with the Command of the *Royal* Navy, as also of the Forts, Castles, and the Train-bands of the Kingdom, all comprehended under the name of the *Militia*; which if his Majesty would fling after all the rest, they would continue *his most loyal and obedient Subjects*. On this the King demurs a while, but having

having ſhipt the Queen for *Holland*, and got the Prince into his own power, he becomes more reſolute, and ſtoutly ſtands on the denial. But finding the Members too ſtrong for him, and *London*, by reaſon of the continual tumults, to be a dangerous Neighbour to him, he withdraws to *York*; that being in a place of ſafety he might the better find a way to compoſe thoſe differences which now began to embroil the Kingdom. At *Hull* he had a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, provided for the late intended War againſt the *Scots*, and laid up there when the occaſion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to poſſeſs himſelf, and to make uſe of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own preſervation; but coming before the Gates of the Town he was denied entrance by *Hotham*, who by the appointment of the Houſe of Commons had took charge of that place. The Gentry of *Yorkſhire*, who had Petitioned the King to ſecure that *Magazine*, became hereby more firmly united to him. The like had been done alſo by the *Yeomandry*, and thoſe of the inferiour ſort, if his proceedings had not been undermined by a Committee of four Gentlemen, all Members of the Houſe of Commons, and all of them Natives of that County, ſent thither purpoſely (in a new and unprecedent way) to lie as Spies upon his Counſels, and as Controulers to his Actions. Some Meſſages there were betwixt him and the Houſes of Parliament concerning the atoning of theſe differences, whilſt he was at *York*; but the *nineteen Propoſitions* ſent thither to him, did declare ſufficiently that there was no peace to be expected on his part, unleſs he had made himſelf a Cypher, a thing of no ſignification in the affairs of State.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

It was deſired in the eighth of theſe *Propoſitions*, *That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to conſent to ſuch a* Reformation *as ſhould be made, of the* Church Government *and* Liturgy, *as both Houſes of Parliament ſhould* Adviſe, *wherein they intended to have* Conſultation *with* Divines, *as was Expreſſed in their Declaration*; *And that his Majeſty would contribute his beſt aſſiſtance to them for the raiſing of a ſufficient* maintenance, *for* Preaching *Miniſters throughout the Kingdom*; *And that his Majeſty would* be pleaſed *to give his Conſent to Laws for taking away of* Innovations, *and* Superſtitions, *and of* Pluralities, *and againſt* Scandalous *Miniſters*. For ſatisfaction whereunto he firſt repeats unto them ſo much of a former Anſwer returned to their Petition, which accompanied the Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, as hath already been laid down in the year foregoing; and after calls to their Remembrance a material clauſe in his Meſſage of the 14*th* of *February*, at ſuch time as he yielded his conſent to deprive the *Biſhops* of their Votes in Parliament. In which it was declared, *That his Majeſty had Obſerved great and different troubles to ariſe in the hearts of his people concerning the* Government *and* Liturgy *of the Church*; *and therefore that he was willing to refer the whole conſideration to the Wiſdom of his Parliament, which he deſired them to enter into ſpeedily, that the preſent Diſtractions about the ſame might be compoſed*; *that he deſired not to be preſſed to any ſingle Act on his part, till the whole was ſo digeſted and ſetled by both Houſes, that his Majeſty might cleerly ſee what was*

Husb. Exact. Collect. p. 309.

Id. Ib. p. 327.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away. "Of which "he addeth, that he the more hoped for a good ſucceſs to the gene- "ral ſatisfaction of his People, becauſe they ſeemed in their *Propo-* "*ſition* to deſire but a *Reformation*, and not (as had been daily Preach- "ed for *Neceſſary*, in thoſe many Conventicles, which for the nineteen "Months laſt paſt had ſo ſwarmed in this Kingdom) a *Deſtruction* of "the preſent Diſcipline and Liturgy; that he ſhould moſt cheerfully "give his beſt aſſiſtance for raiſing a ſufficient maintenance for "Preaching Miniſters, in ſuch courſe as ſhould be moſt for the en- "couragement of Piety and Learning; that to the Bills they men- "tioned, and the *Conſultation* which they intimated, as he knew no- "thing of the particular *matters* of the one (though he liked the "Titles of themſelves) ſo neither did he of the *manner* of the "other, but by an *Informer*, (to whom he gave little credit; and "wiſht no man did more) Common Fame, he could ſay nothing till "he ſaw them. With which general well ſtudied anſwer he diſmiſſed that Article.

Theſe *Propoſitions*, and the entertaining of ſo many *Petitions* by the Houſes of Parliament viſibly tending to the Abolition of Epiſcopal Government, made it appear moſt neceſſary in the Eyes of thoſe who wiſht well to it, to haſten the publiſhing of ſuch Petitions, as had been preſented to the King in behalf thereof, and by his Majeſty had been Ordered to be publiſhed accordingly; For what could otherwiſe be expected, but that many ſuch Petitions ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, and both Houſes from ſeveral Counties in the Kingdom, for the preſerving of that Government, under which this Church had flouriſhed with Peace and Happineſs, ſince the Reformation. Amongſt which none did plead the cauſe with greater fervency, then that which was tendred in the name of the Gentry and Clergy of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*; partly out of the eſteem they had to their *Metropolitan*, and partly out of the affection, which they carried to the cauſe it ſelf. In which Petition it was ſhewed, *That notwithſtanding this Kingdom, hath by the ſingular Providence of Almighty God for many years laſt paſt happily flouriſhed above all other Nations in the Chriſtian World, under the Religion and Government by Law Eſtabliſhed; yet hath it been of late moſt miſerably diſtracted through the ſiniſter Practices of ſome private perſons ill affected to them both; By whoſe means the preſent Government is diſgraced and traduced, the Houſes of God are profaned and in part defaced, the Miniſters of Chriſt are contemned and deſpiſed, the Ornaments and many Utenſils of the Church are abuſed, the Liturgie and Book of Common Prayer, depraved and neglected, That abſolute model of Prayer*, the Lords Prayer *vilified, the Sacraments of the Goſpel in ſome places unduly adminiſtred, in other places omitted, Solemn days of Faſting obſerved, and appointed by private Perſons*, Marriages Illegally Solemnized, *Burials uncharitably performed, And the very Fundamentals of Religion ſubverted by the Publication of a new Creed, and teaching the Abrogation of the Moral Law. For which purpoſe many offenſive Sermons are daily Preached, and many Impious Pamphlets Printed; And in contemning of Authority many do what*

Collect. of Petitions, p. 45.

what ſeemeth good in their own Eyes only, as if there were no King nor Government in this our Iſrael; *whereby God is highly provoked, his Sacred Majeſty diſhonoured, the Peace of the Kingdom endangered, the Conſciences of the People diſquieted, the Miniſtry of Gods word diſheartned, and the Enemies of the Church imboldned in their enterpriſe.* "For "redreſs whereof, May it pleaſe this great and Honourable Council, "ſpeedily to Command a due obſervation of the Religion and Go- "vernment by Law Eſtabliſhed; in ſuch manner as may ſeem beſt to "the Piety and Wiſdom of his Royal Majeſty and this Honourable "Court. Your Petitioners as they ſhall confidently expect a bleſſing "from Heaven upon this Church, and Kingdom; ſo ſhall they have "this further cauſe to implore the Divine Aſſiſtance upon this Ho- "nourable *Aſſembly*.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

To this Petition there ſubſcribed no fewer then 24 Knights and Baronets, Eſquires and Gentlemen of note above 300. Divines 108. Freeholders and Subſidy-men 800. A greater number in the total then might have been expected from ſo ſmall a Dioceſs, conſiſting but of 257. Pariſhes, diſtempered by the mixture of ſo many Churches of *French* and *Dutch*, and wholly under the command of the Houſes of Parliament. Many Petitions of like nature came from other Counties, where the People were at any Liberty to ſpeak their own ſenſe, and had not their hands tied from Acting in their own concernments; All which with ſome of thoſe, which had led the way unto the Reſt, were publiſhed by Order from his Majeſty, bearing date *May* 20. 1642. under the title of *a Collection of the Petitions of divers Countries*, &c. Which Petitions being ſo drawn together, and beſides many which were preſented after this Collection, amounted to nineteen in all, that is to ſay, two from the County of *Cheſter*, two from *Cornwall*, one from the Univerſity of *Oxon.* and another from the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; One from the Heads of Colledges and Halls, this from the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*; another from the Dioceſs of *Exeter*, one from the ſix Counties of *North-wales*, and one apiece from the Counties of *Notingham*, *Huntington*, *Somerſet*, *Rutland*, *Stafford*, *Lancaſter*, *Kent*, *Oxford*, and *Hereford*. Nor came theſe Petitions thus collected, either from Perſons few in Number or inconſiderable in quality (like thoſe of the Porters, Watermen, and other poor people which clamored with ſo much noiſe at the doors of the Parliament) but from many thouſands of the beſt and moſt eminent Subjects of the Realm of *England*. The total Number of Subſcribers in ſeven of the ſaid Counties only, beſides the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, and the Burrough of *Southwark* (the reſt not being computed in the ſaid Collection) amounting to 482. Lords and Knights, 1748. Eſquires and Gentlemen of Note, 631. Doctors and Miniſters, 44559. Freeholders; which ſhows how generally well affected the People were, both to the Government, and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, if they had not been perverted, and over-awed by the Armies and Ordinances of the Houſe of Parliament, which Commanded the greateſt part of the Kingdom. And though perhaps the Subſcribers on the other ſide might appear more numerous, conſidering how Active and United

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

A Draught of a Speech by the Lord Viſcount *Faulkland*, p. 4

that party was; yet was it very well obſerved in reference to the ſaid Subſcriptions, by a Noble Member of that Houſe, "That the "numberleſs number of thoſe of a different ſenſe, appeared not pub-"lickly, nor cried ſo loud as being perſons more quiet, ſecure in the "goodneſs of their Laws, the wiſdom of their Law-makers; and that it was not a thing uſual to Petition for what men have, but for what they have not. But notwithſtanding the importunity of the Petitioners on the one ſide, and the Moderation of the Kings Anſwer on the other, the prevailing party in both Houſes had *Reſolved* long ſince upon the *Queſtion*, which afterwards they declared by their publick Votes. For on the *11th* of *September* the Vote paſſed in the Houſe of Commons for aboliſhing *Biſhops*, *Deans*, and *Chapters*, celebrated by the infatuated Citizens (as all other publick miſchiefs were) with Bells and Bonfires; the Lords not coming in till the end of *January*, when it paſt there alſo.

The War in the mean time begins to open; The Parliament had their Guards already, and the affront which *Hotham* had put upon his Majeſty at *Hull* prompted the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* to tender themſelves for a Guard to his Perſon. This preſently Voted by both Houſes to be a leavying of War againſt the Parliament, for whoſe defence not only the *Trained Bands* of *London* muſt be in readineſs, and the *Good people of the Country* required to put themſelves into a poſture of Arms; but Regiments of Horſe and Foot are Liſted, a General appointed, great Sums of Money raiſed, and all this under pretence of taking the King out of the hands of his *Evil Counſellors*. The noiſe of theſe preparations haſtens the King from *York* to *Nottingham* where he ſets up his *Standard* inviting all his good *Subjects* to repair unto him, for defence of their King, the Laws and Religion of their Country. He encreaſed his forces as he marched, which could not come unto the Reputation of being an Army, till he came into *Shropſhire*, where great Bodies of the Loyal, and Stout hearted *Welch* reſorted to him. Strengthened with this, and furniſhed ſufficiently with field Pieces, Arms, and Ammunition, which the Queen had ſent to him out of *Holland*, he reſolves upon his March to *London*; but on *Sunday* the *23th* of *Octob.* was encountred on the way at a place called *Edghill* by the Parliaments Forces. The Fight very terrible for the time, no fewer then 5000 men ſlain upon the place; The *Prologue* for a greater ſlaughter, if the Dark night had not put an end to that diſpute. Each part pretended the Victory, but it went cleerly on the Kings ſide, who though he loſt his General; yet he kept the Field, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Dead bodies, and not ſo only: but he made his way open unto *London*, and in his way forced *Banbury* Caſtle in the very ſight, as it were, of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who with his flying Army made all the haſt he could toward the City (that he might be there before the King) to ſerve the Parliament. More certain ſigns there could not be of an abſolute Victory. In the Battel of *Turo*, between the Confederates of *Italy*, and *Charles* the *8th* of *France*, it happened ſo, that the Confederates kept the Field, poſſeſt themſelves of the Camp, Baggage and Artillery, which the *French* in their breaking

breaking through, had left behind them. And yet the Honour of the day was generally given unto the *French*; For though they loſt the Field, their Camp Artillery and Baggage: yet they obtained what they fought for, which was the opening of their way to *France*, and which the *Confederates* did intend to deprive them off. Which Reſolution in that *Caſe* may be a Ruling *Caſe* to this; the King having not only kept the Field, poſſeſt himſelf of the dead bodies, Pillaged the Carriages of the Enemy: but forcibly opened his way toward *London*, which the Enemy endeavoured to hinder, and finally entred Triumphantly into *Oxon.* with no fewer then one hundred and twenty Colours taken in the fight. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1642.

Having aſſured himſelf of *Oxon.* for his *Winter Quarters*, he Reſolved on his Advance toward *London*: but made ſo many Halts in the way, that *Eſſex* was got thither before him, who had diſpoſed of his Forces at *Kingſton*, *Branford*, *Acton*, and ſome other places thereabouts, not only to ſtop his March, but to fall upon him in the *Rere* as occaſion ſerved. Yet he goes forward notwithſtanding as far as *Branford*, out of which he beats two of their beſt Regiments, takes 500. Priſoners, ſinks their *Ordnance*, with an intent to march forward on the morrow after, being *Sunday November* 13. But underſtanding that the Earl of *Eſſex* had drawn his Forces out of *Kingſton*, and joining with the *London Auxiliaries*, lay in the way before him, at a place called *Turnhom-Green* neer *Chiſwick*, it was thought ſafer to retreat toward *Oxon.* while the way was open, than to venture his Army to the fortune of a ſecond Battel, which if it were loſt, it would be utterly impoſſible for him to raiſe another. At *Oxon.* he receives *Propoſitions* of Peace from the Houſes of Parliament: but ſuch as rather did beſeem a conquering than a loſing ſide: Amongſt which I find this for one.

That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent, for taking away Superſtitious Innovations; *and to the Bill for the utter aboliſhing and taking away all* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *their* Chancellors *and* Commiſſaries, Deans, Subdeans, Deans *and* Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, *and* Prebendaries, *and all* Chanters, Chancellors, Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors *and* Sacriſts, *and all* Vicars Choral *and* Choriſters, *old* Vicars *or new* Vicars *of any* Cathedral *or* Collegiate *Church*, *and all other their under-Officers out of the Church of* England; *To the Bill againſt* Scandalous Miniſters; *To the Bill againſt* Pluralities, *and to the Bill for* Conſultation *to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines*; *That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to paſs ſuch other Bills for ſetling of Church-Government, as upon* Conſultation *with the* Aſſembly *of the ſaid Divines ſhall be Reſolved on by both Houſes of Parliament, and by them to be preſented to his Majeſty.* Propoſition 4

Which *Propoſition*, with the reſt, being preſented to him on *Candlemas*-day, he referred to the following Treaty to be held at *Oxon.* in which he found the Commiſſioners of the Houſes ſo ſtreighted in Time,

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Time, and ſo tied up to their Inſtructions, that nothing could be yielded by them, which might conduce to the compoſing of the preſent Diſtempers.

But it was indifferent to them what Succeſs they found, either in the *Propoſitions* or the *Treaty*, who had already entred on the Rents and Profits of all the *Epiſcopal Sees* and *Capitular Bodies*, which were within the Power of their Armies; and Sequeſtred the Benefices of all ſuch as ſtood in their way, under the common notion of ſcandalous Miniſters: who if they had offended againſt the Laws of the Realm, by the ſame Laws were to have been proceeded againſt; that ſo being legally deprived, the vacant Churches might be left to be filled by the *Patrons* with more deſerving *Incumbents*. But ſuch a courſe was inconſiſtent with the preſent Deſign: Moſt of the Silenced *Lecturers* and Factious Miniſters, which within ten years then laſt paſt had left the Kingdom, either for Inconformity, or Debt, or their own intemperance of Spirit, had of late flock'd into it amain, like ſo many Birds of Rapine to ſeek after the *Prey*. And upon theſe, and ſuch as theſe, the Sequeſtred Benefices were beſtowed, to be held no otherwiſe by them, than as *Uſufructuaries* or *Tenants at Will*, that ſo they might continue in a ſervile obſequiouſneſs to the Power and Pleaſure of their great Landlords. With which his Majeſty being made acquainted, he preſently ſignified his diſlike and reſentment of it, by his Royal Proclamation bearing date at *Oxon. May* 15. 1643. In which he firſt complains, "That divers of the Clergy, eminent for their Piety and Learning, "were forced from their Cures and Habitations, or otherwiſe ſilen- "ced and diſcharged from exerciſing their Miniſtry, for no other rea- "ſon but becauſe (contrary to the Laws of the Land, and their own "Conſciences) they would not pray againſt him and his Aſſiſtants, "or refuſed to publiſh any illegal Commands and Orders for foment- "ing the unnatural War raiſed againſt him: but conformed themſelves "according to the Book of Common Prayers, and Preach'd Gods "Word according to the purity thereof, without any mixture of "Sedition. Next, That the ſaid Clergy being ſo forcibly driven out "or diſcharged of their Cures, many Factious and Schiſmatical Per- "ſons were intruded into them, to ſow Sedition, and ſeduce his good "Subjects from their Obedience, contrary to the Word of God and "the Laws of the Land: Part of the Profits of the ſaid Benefices al- "lotted to the ſaid Intruders; the reſt converted to the Maintenance "of the War againſt him. And thereupon he ſtreightly command- "eth all his good Subjects to deſiſt from ſuch illegal courſes againſt "any of the Clergy aforeſaid; to pay their Tythes to the ſeveral and "reſpective Incumbents, or their Aſſigns, without guile or fraud, not- "withſtanding any Sequeſtration, pretended Orders or Ordinances "whatſoever, from one or both Houſes of Parliament; and this to do "under pain of being proceeded againſt according to Law, as they "ſhould be apprehended and brought to the hands of Juſtice; their "Lands and Goods in the mean time to be ſequeſtred, and taken into "ſafe cuſtody for their diſobedience: Requiring all Churchwardens "and Sides-men, to be aſſiſtant in gathering and receiving their Tythes, "Rents,

Bibl. Regia. p. 1. p. 325.

"Rents and Profits; and to reſiſt all ſuch Perſons as much as in them "lay, which were intruded into any of the Benefices or Cures afore- "ſaid. But this ſerved rather to declare his Majeſties Piety, than to ſtop the courſe of thoſe Proceedings: For juſtifying whereof, the Clergy muſt be branded with Offences of divers conditions; ſome of them of ſuch a ſcandalous and heynous nature, as were not to be expiated with the loſs of Livings, but of Lives, if any Legal Evidence had been found to prove them. And that nothing might be wanting to their infelicity, an infamous Pamphlet is diſperſed, Licenſed by *White* Chairman for the Committee for Religion, under the Title of, *The firſt Century of Scandalous and Malignant Prieſts, &c.* Which though his Majeſty abominated upon very good reaſon, when it firſt came unto his knowledge; yet would he not give way that a Recrimination ſhould be made of the adverſe Party, by ſuch as undertook to do it on far juſter grounds.

In like manner they proceeded to the execution of another part of their deſign, mentioned and preſented in the ſaid Propoſition, touching a *Conſultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines.* For not intending to expect his Majeſties pleaſure, their Commiſſioners were no ſooner returned from the Treaty at *Oxon.* but they cauſed ſuch an Aſſembly to be called by their own Authority, as ſhould be ſure to do the Work recommended to them. The *Convocation* was in force, but not fit to be truſted; nor durſt they venture to commit the choice of men to the Beneficed Clergy, according to the courſe of *National* and *Provincial Synods:* That Power they kept themſelves, commiting the Nomination unto ſuch as ſerved for the ſeveral Counties, that ſo each County might be furniſhed with ſuch Perſons to perform the Service, as could have no Authority to bind them by their Conſtitutions, or any other Publick Acts, made and agreed upon in that *Aſſembly.* An *Aſſembly* of a very ſtrange mixture, conſiſting of a certain number of the *Lords* and *Commons*, with a greater proportion of *Divines*, ſome of which were *Prelatical*, ſome *Independent*, and the greater part of them *Presbyterians*, out of which ſpawned another Fry by the name of *Eraſtians.* And that they might not be bound to this Journey-work without daily Wages, they had each of them their 4*s. per diem* well and truly paid, and were beſides inveſted in ſeveral Lectures in and about the City of *London*, and the beſt Benefices (ſome of them three or four for failing) which could be found in all the Kingdom. His Majeſty looks on this as a new Provocation, a ſtrange and unparallell'd Incroachment on his Royal Prerogative, to which alone the calling of ſuch *Aſſemblies* did belong by the Laws of the Realm. He ſees withal the dangerous ends for which it was called, of what Ingredients for the moſt part the whole *Aſſembly* was compoſed, what influence the prevailing party in both Houſes was to have upon it, and the ſad conſequents which in all probability were to be expected from it to the Church and State. And thereupon by his Proclamation of *June* 22. (being juſt ten days after the date of the Ordinance by which the *Aſſembly* was indicted) "He inhibits all "and every Perſon named in that pretended Ordinance (under ſeve- "ral pains) from aſſembling together for the end and purpoſe therein "ſet *Bibl. Regia.* 331. p.

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"ſet down; declaring the *Aſſembly* to be illegal; and that the Acts "thereof ought not to be received by any of his good Subjects, as "binding them, or of any Authority with them. Which Prohibition notwithſtanding, moſt of the Members authoriſed by that Ordinance aſſembled in the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, on the firſt of *July*, in contempt of his Majeſty and the Laws: But what they did, or whether they did any thing or not, more than their taking of the *Covenant*, and iſſuing a new Form of Worſhip by the name of a *Directory*, comes not within the compaſs of my Obſervation.

Such were his Majeſties pious Cares for preſerving the Peace of the Church, the Purity of Religion, and the poſſeſſions of his Clergy; in the midſt whereof he kept his eye on the courſe of that War, which hitherto he had proſecuted with ſuch good ſucceſs, with hopes of better fortune for the time to come. For having triumphantly brought the Queen into *Oxford* in the beginning of the *Spring*, with ſome Supplies of Men, and a conſiderable Stock of Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, which ſhe bought in *Holland*, he finds himſelf in a condition to take the Field, and in this *Summer* becomes Maſter of the *North* and *Weſt*, ſome few places only being excepted. The Earl of *Newcaſtle* with his Northern Army, had cleared all parts beyond *Trent* (but the Town of *Hull*) of the Enemies Forces. And with his own Army, under the Command of Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* (two of the younger Sons of his Siſter *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*) he reduced the Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exeter*, the Port-Town of *Weymouth*, and all the Towns of any importance in the *Weſtern* Parts, except *Poole*, *Lime*, and *Plymouth*: So that he was in a manner the abſolute Commander of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Dorſet*, *Sommerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*. And though the Towns of *Plymouth*, *Lime*, and *Poole*, ſtill held out againſt him; yet were they ſo bridled by his neighbouring Garriſons, that they were not able to create him any great diſturbance. The noiſe of which ſucceſſes was ſo loud at *London*, that moſt of the leading men in both Houſes of Parliament, prepared for quitting of the Kingdom, and had undoubtedly ſo done, if the King had followed his good Fortunes, and advanced toward *London*: But unhappily diverting upon *Gloceſter*, he lay ſo long there without doing any thing to the purpoſe, that the Earl of *Eſſex* came time enough to raiſe the Siege, and relieve the Town, though he made not haſte enough to recover *London* without blows. For beſides ſome Skirmiſhes on the *by*, which fell out to his loſs, the King with the whole Body of his Army overtook him at *Newbury*, where after a ſharp Fight (with the loſs of the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Viſcount *Faulkland* on his Majeſties ſide) he had the worſt of the day, and had much ado to ſave his Cannon, and march off orderly from the place; followed ſo hotly the next morning, that his own *Horſe* which were in the *Rere*, were fain to make their way over a great part of his *Foot*, to preſerve themſelves. But being returned to *Oxford* (with Succeſs and Honour) he Summons the Lords and Commons of Parliament to attend there on *January* 22. then next following, and they came accordingly. And for their better welcome, he advances

Prince

Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Earl of *Holderness* and Duke of *Cumberland*, and creates *James* his Second Son (born October 13. 1633.) Duke of *York*; by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might Sit and Vote amongst them. But being come, they neither would take upon themselves the name of a *Parliament*, nor acted much in order to his Majesties Designs but stood so much upon their terms, and made so many unhandsom Motions to him upon all occasions, that he had more reason to call them *A Mongrel Parliament*, in one of his Letters to the Queen, than they were willing to allow of. Ann. Dom. 1643.

Scarce were they settled in their several and respective Houses, when they were entertained with a hot Alarm, made by the coming in of the *Scots* with a puissant Army; the greatest and best accommodated with all sorts of Arms and Ammunition, that ever was mustered by that Nation, since it had a being. His Majesties wonderful Successes in the *North* and *West*, strook such a terrour in the prevailing Party of both Houses, that they were forced to cast themselves upon the *Scots* for Support and Succour; dispatching *Armine*, and some other of their active Members, to negotiate a new Confederacy with them. The *Scots* had thrived so well by the former Service, as made them not unwilling to come under the pay of such bountiful Masters; and by the Plunder of so many of the *Northern* Counties, had made themselves Masters of a greater stock of Arms and Horses, than that Kingdom formerly could pretend to in its greatest Glories. But knowling well in what necessity their *dear Brethren* in *England* stood of their assistance, they were resolved to *make Hay* while the *sun shined*, and husband that necessity to their best advantage. The *English* must first enter into Covenant with them, for conforming of this Church with that; They must be flattered with the hopes of dividing the Bishops Lands amongst them, that they might plant themselves in some of the fairest Houses and best Lands of this Kingdom; So great a stroke is to be given them in the Government of all Affairs, that the Houses could act nothing in order to the present War, no not so much as to hold a Treaty with the King, without the consent of their Commissioners; Some of their Ministers (*Gillespie*, *Henderson*, *&c.*) with as many of their *Ruling Elders*, to sit in the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, that nothing might be acted which concerned Religion, but by their Advice; One hundred thousand pounds for advance-mony, to put them into heart and provide them Necessaries, before they would budge toward the *Tweed*. And yet all these Temptations were not of such prevalency with the Principal Covenanters, as an Assurance which was given them, of calling *Canterbury*, their supposed old Enemy, to a present Tryal: Who having been imprisoned upon their complaint, almost three years since, seems to have been preserved all this while for no other purpose, than for a bait to hook them in for some new Imployments. The Walls of some Confederacies, like that of *Catiline*, are never thought to be sufficiently well built but when they are cemented with bloud.

All matters thus resolved on, the Covenant agreed on betwixt them

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and the *Scots* was solemnly taken by both Houses in St. *Margarets* Church, and generally imposed upon all such as were obnoxious to their power, and lived under the command of their Forts and Garrisons: the taking whereof conduced as visibly to the destruction of this most reverend and renowned Prelate, as to the present subversion of the Government, and Liturgy here by Law established. In the first branch it was to be covenanted and agreed between the Nations (that is to say, between the *Puritan* or *Presbyterian* Factions in either Kingdom) "That all endeavours should be used for the preservation "of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, both in Do"ctrine, Worship, Liturgy, and Government; and for bringing the "three Kingdoms to the nearest Conjunction, and Uniformity in Re"ligion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, *Direc"tory* for Worship and Catechising. And in the second, That in like "manner they endeavour without any respect of Persons, the extir"pation of *Popery*, Prelacy, that is, Church-Government, by Arch"bishops and Bishops, their Chancellors or Commissaries, Deans, "Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Of"ficers depending on the Hierarchy, Superstition, Heresie, Schism, "Profaneness, and whatsoever should be found contrary to sound "Doctrine, and the power of Godliness. But all this might have been pursued to the end of the Chace without danger to the life of any, whether they endeavoured it or not, whether their lives might be an hindrance, or their deaths give a spur to put on the work. And therefore in the fourth place it was also Covenanted, "That they should "with all diligence and faithfulness discover all such as have been, "or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring "the Reformation or Religion, dividing the King from his People, "or one of the Kingdoms from one another, or making any Faction or "Parties amongst the People contrary to this League and Covenant, "that they may be brought to publick trial, and receive condign "punishment as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, "or the supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively or others "having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient. Which Article seems to have been made to no other purpose but to bring the Archbishop to the Block, as the like clause was thrust into the *Protestation* of the third of *May*, *Anno* 1641. to make sure work with the Earl of *Strafford*, whom they had then designed to the said sad end. And this may be the rather thought because the Covenant was contrived, and framed in *Scotland*, where none but his sworn Enemies could be supposed to have had any hand in it; and being by them so contrived was swallowed without much chewing by the Houses of Parliament, who were not then in a condition to deny them any thing.

But by whomsoever it was framed, his Majesty saw well enough that it aimed at the subversion of the present Government, and the diminution of his Power, if not the destruction of his Person; the preservation and safety whereof was to be endeavoured no further than in *defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom*. Which how great

great or little it might be, or what was meant by true Religion and the publick Liberties, was left holy unto their conſtruction, who would be ſure not to interpret any thing to his beſt advantage. His Majeſty therefore looking on it as a dangerous Combination againſt himſelf, the eſtabliſhed Religion, and the Laws of this Kingdom, for the bringing in of Foraign Forces to ſubvert them all, interdicted all his Subjects from impoſing, or taking the ſame, as they would anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt Perils. Which Proclamation, bearing date on the ninth of *October*, came out too late to hinder the taking and enjoying of this *Covenant*, where the reſtraint thereof might have been moſt neceſſary. For the Commons were ſo quick at their work, that on *Munday*, *September* 25. it had been ſolemnly taken by all the Members of that Houſe, and the Aſſembly of Divines at St. *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*; in the ſame Church, within two days after, it was adminiſtred with no leſs ſolemnity to divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Colonels, Officers, Souldiers, and other reſiding in and about the City of *London*, a Sermon being preached by *Coleman* (though otherwiſe a principal *Eraſtian* in point of Government) to juſtifie the Piety and Legality of it; and finally, enjoyned to be taken on the Sunday following in all Churches and Chappels of *London*, within the *Lines of Communication*, by all and every the Inhabitants within the ſame, as afterwards by all the Kingdom in convenient time. Proſecuted in all places, with ſuch curſed rigour, that all ſuch who refuſed to ſubſcribe the ſame, and to lift up their hands to God in teſtimony that they called him to witneſs to it, were turned both out of houſe and home, as they uſe to ſay, not ſuffered to compound for their Goods or Lands till they had ſubmitted thereunto. A terrible and woful time, in which men were not ſuffered to enjoy their Eſtates without betraying themſelves to the Kings diſpleaſure, and making ſhipwrack of a good conſcience in the ſight of God. Upon which ground, conſidering it conſiſted of ſix Principal branches, it was compared by ſome to the ſix knotted whip, or the Statute of the ſix Articles in the time of King *Henry* viii. this Covenant drawing in the *Scots*, and thereby giving an occaſion of ſhedding infinitely much more bloud than thoſe Articles did. Certain I am, that if all ſuch as died in the War upon that account may not go for *Martyrs*; all ſuch as irrecoverably loſt their Eſtates and Livings for refuſal of it, may be called Confeſſors. Others with no unhappy curioſity obſerving the number of the words which make up this Covenant, abſtracted from the Preface and Concluſion of it, found them amounting in the total to 666. neither more nor leſs, which being the number of the Beaſt in the Revelation, purſued with ſuch an open perſecution, and proſecuted to the loſs of ſo many lives, the undoing of ſo many Families, and the ſubverting of the Government both of Church and State, may very juſtly intitle it to ſo much of *Antichriſt*, as others have endeavoured to confer on the Popes of *Rome*. For if the Pope ſhewed any thing of the Spirit of *Antichriſt* by bringing *Cranmer*, the firſt Proteſtant Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Stake at *Oxon*, this Covenant, and the Makers of it, did expreſs no leſs, in bringing the Laſt Proteſtant Archbiſhop to the Block in *London*.

LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

Pri. C. Reg. p. 1. p. 332.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1643. For no sooner was this Covenant taken, but to let the *Scots* see that they were in earnest, a further impeachment consisting of ten Articles was prepared against him, which being digested into Form and Order, were to this effect, *viz.* "1. That to introduce an Arbitrary Government, and to destroy Parliaments, he had caused the Parliament, "held in the third and fourth year of his Majesty, to be dissolved, "and used many reproachful speeches against the same. 2. That "out of an endeavour to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land "he had laboured to advance the power of the Council-Table, the "Canons of the Church, and the Kings Prerogative against the said "Fundamental Laws, and had used several Speeches to the same ef-"fect. 3. That to advance the Ecclesiastical Power above the Laws "of the Land, he had by undue means to the Judges, procured a stop "of his Majesties Writs of Prohibition, whereby Justice had been de-"layed and hindred, and the Judges diverted from doing their du-"ties. 4. That a judgment being given against one *Burly* for wilful "non-residency, he caused execution on it to be staid, saying, That "he would never suffer a Judgment to pass against any Clergy-man by "a *nihil dicit*. 5. That he had caused Sir *John Corbet* of *Shropshire* "to be committed to Prison by an Order of the Council Table, for "calling for the *Petition of Right*, and causing it to be read at the Ses-"sions of the Peace for the County upon just and necessary occasion, "and had used some other acts of Injustice toward him. 6. That he "had suppresst the Corporation of Feoffees for buying in Impropriati-"ons, under pretence of being dangerous to the Church and State. "7. That contrary to the known Laws of the Land he had advanced "*Popery*, and Superstition within this Realm; and to that end had "wittingly and willingly harboured divers Popish Priests, as *Sancta* "*Clara*, and St. *Giles*. 8. That he had said, about four years since, there "must be a blow given to the Church, such as hath not been yet given, "before it could be brought to Conformity. 9. That after the disso-"lution of the Parliament 1640. he caused a *Synod* or *Convocation* to "be held, and divers Canons to be made therein, contrary to the "Laws of the Realm, the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, *&c.* "and particularly the Canon which enjoyns the Oath, which he caused "many Ministers of the Church to take upon pain of Suspension, *&c.* "10. That a Vote having been passed at the Council Table a little "before the last Parliament, for supplying his Majesty in Extraordi-"nary ways, if the said Parliament should *prove peevish*, he wickedly "advised his Majesty to dissolve the same, telling him not long after "that now he was absolved from all Rules of Government, and left "free to use Extraordinary ways for his supply. Such was the sub-"stance of the Charge, which some intended Chiefly for an Intro-"duction to bring on the Tryal, or to revive the noise and clamour a-"mongst Ignorant People which rather judge of such particulars by "tale then weight: for otherwise there is nothing in these last ten, which "was not easily reducible to the first fourteen, no not so much as his "suppressing the *Feoffees* for *Impropriations*, which seemed most odi-"ous in the eyes of any knowing men.

These

These Articles being thus digested, were sent up to the Lords the 23 of *October* presented by the hands of *Wilde*, a Serjeant at Law, and one of the Members of the House of Commons, by whom he was designed to manage the Evidence, when the cause was Ready for a hearing; on the Receipt whereof it was Ordered that he should appear on that day Seven-night, and to bring in his answer in writing to the particulr Articles of the several Charges: which Order being served upon him within few hours after, found him not very well provided for a present conformity. He had obtained leave at his first Commitment to repair to his Study at *Lambeth* House, and to take thence such Papers and Memorials as might conduce to his defence; but all these had been forcibly seised on, and in a manner ravisht from him by *Prynne* and others, which made his case not much unlike to that of the *Israelites* in the House of Bondage, deprived first of their former allowance of Straw and Stubble, and yet injoyned to make up their *whole tale of Brick*, as at other times. His Rents, and Goods were Sequestred for the use of others, so that he had not a sufficiency for a poor Subsistence, but by the Charity of his Friends; much less a superabundance, out of which to Fee his Counsel and reward his Solicitors. And what were seven days to the drawing up of an Answer unto twenty four Articles, most of them having young ones in their bellies also, as like to make as Loud a cry as the Dams themselves. No way to Extricate himself out of these perplexities but by petitioning the Lords, and to them he flyes, humbly beseeching, that *Chute* and *Hearn* two able Lawers might be assigned him for his Counsel that he might be allowed money out of his own Estate to reward them and others for their pains in his business; his Books and Papers restored to him, for the instruction of his Counsel, and his own Defence; some of his own Servants to attend him for following all such necessary occasions, as the cause required; and that a Solicitor, and further time migh be allowed, as well for drawing up his answer as providing witnesses, To which this Answer was returned. Upon reading of the Petition of the *Lord Archbishop of* Canterbury *this* 24th *day of* October *It is Ordered*, &c. *that time is given him until* Munday *the* 6th *of* November *next for putting in his answer in writing into this house unto the particular Articles brought up from the House of Commons, in maintenance of their former impeachment of High Treason*, &c. *That Master* Hearn, *and Master* Chute, *are hereby assigned to be of Councel for the drawing up of his Answer, who are to be permitted to have free access in and out to him. That this house doth hereby recommend to the Committee of Sequestrations, that the said Lord Archbishop shall have such means afforded him out of his Estate, as will enable him to pay his Counsel, and defray his other Charges. That when his Lordship shall set down particularly what Papers and Writings are Necessary for his Defence that should be restored unto him, their Lordships will take it into consideration. That upon his Lordships nominating who shall be his Solicitor, the Lords will return their Answer. And for the witnesses when a day shall be appointed for his Lordships tryal, this house will give such directions therein as shall be just.*

This

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This doubtful Answer gave him small assurance of an equal hearing. His desired Counsel was allowed him, *Hales* superadded to the rest, and three of his Servants nominated to attend the business: But he was left uncertain of providing for their satisfaction. His Solicitor must be first approved by them before he could settle to his cause, and whether they would approve of such an one as he thought fit to trust with his life and fame, was to him unknown; and if he point particularly to such of his Papers and Remembrances, as he conceived most necessary to his preservation, it was only promised to be taken into consideration, which kept him in as great suspence as all the rest. In this distress he was advised by his Counsel to move their Lordships, that a Discrimination might be made betwixt the Articles; to the end that such of them as were held to contain *High Treason* might be distinguished from such matters, as were to be charged for misdeamenors: but no clear answer coming from their Lordships in that behalf he was Commanded to make his personal appearance before them on the 13th of *November*, where by the advise of his Counsel he pleaded not guilty to the whole charge, without answering more particularly to any Article or clause contained in it. And on that day month it was Ordered by the House of Commons, that the Committee Formerly appointed to prepare the Evidence for his Tryal, should put the business into a quick and speedy course, with Power to send for Parties, Witnesses, Papers, Records, *&c.* And to make all things ready for the sight of the House: the care thereof Committed specially to *Wilde* who had before brought up the additional Articles. Brought to the Bar again on *Tuesday* the 16th of *January*, their Lordships were informed by *Maynard*, in the name of the House Commons, that his former Answer being made only to the *Additional* Articles, and not to the *Original* also, they could not in defect thereof proceed (as otherwise they would have done) to draw up the Issue; and thereupon he was required peremptorily to prepare his Answer to those also against Munday following, though deemed so *General* by his Counsel, as not to be sufficiently capable of a *Particular* Reply. Which day being come he claimed the benefit of the Act of *Pacification*, for his discharge from all matters comprehended in the 13 Article relating to the troubles of *Scotland*; and to the rest pleaded *not Guilty* as before. Which put the cause to such a stand, that there was no further speech of it in the House of Commons till the 22 of *February*, when the Committee was required to prepare their evidence and the distribution of the parts thereof, with all possible speed. And thus the business was drilled on, hastned, or slackned, as the *Scots* advanced in their expedition; and as the expedition prospered in success and fortune, so was it prosecuted and advanced to its fatal Period. For understanding that the *Scots* were entred *England* and had marcht victoriously almost as far as the Banks of the River *Tine*, they prest the Lords to name a day for the beginning of his Tryal, who thereupon fixed it upon Tuesday the twelfth of *March* next ensuing.

The day being come, and the Archbishop brought unto the Bar in the House of Peers, the Articles of the Impeachment were first read by

by the Clerk of the House, together with the several answers of *Not Guilty* before remembred; upon the hearing whereof he most humbly prayed, that the Commons might be Ordered to sever the Articles which were pretended to be Treason, from those which contained misdemeanors only, that so he might know which of them were Treason and which not. To which it was reply'd by *Maynard*, that the Commons would not give way to that Proposition, in regard that all the Articles together, not any of them by it self, made up the Treason wherewith he was charged, that is to say, his several endeavours to subvert and destroy Religion, the Fundamental Laws of the Land and Government of the Realm, and to bring in *Popery*, and an Arbitrary Tyrannical Government against Law. So that we have a *Cumulative* and Constructive Treason, (such as had formerly been charged on the Earl of *Strafford*) A Treason in the conclusion, which could not be gathered from the Premises; A Treason in the *Summa Totalis*, when nothing but misdemeanors at the most, could be found in the *Items*. Which being thus Resolved upon, a long Studied Speech was made by *Wilde*, in which there wanted neither words nor animosity to make him culpable of the crimes wherewith he was charged, if his words could have done it. One passage there was in it, which was Subject to some mis-construction, and so interpreted by those, which otherwise had no good affection to the Prisoners Person; for having set forth his offences in their foulest Colours, he seems to make a wonder of it that any thing could be expected *of the People, but that they should have been Ready to have Stoned him, as they did him that did but Act the part of* Bellerophon *in* Rome. Which Passage was interpreted for an intimation to the Raskal multitude to save the Houses the dishonor of putting him to death in a form of Law, by Stoning him to death or Tearing him in pieces, or laying violent hands upon him in some other way, as he past between his Barge and the House of Peers. *Wilde* having done, he humbly craved Liberty to wipe of the dirt, which so injuriously had been cast upon him, that he might not depart thence so foul a Person as he had been rendred to their Lordships. Which leave obtained (as it could not reasonably be denyed a far meaner Person) without any trouble in his Countenance, or perturbation of his Mind, he spake as followeth;

My Lords,

MY being in this Place in this Condition, recalls to my Memory that which I long since read in Seneca, Tormentum est, etiam si absolutus quis fuerit, causam dixisse *(6. de Benef. c. 28.) 'Tis not a Grief only, no, 'tis no less than* Torment, *for an ingenious man to plead capitally or criminally, though it should so fall out that he be absolved. The great Truth of this I find at present in my self; and so much the more, because I am a Christian; and not that only, but in* Holy Orders; *and not so only, but by Gods Grace and goodness preferred to the* greatest place this Church affords; *and yet brought* causam dicere, *to plead for my self at this Great Bar. And whatsoever the World think of me (and they have been taught*

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taught to think much more ill of me, than, I humbly thank Christ for it, I was ever acquainted with) yet my Lords, this I find, Tormentum est, *'tis no less than a Torment to me to appear in this Place; nay, my Lords, give me leave to speak plain truth, No Sentence that can justly pass upon me (and other I will never fear from your Lordships) can go so near me, as* causam dicere, *to plead for my self upon this occasion in this place. But as for the Sentence, be it what it shall, I thank God for it, I am for it at St.* Paul's *word* (Acts 25. 11.) If I have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die; *For I thank God I have so lived, that I am neither afraid to die, nor ashamed to live. But seeing the* Malignity *which hath been raised against me by some men, I have carried my Life in my hands these divers years past. I may not in this Case, and at this Bar, appeal unto* Cæsar; *yet to your Lordships* Justice *and* Integrity, *I both may and do: not doubting, but that God of his Goodness will preserve my Innocency. And as* Job *in the midst of his afflictions said to his* mistaken Friends, *so shall I to my* Accusers, God forbid I should justifie you; till I dye I will not remove my Integrity from me, I will hold it fast and not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me as long as I live, *Job* 27. 5, 6. *My Lords, the Charge against me is brought up in* Ten Articles; *but the* main Heads *are two,* An Endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land, and the Religion Established: *Six Articles (the five first and the last) concern the Laws, and the other four Religion.*

For the Laws first, I think I may safely say, I have been, to my understanding, as strict an Observer of them, so far as they concern me, as any man hath; and since I came into the Place, I have followed them, and have been as much guided by them, as any man that sate where I had the honour to sit: And of this I am sorry I have lost the Testimony of the Lord Keeper Coventry, *and other Persons of Honour since dead. And the Counsellours which attended the Council-Board can witness, some of them here present; That in all References to the Board, or Debates arising at it, I was for that part of the Cause where I found Law to be; and if the Counsel desired to have the Cause left to the Law, well might I move in some Cases* Charity *or* Conscience *to them: but I left them to the Law, if thither they would go. And how such a carriage as this, through the whole course of my Life in private and publick, can stand with an intention to overthrow the Laws, I cannot see. Nay, more, I have ever been of opinion,* That Laws bind the Conscience, *And have accordingly made* conscience *in observing of them: and this Doctrine I have constantly Preached, as occasion hath been offered me; and how is it possible I should seek to overthrow those Laws, which I held my self bound in conscience to keep and observe?*

As for Religion, *I was born and bred up under the Church of* England, *as it stands established by Law. I have by Gods Blessing grown up in it to the years which are now upon me, and the Place of Preferment which I now bear. I have ever since I understood ought of my* Profession, *kept one constant Tenor in this my* Profession, *without variation, or shifting from one Opinion to another for any worldly ends. And if my conscience would have suffered me to do so, I could easily have slid through all the difficulties*

culties which have been preſt upon me in this kind: For of all Diſeaſes, I ever held a Palſie in Religion moſt dangerous; well knowing, and ever remembring, That that Diſeaſe often ends in a Dead Palſie. Ever ſince I came in place, I have laboured nothing more, than that the External Publick Worſhip of God, ſo much ſlighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might be preſerved; and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might be. For I evidently ſaw, That the publick neglect of Gods Service in the outward face of it, and the naſty lying of many Places dedicated to that ſervice, had almoſt caſt a damp upon the true and inward Worſhip of God, which while we live in the body needs external helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did to the utmoſt of my knowledge, according both to Law and Canon, and with the conſent and liking of the People: Nor did any Command iſſue out from me, againſt the one, nor without the other. Further, my Lords, give me leave I beſeech you, to acquaint you with this alſo, That I have as little acquaintance with Recuſants, as I believe any man of my place in England, hath, or ever had ſince the Reformation: And for my Kindred, no one of them was ever a Recuſant, but Sir William Webb, Grandchild to my Uncle Sir William Webb, ſometimes Lord Mayor of London; and ſince which ſome of his Children I reduced back again to the Church of England. On this, I humbly deſire one thing more may be thought on, That I am fallen into a great deal of Obloquy in matter of Religion, and that ſo far (as appears by the Articles againſt me) that I have endeavoured to advance and bring in Popery. Perhaps, my Lords, I am not ignorant what Party of men have raiſed theſe Scandals upon me, not for what end, nor perhaps by whom ſet on: but howſoever, I would fain have a good Reaſon given me, if my Conſcience ſtood that way, and that with my Conſcience I could ſubſcribe to the Church of Rome, what ſhould have kept me here before my Impriſonment, to endure the Libelling, and the Slander, and the baſe Uſage that hath been put upon me; and theſe to end in this Queſtion for my Life? I ſay, I would know a good Reaſon for this.

First, My Lords, Is it becauſe of any Pledges I have in this World, to ſway me againſt my Conſcience? No ſure; for I had neither Wife nor Children to cry out upon me to ſtay with them: And if I had, I hope the calling of my Conſcience ſhould be heard above them. Is it becauſe I was loth to loſe the Honour and Profit of the Place I was riſen too? Surely no; For I deſire your Lordſhips and all the World ſhould know, I do much ſcorn the one and the other, in compariſon of my Conſcience. Beſides, it cannot be imagined by any man, but that if I ſhould have gone over to them, I ſhould not have wanted both Honour and Profit: and ſuppoſe not ſo great as this I have here; yet ſure would my Conſcience have ſerved my ſelf of either, leſs with my Conſcience, would have prevailed with me more, then greater againſt my Conſcience. Is it becauſe I lived here at Eaſe, and was loth to venture the loſs of that? Not ſo neither; For whatſoever the World may be pleaſed to think of me, I have led a very painful Life, and ſuch as I would have been content to change, had I well known how: And would my Conſcience have ſerved me that way, I am ſure I might have lived at far more eaſe, and either have avoided the barbarous Libelling, and other bitter grievous Scorns which have been put

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upon me; or at leaſt, been out of the hearing of them. Not to trouble your Lordſhips too long, I am ſo innocent in the Buſineſs of Religion, ſo free from all Practice, or ſo much as thought of Practice, for any Alteration unto Popery, or any blemiſhing of the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in England, as I was when my Mother firſt bore me into the World. And let nothing be ſpoken but truth, and I do here re-challenge whatſoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be ſaid againſt me in point of my Religion, in which I have ever hated diſſimulation. And had I not hated it, perhaps I might have been better for worldly ſafety, than now I am: but it can no way become a Chriſtian Biſhop to halt with God.

Laſtly, If I had a purpoſe to blaſt the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, and to introduce Popery, ſure I took a wrong way to it. For, my Lords, I have ſtaid more going to Rome, and reduced more that were already gone, than I believe any Biſhop or Divine, in this Kingdom hath done; and ſome of them men of great Abilities, and ſome perſons of great place. And is this the way to introduce Popery? My Lords, If I have blemiſhed the true Proteſtant Religion, how could I have brought theſe men to it? And if I had promiſed to introduce Popery, I would never have reduced theſe men from it. And that it may appear unto your Lordſhips how many, and of what condition the perſons are, which by Gods bleſſing upon my labours, I have ſetled in the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in England, I ſhall briefly name ſome of them, though I cannot do it in order of time as I converted them; First, Henry Berkinſtead of Trinity Colledge in Oxon. ſeduced by a Jeſuite, and brought to London. Two Daughters of Sir Richard Lechfied in Surrey, ſent towards a Nunnery. Two Scholars of St. Johns Colledge in Cambridge, Toppin and Aſhton, who had got the French Embaſſadors Paſs; and after this I allowed means to Toppin, and then procured him a Fellowſhip in St. Johns: And he is at this preſent as hopeful a young man as any of his time, and a Divine. Sir William Webb my Kinſman, and two of his Daughters; and his Son I took from him, and his Father being utterly decayed, I bred him at my own charge: and he is a very good Proteſtant. A Gentleman brought to me by Mr. Chesford, his Majeſties Servant, but I cannot recall his name. The Lord Mayor of London, brought to me alſo by Mr. Chesford. The Right Honourable the Lord Duke of Buckingham, almoſt quite gone between the Lady his Mother and Siſter. The Lady Marquiſs Hamilton was ſetled by my direction, and ſhe dyed very Religiouſly, and a Proteſtant. Mr. Digby who was a Prieſt. Mr. James a Gentleman brought to me by a Miniſter of Buckinghamſhire, as I remember. Dr. Heart the Civilian, my Neighbours Son at Fulham. Mr. Chriſtopher Seaborne, a Gentleman of an ancient Family in Herefordſhire. The Right Honourable the Counteſs of Buckingham. Sir William Spencer of Parnton. Mr. Chillingworth. The Sons and Heirs of Mr. Winchcomb, and Mr. Wolleſcot, whom I ſent with their Friends liking to Wadham Colledge Oxon. and received a Certificate Anno 1638. of their continuing in Conformity to the Church of England. Nor did ever any one of theſe named relapſe again, but only the Counteſs of Buckingham and Sir William Spencer; It being only in Gods power, not mine, to preſerve them from relapſe. And now let any Clergy-man in England come forth, and give a better account of his zeal to the Church.

This

This being ſaid, and all Parties commanded to withdraw, their Lordſhips, after ſome ſhort time of conſideration, appointed the next Morning at nine of the Clock for the beginning of the Proſecution to be made againſt him. In order whereunto the twenty four Articles (for ſo many there were in both impeachments) were reduced under theſe four general Heads, *viz.* 1. His traiterous Endeavours and Practices to alter and ſubvert Gods true Religion, by Law eſtabliſhed in this Realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet up Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry; the particulars whereof are ſpecified in the 5,6,7,8,9, 10,11,12,13 *Original*, and 6,7,8,9 *Additional* Articles. 2. His traiterous uſurpation of a Papal and Tyrannical Power in the Church of *England* in all Eccleſiaſtical affairs, to the prejudice and derogation of his Majeſties Royal Prerogative, and the Subjects Liberties; compriſed in the ſixth *Original* Article. 3. His traiterous Attempts and Endeavours to ſubvert the Fundamental Temporal Laws, Government and Liberties of the Realm and Subjects of *England*, and inſtead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Temporal Government, againſt Law and the Subjects Liberty; expreſſed in the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13 *Original*; and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10 *Additional* Articles. And 4. His traiterous Endeavours to ſubvert the Rights of Parliament, and ancient courſe of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by falſe and malicious ſlanders to incenſe his Majeſty againſt them, contained in the 14 *Original*, and the 1, 9, 10 *Additional* Articles. The managing of the Evidence committed to *Maynard*, *Wilde*, and *Nicholas*, all Members of the Houſe of Commons; by whom the buſineſs was drawn out to ſo great a length, that it took up no leſs than ſeventeen daies; not altogether, but with ſo many pauſes and intermiſſions (as the *Scots* proſpered and came forwards) that the pleadings were not fully finiſhed till the end of *July*. I hope it will not be expected that I ſhould lay down the proceedings on both ſides, the Proofs and Teſtimonies which were brought againſt him, or the defences which were made by him in full Anſwer to them; that being a work, which of it ſelf would make a greater Volume than our preſent Hiſtory. All I ſhall ſay, amounts to no more but this, That there wanted neither wit nor will in the Proſecutors to make him appear as guilty in the eye of the Lords, as his Accuſers could deſire. And as for him, it is related by the Pen of his greateſt Adverſary, That *he made as Full, as Gallant, as Pithy a Defence, and ſpake as much for himſelf as was poſſible for the wit of man to invent; and that with ſo much Art, Vivacity, Oratory, Audacity, and Confidence*, that he ſhewed not the leaſt acknowledgment of Guilt in any of the particulars which were charged upon him. And though the Relator, putting the worſt gloſs upon the Text, be pleaſed to ſay, that theſe Abilities did argue *him rather Obſtinate, than Innocent; Impudent, than Penitent; a far better Orator, Sophiſter, than Proteſtant or Chriſtian; a truer Son of the Church of* Rome *than of the Church of* England: yet in the midſt of theſe Reproaches he gives him the Commendations of Wit and Eloquence, of being a good Orator, and a ſubtle Diſputant; which with the reſt of the Abilities aſcribed unto him, conſidering the ſuddenneſs of his Preparations, the frailty of his

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Memory, the burthen of ſeventy years, with other natural infirmities then lying heavy on him, may not unjuſtly be imputed to Divine aſſiſtance. What ſenſe the Commons had of his juſtification, and what ſatisfaction was found in it by the Houſe of Peers, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

And here we leave him for a time, to ſee how far the *Scots* proceeded, and what they did in order to the ſervice of thoſe that ſo dearly hired them, which might be equal to the merit of ſo great a Sacrifice. Of whom we are to know, that paſſing by the Town of *Berwick*, they entred *England* in the middle of *January* with a puiſſant Army, conſiſting of eighteen thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Dragoons, accommodated with all things neceſſary for the Expedition; not hindred in their March till they came almoſt to the River *Tine*, where they were ſtopped by the interpoſition of the Northern Army, under the Conduct and Command of the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, but ſo that they remained unfought with, unleſs it were in petit Skirmiſhes and *Pickeerings*, without engaging the whole Power on either ſide. *Langdale*, a Gentleman of approved Valour and Fidelity, was commonly reported to have been earneſt with the *Marquiſs* to give them Battel, or at the leaſt to ſuffer him with a Party of Horſe to aſſault them in ſuch places where they lay moſt open to Advantage; not doubting but to give a good account of his undertakings. In all which motions and deſires he is ſaid to have been croſſed by General *King*, an old experienced Souldier, but a *Scot* by Nation, whom his Majeſty had recommended to the *Marquiſs* of *Newcaſtle*, as a fit man to be conſulted with in all his Enterpriſes, and he withal took ſuch a fancy to the man, that he was guided wholly by him in all his Actions. Which *King* if he had been imployed in any of the *Southern* or *Weſtern* Armies, he might have done his Majeſty as good ſervice as any whoſoever: But being in this Army, to ſerve againſt the *Scots*, his own dear Countrymen, he is ſaid to have diſcouraged and diſſwaded all attempts which were offered to be made againſt them, giving them thereby the opportunity of gaining ground upon the *Engliſh*, till the *Marquiſſes* retreat toward *York*. For in the opening of the Spring News came unto the Marqueſs of the taking of *Selby* by the Forces Garriſoned in *Hull*; by which neceſſitated to put himſelf, and the greateſt part of his Army, into the City of *York*, on the ſafety whereof the whole Fortune of the *North* depended. Followed at the heels by *Leſly*, who, notwithſtanding the undeſerved Honours conferred upon him by the King, and his own vehement proteſtations of a future Loyalty, commanded this third Army alſo as he did the two firſt, and leaving *Newcaſtle* at his back, ſtruck like a Souldier at the head, not troubling himſelf in taking in ſuch places as imported nothing in reference to the main concernment. Reſolving on the ſiege of the Capital City, they were ſeconded by the Army of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, drawn out of the Aſſociated Counties, and the remaining *Yorkſhire* Forces under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*: By which, beleagured on all ſides, that great City was reduced to ſome diſtreſs for want of Victuals, and other neceſſary Ammunition to make good the place.

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The News whereof being brought to *Oxon.* Prince *Rupert* is dispatched with as much of the Kings Army as could well be ſpared, with a Commiſſion to raiſe more out of the Counties of *Cheſter*, *Staffford*, *Darby*, *Leiceſter*, and *Lancaſter*; ſo that he came before *York*, with an Army of twelve thouſand men, relieved the Town with ſome Proviſions for the preſent, and might have gone away unfought with, but that ſuch counſel was too cold for ſo hot a ſtomack. Reſolved upon the onſet, he encountred with the Enemy at a place called *Marſton More*, where the Left Wing of his Horſe gave ſuch a fierce Charge on the Right Wing of the Enemy, conſiſting of *Fairfax* his Horſe in the Van, and the *Scots* Horſe in the Rear, that they fell foul on a part of their Foot which was behind them, and trod moſt of them under their Horſes feet: But *Ruperts* Horſe following the Execution too far, and none advancing to make good the place which they had left, the Enemy had the opportunity to Rally again, and got the better of the day, taking ſome Priſoners of good note, and making themſelves Maſters of his Cannon. So that not being able to do any thing in order to the regaining of the Field, he marched off unfortunately; the greateſt part of his Army mouldring away, he retired to *Briſtol*. After this blow the Affairs of the *North* growing more deſperate every day than other, *York* yielded upon Compoſition on *July* 16. (being a juſt fortnight after the fight) the *Marquiſs* of *Newcaſtle* and ſome principal Gentlemen paſſing over the Seas, ſo that the ſtrong Town of *Newcaſtle* was taken by the *Scots* on the nineteenth of *October* following.

While theſe things were Acting in the North, *Eſſex* and *Waller* with their Armies drew near to *Oxford*, hoping to take it unprovided, in the abſence of ſo great a part of his Majeſties Forces. On whoſe approach his Majeſty leaving the greateſt part of his Army for defence of that place, marched on directly toward *Wales*. Upon the news whereof it was thought fit by the two *Generals* to divide their Armies: it being agreed upon that *Waller* ſhould *purſue* the King, and that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould march towards the *Weſt* for the regaining of thoſe Countries. And now the *Myſtery of iniquity* appeared in its proper colours; for whereas it was formerly given out by the Houſes of Parliament, that they had undertaken the War for no other reaſon, but to *remove the King from his evil Counſellors*, thoſe *Evil Counſellors* were left at *Oxon.* and the Kings Perſon only hunted. But the King underſtanding of this Diviſion, thought himſelf able enough to deal with *Waller*, and giving him the go-by, returned towards *Oxon.* drew thence the remainder of his Army, and gave him a ſharp meeting at a place called *Cropready Bridge*, where he obtained a ſignal Victory on the twenty eighth of *June*, and entred triumphantly into *Oxon.* This done, he marched after the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had made himſelf Maſter of ſome places in the *Weſt* of good importance. During this March it hapned that one of the Carriages brake in a long narrow Lane, which they were to paſs, and gave his Majeſty a ſtop, at a time of an intolerable ſhower of Rain which fell upon him. Some of his Courtiers, and others who were about him, offered to hew him

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out a way through the hedges with their Swords, that he might get ſhelter in ſome of the Villages adjoining; but he Reſolved not to forſake his Cannon upon any occaſion. At which, when ſome about him ſeemed to admire, and marvelled at the patience which he ſhewed in that Extremity, his Majeſty lifting up his Hat, made Anſwer, *That as God had given him afflictions to exerciſe his patience, ſo he had given him patience to bear his afflictions.* The carriage being mended he went forward again, and trode ſo cloſe upon the heels of *Eſſex*, that at laſt he drave him into *Cornwall*, and there reduced him to that point, that put himſelf into a *Cock-boat*, with *Stapleton* and ſome others of his principal Friends, and left his whole Army to his Majeſties mercy. His Horſe taking the Advantage of a dark night made a ſhift to eſcape, but the Commanders of the Foot came to this Capitulation with his Majeſty, that they ſhould depart without their Arms, which with their Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, being of great Conſideration, were left wholly to his diſpoſing.

Immediately after this ſucceſs, his Majeſty diſpatched a meſſage from *Taveſtock* to the two Houſes of Parliament, in which he laid before them the miſerable Condition of the Kingdom, remembring them of thoſe many Meſſages which he had formerly ſent unto them for an accommodation of the preſent differences; and now deſiring them to bethink themſelves of ſome expedient by which this Iſſue of blood might be dried up, the diſtraction of the Kingdom ſetled, and the whole Nation put into an hope of Peace and Happineſs. To which meſſage as to many others before, they either gave no Anſwer, or ſuch an one as rather ſerved to widen then cloſe the breach, falſly conceiving, that all his Majeſties offers of Grace and Favour, proceeded either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakneſs and irreſolution of his Counſels. But if inſtead of this Meſſage from *Taveſtock* his Majeſty had gone on his own errand, and marched directly toward *London*, it was conceived in all probability that he might have made an end of the War, ſecured the life of the Archbiſhop his moſt truſty Servant, and put an end to thoſe calamities which the continuance and concluſion of the War, brought with it. The Army of *Eſſex* being thus broken, and that of *Mancheſter* not returned from the *Northern* Service, He could not chuſe but have obſerved in the courſe of that Action, with what a Military Prudence, *Leſly* had followed at the heels of the *Marquiſs* of *Newcaſtle*, not ſtopping or diverting upon the by, till he had brought his Army before *York*; the gaining whereof, as being the chief City of thoſe parts, brought in all the Reſt. And certainly it hath been counted no diſhonour in the greateſt Souldiers to be inſtructed by their enemies in the feats of War. But the King ſitting down before *Plymouth* (as before *Gloceſter* the laſt year) and ſtaying there to perfect an Aſſociation of the *Weſtern* Counties, he ſpent ſo much time that *Eſſex* was again in the head of his Army; and being ſeconded by *Mancheſter*, and *Waller*, made a ſtand at *Newbury*, where after a very ſharp diſpute, the Enemy gained ſome of his Majeſties *Cannon*, which ſtruck ſuch a terrour into many of thoſe about him, that they had adviſed him to withdraw his Perſon out of

of the danger of the Fight, as he did accordingly. But this he did ſo ſecretly and with ſo ſlender a Retinue, that he was not miſt, His Army holding on the fight with a greater courage, becauſe they thought the ſafety of his Majeſties Perſon did depend upon it; whoſe departure if it had been known, would queſtionleſs have created ſuch a general dejection in the hearts of his Souldiers, as would have rendred them to a cheap diſcomfiture. But the Loſt Cannon being regained, and the fight continued with thoſe of his Majeſties party with greater advantage then before, each Army drew off by degrees, ſo that neither of them could find any great cauſe to boaſt of the Victory. LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

This Summers Action being ended, in which the *Scots* had done very good ſervice to the Houſes of Parliament, it was thought neceſſary to proceed in the Tryal of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which had taken up ſo much time already, that it ſeemed ready for a ſentence. But there appeared more difficulty in it, then at firſt was lookt for. For being admitted to a *Recapitulation* of his whole defence before the Lords, in the beginning of *September*, it gave ſuch a general ſatisfaction to all that heard it, that the muſtering up of all the evidence againſt him would not take it off. To prove the firſt branch of the charge againſt him, they had ript up the whole courſe of his Life, from his firſt coming to *Oxford*, till his Commitment to the Tower; but could find no ſufficient Proof of any deſign to bring in *Popery*, or ſuppreſs the true Proteſtant Religion here by Law Eſtabliſhed. For want whereof, they inſiſted upon ſuch Reproaches as were laid upon him when he lived in the Univerſity, the beautifying of his Chappel Windows with Pictures and Images, the Solemn Conſecration of Churches and Chappels, the Placing of the Communion Table Altar-wiſe, and making Adoration in his Acceſſes to, or Approaches toward it; Adminiſtring the Sacrament, with ſome more Solemnities, then in Ordinary Parochial Churches, though conſtantly obſerved in his Majeſties Chappels; the care and diligence of his Chaplains in expunging ſome offenſive paſſages out of ſuch Books, as were to be licenced for the Preſs, and their permitting of ſome paſſages to remain in others which were ſuppoſed to favor *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, becauſe they croſt the ſenſe of *Calvin*; the preferring of many able men to his Majeſties Service, and to advancements in the Church, who muſt the Stigmatized for *Papiſts*, or *Arminians*, becauſe they had not ſworn themſelves into *Calvins* Faction; his countenancing two or three *Popiſh Prieſts*, (for no more are named) of whom good uſe was to be made in Order to the Peace and Happineſs of the Church of *England*, as had before been done by *Bancroft*, and others of his Predeceſſors, ſince the Reformation. Such were the proofs of his deſigns to bring in *Popery*; and yet his plots and purpoſes for ſuppreſſing the true Proteſtant Religion, had leſs proofs then this. Of which ſort were, His ſevere proceedings in the *High Commiſſion* againſt ſome Factious Miniſters, and Seditious Lecturers; the ſentencing of *Sherfield*, for defacing a Pariſh Church in *Salisbury*, under colour of a Veſtry-order, in contempt of the Dioceſan Biſhop who then Lived in that City; the preſſing of his Majeſties two *Declarations*, the

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the one for *Lawful Sports*, the other for Silencing *unneceſſary*, though not unlawful, *Diſputations*; His zeal in overthrowing the Corporation of *Feoffees*, whichhad no Legal Foundation to ſtand upon, and ſeemed deſtructive to the Peace of the Church and State in the eyes of all that pierc'd into it; and finally the Piety of his endeavours, for uniting the *French*, and *Dutch* Congregations to the Church of *England*, in which he did nothing without Warrant, or againſt the Law.

Cant. Doom. P. 565.

Such were the Crimes or Treaſons rather, which paint him out with ſuch an ugly countenance in the Book called *Canterburies Doom*, as if he were the *Greateſt Traytor*, and the moſt *Execrable Perſon*, that ever had been bred in *England*. And he is promiſed to be Painted out in ſuch Lively Colours in the following Branches of his Charge, as ſhould for ever render him as *Treaſonable*, and as *Arch a Malefactor* as he was in the others, and in both alike; that promiſe never being performed in the ſpace of a Dozen years and more ſince it firſt was made, in all which time, we hear no news of that performance for which the Ground could be but Little, and the evidence leſs. To the other branches of his Charge, conſiſting in Words or Actions he anſwered firſt, That the Diſſolving of the ſaid Parliaments was no Act of his, the buſineſs being publickly debated at the Council Table and carried by the Unanimous conſent of all then Preſent; that the hard meaſure which he was complained of to have ſhown to *Corbet* of *Shropſhire* (he being but a Private Subject) could not be called an Act of Treaſon; That the words charged upon him at the Council Table and elſwhere, might well have been ſpared; That no ill effect did follow on them; and that they were innocently though ſuddenly ſpoken, which he hoped might proceed from a man of ſuch a haſty, and incircumſpect humour as himſelf (made ſo as well by nature, as by the multiplicity of vexations which were put upon him) without involving him in the crime or guilt of Treaſon; That for his words unto the King, touching his being abſolved from the Rules of Government, they contained only matter of opinion, and in opinion delivered at the Council Table, where all had Liberty to ſpeak their own ſenſe as he did at that time; which if it were Erroneous and contrary to the ſenſe of others, he hoped that no man ſhould juſtly be condemned of Treaſon, for ſhewing himſelf no wiſer then God had made him. And thereupon he deſired the Lords from his misfortune to provide for their own ſafety, and ſeriouſly to conſider what a way was chalked out to ruine them, both in their Lives and their Eſtates, if for every Opinion given in Council, or Words ſuddenly or haſtily ſpoken, they (who are born to wield the great affairs of the Kingdom) ſhould be Arraigned or Sentenced as Traytors. To which he added in the cloſe, That there was no likelyhood that he had committed Real Acts of Treaſon, when his adverſe Party was content to trifle away ſo much time about Words: Neither was there any Treaſon in them, though they had been fully verified; and therefore in that (as in all other Articles) he reſerved a Power for his Counſel to diſpute in matter of Law. Which when it came to the Diſpute (not called on by the Commons till *October* 11.) the Queſtion or Point in Iſſue was,

Whether

Nemo Judicum Anglicum capite Reum Debet, Delictum qui Statutum, & Juriſte perſuadem ejecit.

Whether any Treaſon *was contained in all or any of the Articles which were charged againſt him?* And therein *Hearn* ſo plaid his part, as the mouth of the reſt, that after the expectation of more months, and the expence of almoſt as many days as had been ſpent in the Arraignment of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Enemies in the Houſe of Commons were forced to fall again on a Bill of *Attainder*, as they had been before, after ſo much noiſe and oſtentation of Wit and Eloquence, in the caſe of that Gentleman.

For being too far engaged to go back with Honour, and yet not having confidence enough to venture him to the Judgment of the Houſe of Peers, as in the way of Legal Tryal, they ſeemed to be at ſuch a ſtand, as the *Thames* is ſaid to be at, under *London*-Bridge, betwixt Ebb and Flood. In which perplexity, ſome who were fit for any miſchief, imployed themſelves to go from door to door, and from man to man, to get hands againſt him; and ſo Petition thoſe to haſten to his Condemnation, who muſt forſooth be forced to their own deſires (whereof, and of the *Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill and ſuffering them to proceed* without any *Check*, he gave them a *Memento* in his dying Speech) Which Preparations being made, they followed it with ſuch double diligence, that by the beginning of *November* moſt men were great with expectation of a final Sentence; Conceived by ſome, That the whole Evidence being tranſmitted with the Priſoner to the Juſtices of his Majeſties Bench, he ſhould have been put over to a *Middleſex-Jury*: but they were only ſome poor Ignorants which conceived ſo of it. The Leading Members of the Houſe thought of no ſuch matter; and to ſay truth, it did concern them highly not to go that way. For though there was no queſtion to be made at all, but that they could have Impanelled a *Jury* to have found the *Bill*: yet by a Clauſe in the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, they had bound the Judges not to declare thoſe Facts for Treaſon in the time to come, for which they had Condemned and Executed that Heroick Peer. And therefore they reſolved on the ſame courſe now, which they had found before ſo proſperous and ſucceſsful to them, to proceed now as then, by Bill of *Attainder*, and condemn him by Ordinance; in which being Parties, Witneſſes, and Judges too, they were aſſured to ſpeed as they would themſelves. And though for faſhion ſake he was brought unto the Commons Bar on the eleventh of that Month, not without magnifying the Favour of giving him leave to ſhew ſome Reaſon, why the Bill ſhould not paſs againſt him: yet was this but a matter of Formality only, the Ordinance paſſing in that Houſe within two days after.

But yet the Buſineſs was not done; for the Lords ſtuck at it: ſome of which having not extinguiſhed all the *Sparks* of *Humanity*, began to find themſelves compaſſionate of his Condition; not knowing how ſoon it ſhould or might be made their own, if once diſfavoured by the Grandees of that *Potent Faction*. For the Ordinance having been tranſmitted to the Houſe of Peers, and the Houſe of Peers deliberating ſomewhat long upon it, it was Voted on *December* 4. *That all Books, Writings, and Evidences which concerned the Tryal, ſhould be*

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brought before the Lords in Parliament; to the end that they might ſeriouſly and diſtinctly conſider of all Particulars amongſt themſelves, as they came before them. But meaning to make ſure work of it, they had in the mean time (after no ſmall Evaporations of Heat and Paſſion) prepared an Ordinance, which they ſent up unto the Lords, importing the diſplacing of them from all thoſe Places of Power and Command which they had in the Army. Which being found to weak to hold, they fall upon another and a likelier Project, which was to bring the Lords to ſit in the Commons Houſe, where they were ſure they ſhould be inconſiderable both for Power and Number. And to effect the ſame with more ſpeed and certainty, they had recourſe to their old Arts, drawing down *Watkins* with his *general Muſter of Subſcriptions*, and putting a Petition into his hands, to be tendred by him to the Houſes, that is, themſelves; wherein it was required, amongſt other things, That they ſhould *vigorouſly proceed unto the puniſhment of all Delinquents*; and that for the more quick diſpatch of Publick Buſineſſes of State, the *Lords* would pleaſe to *Vote* and *Sit* together with the *Commons*. On ſuch uncertain terms, ſuch a tickliſh *Tenure*, did they then hold their Place and Power in Parliament, who ſo officiouſly complied with the Houſe of Commons, in depriving the Biſhops of their Vote, and the Churches Birth-right. And this was it which helped them in that time of need. And yet not thinking this Device ſufficient to fright their Lordſhips to a preſent compliance, *Stroud* was ſent up with a Meſſage from the Houſe of Commons, to let them know, That the *Londoners* ſhould ſhortly bring a Petition, with 20000 Hands, to obtain that Ordinance. By which ſtale and common Stratagem, they wrought ſo far on ſome weak Spirits, the reſt withdrawing themſelves (as formerly in the caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*) that in a thin and ſlender Houſe, not above ſix or ſeven in number, it was paſs'd at laſt. The day before they paſs'd the Ordinance for eſtabliſhing their new *Directory*; which, in effect, was nothing but a total abolition of the Common-Prayer-Book: and thereby ſhewed unto the World, how little hopes they had of ſettling their new Form of Worſhip, if the foundation of it were not laid in the blood of this famous Prelate, who had ſo ſtoutly ſtood up for it againſt all Novelliſm and Faction, in the whole courſe of his Life. It was certified by ſome Letters to *Oxon.* and ſo reported in the *Mercurius Aulicus* of the following week, That the Lord *Bruce* (but better known by the name of the Earl of *Elgin*) was one of the number of thoſe few Lords which had Voted to the Sentence of his Condemnation: The others which concurred in that fatal Sentence, being the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Bullingbrook*; together with the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*. But whatſoever may be ſaid of the other ſix, I have been advertiſed lately from a very good hand, That the ſaid Lord *Bruce* hath frequently diſclaimed that Action, and ſolemnly profeſſed his deteſtation of the whole Proceedings, as moſt abhorrent from his nature, and contrary to his known affections, as well unto his Majeſties Service, as the Peace and Preſervation of the Church of *England*.

This

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This *Ordinance* was no ſooner paſſed, but it revived many of thoſe Diſcourſes, which had before been made on the like occaſion in the Buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*. For hereupon it was obſerved, That as the predominant Party in the *United Provinces*, to bring about their ends in the death of *Barnevelt*, ſubverted all thoſe *Fundamental Laws* of the *Belgick Liberty*, for maintenance whereof they took up Arms againſt *Philip* ii. So the Contrivers of this Miſchief, had violated all the *Fundamental Laws* of the *Engliſh Government*, for maintenance whereof they had pretended to take up Arms againſt the King. It was (ſaid they) a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh Government*, and the firſt Article in the *Magna Charta*, *That the Church of* England *ſhall be free, and ſhall have all her whole Rights and Priviledges inviolable.* Yet to make way the unto the Condemnation of this Innocent Man, the Biſhops muſt be Voted out of their Place in Parliament, which moſt of them have held far longer in their *Predeceſſors*, than any of our Noble Families in their *Progenitors*; and if the Lords refuſe to give way unto it (as at firſt they did) the People muſt come down to the Houſe in multitudes, and cry *No Biſhops, No Biſhops*, at the Parliament doors; till by the terrour of their Tumults, they extort it from them. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh Liberty*, *That no Free-man ſhall be taken or impriſoned, without cauſe ſhewn; or be detained, without being brought unto his Anſwer in due form of Law.* Yet here we ſee a Freeman impriſoned ten whole weeks together, before any Charge was brought againſt him; and kept in Priſon three whole years more, before his General Accuſation was by them reduced unto Particulars; and for a year almoſt *detained* cloſe Priſoner, *without being brought unto his Anſwer*, as the Law requires. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh Government*, *That no man be diſſeized of his Freehold or Liberties, but by the known Laws of the Land.* Yet here we ſee a man *diſſeized* of his *Rents* and Lands, ſpoiled of his *Goods*, deprived of his *Juriſdiction*, deveſted of his Right of Patronage; and all this done, when he was ſo far from being convicted by the Laws of the Land, that no particular Charge was ſo much as thought of. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh Liberty*, *That no man ſhall be condemned or put to death, but by the Lawful Judgment of his* Peers, *or by the Law of the Land*; that is, in the ordinary way of Legal Tryal: And ſure an *Ordinance* of both Houſes, without the *Royal Aſſent*, is no part of the Law of *England*, nor held an ordinary way of Tryal for the *Engliſh* Subject, or ever reckoned to be ſuch in former times. And finally, It is a *Fundamental Law* in the *Engliſh Government*, *That if any other cauſe* (than thoſe recited in the Statute of King *Edward* iii.) *which is ſuppoſed to be* Treaſon, *do happen before any of his Majeſties* Juſtices, *the* Juſtices *ſhall tarry without giving Judgment, till the Cauſe be ſhewn and declared before the* King *and his* Parliament, *whether it ought to be judged* Treaſon, *or not:* Yet here we have a new-found *Treaſon*, never known before, nor declared ſuch by any of his Majeſties *Juſtices*, nor ever brought to be *conſidered of by the King and his Parliament*; but only *Voted* to be ſuch, by ſome of thoſe Members which ſate at *Weſtminſter*, who were reſolved to have it ſo for their private Ends. The

Mag. Ch. c. 1.

Mag. Ch. c. 29. 28. *Ed.* 3. and the *Petition of Right.*

Ib. & *Idem.*

25. *Edw.* 3.

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first Example of this kind, the first that ever suffered death by the shot of an *Ordinance*, as himself very well observed in his dying Speech upon the Scaffold (though purposely omitted in *Hind*'s Printed Copy) to which now he hasteneth.

For the passing of the Ordinance being signified to him by the then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, he neither entertained the news with a *Stoical Apathy*, nor wailed his fate with weak and womanish Lamentations (to which Extremes most men are carried in this case) but heard it with so even and so smooth a Temper, as shewed he neither was ashamed to live nor afraid to die. The time between the Sentence and Execution, he spent in Prayers and Applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a Chaplain of his own to attend upon him, and to assist him in the Work of his Preparation: though little Preparation needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcom, because long expected. For so well was he studied in the Art of Dying (especially in the last and strictest part of his Imprisonment) that by continual Fastings, Watchings, Prayers, and such like Acts of Christian Humiliation, his Flesh was rarified into Spirit, and the whole man so fitted for Eternal Glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody (but Triumphant) Chariot, to convey him thither. He that had so long been a *Confessor*, could not but think it a Release of Miseries to be made a *Martyr*. It is Recorded of *Alexander* the Great, That the night before his last and greatest Battel with *Darius* the *Persian*, he fell into so sound a sleep, that his Princess hardly could awake him when the morning came. And it was likewise certified of this Great *Prelate*, That on the Evening before his *Passeover*, the night before the dismal Combate betwixt him and *Death*, after he had refreshed his Spirits with a moderate Supper, he betook himself unto his Rest, and slept very soundly, till the time came, in which his Servants were appointed to attend his Rising. A most assured sign of a Soul prepared.

Plutarch in Alexandro.

The fatal morning being come, he first applyed himself to his private Prayers, and so continued till *Pennington*, and others of their Publick Officers, came to conduct him to the Scaffold; which he ascended with so brave a Courage, such a chearful Countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph, than be made a *Sacrifice*; and came not there to *Die*, but to be *Translated*. And though some rude and uncivil People reviled him as he pass'd along, with opprobrious Language, as loth to let him *go to the Grave in Peace*; yet it never discomposed his Thoughts, nor disturb'd his Patience: For he had profited so well in the School of *Christ*, *that when he was reviled, he reviled not again*; *when he suffered, he threatned not, but committed his cause to him that judgeth righteously*. And as he did not fear the Frowns, so neither did he covet the Applause of the *Vulgar Herd*; and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speak unto the People, than to affect the ostentation either of Memory or Wit in that dreadful *Agony*: whether with greater Magnanimity than Prudence, I can hardly say. As for the matter of his Speech, besides what did concern himself and his own *Purgation*, his great care was to cleer

cleer his Majeſty, and the Church of *England*, from any inclination to *Popery*; with a perſwaſion of the which, the Authors of the then preſent Miſeries had abuſed the People, and made them take up Arms againſt their Sovereign. A faithful Servant to the laſt: By means whereof, as it is ſaid of *Samſon* in the Book of *Judges*, *That the men which he ſlew at his death, were more than they which he ſlew in his life*: So may it be affirmed of this famous Prelate, That he gave a greater blow unto the Enemies of the Church and the King at the hour of his death, than he had given them in his whole life before. But this you will more clearly ſee by the Speech it ſelf, which followeth here according to the beſt and moſt perfect Copy, delivered by his own hands unto one of his Chaplains, and in his name preſented to the King by the Lord *John Bellaſis* at the Court in *Oxon.* LIB. V. *Anno Dom.* 1644.

The Speech of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſpoken at his Death, upon the *Scaffold* on the *Tower Hill*, *Jan.* 10. 1644.

Good People,

THis is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb.* 12. 2. Let us run with Patience the Race which is ſet before us, looking unto JESUS the Author and Finiſher of our faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Throne of God.

I have ben long in my Race, *and how I have looked to* JESUS the Author and finiſher of my faith, *he beſt knows. I am now to come to the end of my* Race, *and here I find the Croſs a death of* ſhame: *but the* ſhame *muſt be* deſpiſed, *or no coming* to the right hand of God. JESUS deſpiſed *the* ſhame *for me, and God forbid but that I ſhould* deſpiſe *the* ſhame *for him. I am going apace (as you ſee) towards the* Red Sea, *and my feet are now upon the very brink of it*; *an Argument I hope that God is bringing me into the* Land *of* Promiſe, *for that was* the way through which he led his people: *But before they came to it, he inſtituted a* Paſſeover *for them, a* Lamb *it was, but it muſt be* eaten with ſoure herbs, *I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the* ſoure herbs, *as well as the* Lamb. *And I ſhall remember it is the* Lords Paſſeover; *I ſhall not think of the* Herbs, *nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them: but look up only to him, who inſtituted that, and governs theſe*; *for men can have* no more power over me, than what is given them from above. *I am not in love with this paſſage through the* Read Sea, *for I have the weakneſs and infirmities of fleſh and bloud plentifully in me*; *And I have prayed with my Saviour*, Ut tranſiret Calix iſte, *that this Cup of Red wine* might paſs from me: *but if not*, Gods will (not mine) be done, *and I ſhall moſt willing* drink of this Cup *as deep as he pleaſes*, *and*

Exod. 12. 8.

John 19. 11.

PART II. Anno Dom. 1643.

and enter in this Sea; *yea, and pass through it in the way that he shall lead me.*

But I would have it remembred (Good People) *That when Gods Servants were in this boysterous Sea, and* Aaron *amongst them, the* Egyptians *which persecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into that Sea) were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them.* Dan.3. *I know* my God, whom I serve, *is able to deliver me from the Sea of bloud, as he was to deliver the* three Children *from the Furnace: and (I humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now as theirs was then, They* would not worship the Image the King had set up, *nor will I the* Imaginations *which the People are setting up; nor will I forsake the* Temple and the truth of God, *to follow the* bleating *of* Jeroboams *Calves in* Dan *and* Bethel. *And* as for this People, *they are at this day miserably misled (God of his mercy open their eyes that they may see the right way) for at this day the* blind *lead the* blind, *and if they go on,* Luke 6.39. both will certainly fall into the ditch. *For my self, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many ways, by thought, word, and deed; I cannot doubt but that God hath mercy in store for me (a poor Penitent) as well as for other sinners. I have now, and upon this said occasion, ransaked every corner of my heart, and yet (I thank God) I have not found (among the many) any one sin which deserves death by any known Law of this Kingdom: and yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon proof (by valuable witnesses) I, or any other innocent, may be justly condemned. And (I thank God) though the weight of my Sentence lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever died by an* Ordinance in Parliament; *yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means. For* Elphegus *was hurried away, and lost his head by the* Danes; *and* Simon Sudbury *in the fury of* Wat Tiler *and his Fellows; Before these, St.* John Baptist *had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and St.* Cyprian, *Archbishop of* Carthage, *submitted his head to a persecuting Sword. Many examples (great and good) and they teach me patience; for I hope my cause in heaven, will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several Generations, but also that my charge (as foul as it is made) looks like that of the* Jews *against St.* Paul (*Acts* 25.3.) *for he was accused for the* Law, *and the* Temple, *i. e.* Religion; *and like that of St.* Steven (*Acts* 6.14.) *for breaking the* Ordinances which *Moses* gave, *i. e.* Law, *and* Religion; *the* holy place *and the* Temple (*v.*13.) *but you will then say, Do I then compare my self with the Integrity of St.* Paul *and St.* Steven? *No, far be that from me; I only raise a comfort to my self, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their time, as I am now. And it is memorable that St.* Paul *who helped on this accusation against St.* Steven, *did after fall under the very same himself. Yea, but here is a great clamour, that I would have brought in* Popery; *I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the mean time you know what the* Pharisees *said against Christ himself;* If we let him alone, all men will believe in him, *ET VENIENT ROMANI,*

and

and the *Romans* will come, and take away both our Place and Nation. *Here was a causeless cry against Christ, that the* Romans would come; *and see how just the judgment was, they Crucified Christ for fear least the* Romans *should* come, *and his death was it which brought in the* Romans *upon them, God punishing them with that which they most feared. And I pray God this clamour of* Venient Romani *(of which I have given no cause) help not to bring them in; For the Pope never had such an harvest in* England *since the* Reformation, *as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are now amongst us. In the mean time by* Honour and Dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a Deceiver and yet true, *am I passing through this world* (2 Cor. 6. 8.) *some Particulars also I think it not amiss to speak of.*

And first, This I shall be bold to speak of the King our Gracious Soveraign. He hath been much traduced also for bringing in of Popery, *but on my conscience (of which I shall give God a very present account) I know him to be as free from this Charge, as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law Established) as any man in this Kingdom: And that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it. And I think I do, or should know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in* England.

The second Particular is concerning this great and Populous City (which God bless) Here hath been of late a Fashion taken up to gather Hands, and and then go to the great Court of this Kingdom (the Parliament) and clamour for Justice; as if that great and wise Court, before whom the Causes come (which are unknown to many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an Innocent *man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the Cities also; and this hath been lately practiced against my self, the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without any check. God forgive the Setters of this (with all my heart I beg it) but many well-meaning People are caught by it. In St.* Stevens *case, when nothing else would serve,* they stirred up the People against against him; *and* Herod *went the same way when he had killed* St. James: *yet he would not venture on* St. Peter, *till he found how the other* pleased the People. *But take heed of having your* hands full of blood, *for there is a time (best known to himself) when God (above other sins)* makes Inquisition for blood; *and when that* Inquisition *is on foot, the Psalmist tells us,* That God remembers, *(that's not all)* He remembers and forgets not the complaint of the poor, *that is, whose* blood is shed by oppression, ver. 9. *Take heed of this,* It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, *but then especially,* when he is making Inquisition for blood. *And (with my prayers to avert it) I do heartily desire this City to remember the Prophesie that is expressed,* Jer. 26. 15.

Acts 6. 12.

Isay 1. 10.

Psal. 9. 12.

The third Particular is the poor Church of England. *It hath flourished, and been a shelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when storms have driven upon them: But alas! now it is in a storm it self, and God only knows whether, or how it shall get out; and (which is worse than the storm from without) it is become like an Oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft Prophaneness and Irreligion is entring in,*

PART II. *in, while, as* Prosper *speaks (in his second book* De vitæ contemptu, *cap.* 4.) Men that introduce profaneness, are cloaked over with the name, *Religionis Imaginariæ*, of Imaginary Religion; *for we have lost the substance, and dwell too much in opinion: and that Church, which all the Jesuites Machinations could not ruine, is fallen into danger by her own.*

Ann. Dom. 1644.

The last Particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my self. I was born and baptized in the Bosome of the Church of England, *established by Law; in that Profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come to dye. This is no time to dissemble God, least of all in matters of Religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembred, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in* England, *and in that I come now to dye. What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.*

Now at last I am accused of High Treason *in Parliament, a Crime which my soul ever abhorred. This* Treason *was charged to consist of two parts,* An endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land; *and alike* endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by Law. *Besides my Answers to the several Charges, I protested my innocency in both Houses. It was said, Prisoners Protestations at the Bar, must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my Protestation, not at the Bar, but my Protestation of this hour and instant of my death, in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account for the truth of it. I do therefore here in the presence of God and his holy Angels take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of* Law *or* Religion; *and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine for my innocency in this, and from all Treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an Enemy to Parliaments; No, I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them too well, to be so: But I did mislike the misgovernments of some Parliaments, many ways, and I had good Reason for it; For* Corruptio optimi est Pessima, *there is no Corruption in the World so bad, as that which is of the best thing within it self; For the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the Highest Court, over which no other hath Jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the Subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have, Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to joyn in Prayer with me.* Which said, with a distinct and audible voice prayed as followeth:

O Eter-

LIB. V.

O Eternal God, and Merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the Riches and Fulneſs of all thy mercies look down upon me; but not till thou haſt nailed my ſins to the Croſs of Chriſt, not till thou haſt bathed me in the blood of Chriſt; not till I have hid my ſelf in the wounds of Chriſt: that ſo the puniſhment due unto my ſins may paſs over me. And ſince thou art pleaſed to try me to the utmoſt, I humbly beſeech thee, give me now in this great inſtant full Patience, Proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to dye for thine Honour, the Kings Happineſs, and this Churches preſervation. And my Zeal to this (far from Arrogancy be it ſpoken) is all the ſin (humane Frailty excepted and all the incidents thereunto,) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to ſuffer, I ſay in this particular of Treaſon; *but otherwiſe my ſins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially (what ever they are) which have drawn down this preſent Judgment upon me: and when thou haſt given me ſtrength to bear it, do with me as ſeems beſt in thine own Eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what viſage ſoever it ſhall appear to me.* Amen. *And that there may be a ſtop of this Iſſue of blood in this more miſerable Kingdom* (I ſhall deſire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my ſelf) *O Lord I beſeech thee give grace of Repentance to all blood-thirſty people, but if they will not Repent, O Lord confound all their devices, Defeat and fruſtrate all their deſigns and endeavours upon them; which are or ſhall be contrary to the Glory of thy great name, the truth and ſincerity of Religion, the eſtabliſhment of the King and his Poſterity after him in their juſt Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conſervation of Parliaments in their juſt power, the preſervation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and Patrimony, and the ſettlement of this Diſtracted, and diſtreſſed People, under their Ancient Laws and in their Native Liberty. And when thou haſt done all this in meer mercy to them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankfulneſs and with Religious Dutiful obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their days, Amen, Lord Jeſus,* Amen. *And receive my ſoul into thy Boſom.* Amen.

Anno Dom. 1644.

Our Father which art in Heaven, *&c.*

The Speech and Prayers being ended he gave the Paper which he Read into the hands of *Sterne* his Chaplain, permitted to attend him in his laſt extremity; whom he deſired to Communicate it to his other Chaplains that they might ſee in what manner he left this world; and ſo prayed God to ſhew his bleſſings and mercies on them. And taking notice that one *Hind* had imployed himſelf in writing the words of his Speech as it came from his mouth, he deſired him not to do him wrong in publiſhing a falſe or imperfect Copy. This done he next applyed himſelf to the fatal Block, as to the Haven of his Reſt: But finding the way full of people who had placed themſelves upon the

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644. Theatre to behold the Tragedy, he desired he might *have room to die*, beseeching them to let him have *an end of his miseries which he had endured very long.* All which he did with so Serene and calm a mind, as if he rather had been taking Order for a Noble Mans Funeral, then making way for his own. Being come near the Block, he put off his Doublet, and used some words to this effect. *Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of this world, none can be more willing to send me.* And seeing through the Chink of the Boards that some people were got under the Scaffold about the very place where the block was seated, he called to the Officer for some dust to stop them, or to remove the people thence, saying, it was no part of his desires *that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people.* Never did man put off mortality with a better courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious Enemies with more Christian Charity. And thus far he was on his way toward Paradise, with such a Primitive Magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of the Ancient Martyrs: when he was somewhat interrupted by one of those who had placed himself on the Scaffold, not otherwise worthy to be named, but as a Fire-brand brought from *Ireland* to inflame this Kingdom. Who finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion, would needs put in and try what he could do with his Spunge and Vinegar, and Stepping to him near the Block he would needs propound unto him some Impertinent questions; not so much out of a desire to learn any thing of him: but with the same purpose as was found in the Scribes and Pharisees, in propounding questions to our Saviour; that is to say, either to intrap him in his Answers, or otherwise to expose him to some disadvantage with the standers by. Two of the questions he made Answer to with all Christian meekness. The first question was, What was the Comfortablest saying, which a dying man would have in his mouth, to which he meekly made answer. *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo:* being asked again what was the fittest Speech a man could use to express his Confidence and Assurance, he answered with the same Spirit of meekness, That such Assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to express it rightly. But this not satisfying this busie man (who aimed at something else (as is probable) then such satisfaction) unless he gave some Word or Place of Scripture, whereupon such Assurance might be truly founded. He used some words to this effect, That it was the Word of God concerning Christ, and his dying for us. But then finding that there was like to be no end of the troublesome Gentleman, he turned away from him, applying himself directly to the Executioner, as the gentler and discreeter person. Putting some money into his hand he said unto him without the least distemper or change of countenance; *Here honest friend, God forgive thee and I do, and do thy Office upon me with mercy,* and having given him a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth, *viz.*

Sir *John Clotworthy.*

Lord I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must pass thorough the shadow

of

of death before I can come to see thee; But it is but Umbra Mortis, *a meer shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but thou by thy Merits and Passion, hast broke thorough the jaws of death, the Lord receive my Soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this Kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ his sake, if it be thy will.*

Then laying his head upon the Block and Praying silently to himself he said aloud, *Lord receive my Soul,* which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dexterously did his Office, and took off his head at a blow, his Soul ascending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams* bosom, and leaving his body on the Scaffold, to the care of men.

This blow thus given, his life-less body remained a spectacle so unpleasing unto most of them who had desired his death with much heat and passion, that many who came with greedy eyes to see him suffer, went back with weeping eyes when they saw him dead; their own Consciences perhaps, bearing witness to them, God knows whose did, that they *had sinned* in being guilty of such *Innocent blood.* Of those whom only Curiosity and desire of Novelty, brought thither to behold that unusual sight, many had not the Patience to attend the Issue, but went away assoon as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their Resolutions toward the King and the Church, whose Honour and Religious Purposes, they saw so clearly vindicated in his dying, but never dying words. And for the Rest (the most considerable, though perhaps the smalleſt part of that Great Assembly) as they came thither with no other intention, then to assist him with their Prayers, to embalm his body with their tears, and to lay up his last Speeches in their hearts and memories: so when they had performed those Offices of Christian duty, they comforted themselves with this, that as his life was Honourable, so his death was glorious; the pains whereof were short and momentary to himself, the benefit like to be perpetual unto them and others, who were resolved to live and dye in the Communion of the Church of *England.* And if the Bodies of us men be capable of any happiness in the *Grave,* he had as great a share therein, as he could desire; his Body being accompanied to the Earth with great multitudes of People, whom love, or curiosity, or remorse of Conscience had drawn together purposely to perform that Office, and decently interred in the Church of *Alhallows Barking* (a Church of his own Patronage and Jurisdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England,* In which it may be noted as a think remarkable, That being whilst he lived the greatest Champion of the *Common-Prayer-Book* here by Law established, he had the Honour being dead, to be buried by the form therein prescribed, after it had been long disused, and almost reprobated in most Churches of *London.* Nor need Posterity take care to provide his Monument; he built one for himself whilst he was alive: It being well observed by *Deering* (one of his most malicious Enemies, and he that threw the first stone at him in the beginning of this Parliament)

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that St. *Paul*'s Church will be his perpetual Monument, and his own Book (againſt the *Jeſuite*) his laſting *Epitaph*.

Thus fell *Laud* and St. *Pauls* fell with him; The yearly Contribution toward whoſe Repair, *Anno* 1641. when he was plunged into his Troubles, fell from the ſum of 15000 *l.* and upward, to ſomewhat leſs than 1500. and afterwards by degrees to nothing. No leſs than 17138 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. ob. q.* which remained in the Chamber of *London* toward the carrying on of the Work, is ſeiſed on by an Order of both Houſes of Parliament, for the beginning of their War againſt the King; that ſo they might not only encounter him with his own Arms and Ammunition, which he had bought with his own Money: but with that Money too, which he alone had raiſed by his own Care and Piety. Moſt of the Materials intended for finiſhing the Work, were turned into Money; and the reſt beſtowed on the Pariſh of St. *Gregories*, for the Rebuilding of that Church: And all the Scaffolding of the Tower or Steeple, allotted to the payment of *Jephſon*'s Regiment, who challenged an Arrear of 1746 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.* for their Service in that cruel and unnatural War. The Pavement of the Church digged up, and ſold to the wealthier Citizens, for beautifying their Country-Houſes; The Floor converted into Saw-pits in many places, for cutting out ſuch Timber as was turned into Money; The Lead torn off in ſome places alſo; the Timber and Arches of the Roof being thereby expoſed to Wind and Weather; Part of the Stone-work which ſupported the Tower or Steeple, fallen down, and threatning the like Ruine, unto all the reſt; The gallant *Portico* at the Weſt-end thereof, obſcured firſt by a new Houſe looking towards *Ludgate*; and afterward turned into an Exchange for Haberdaſhers of ſmall Wares, Hoſiers, and ſuch Petit Chapmen: And finally, the whole Body of it converted to a Stable or Horſe-Garriſon, for the better awing of that City, whoſe Pride and Faction raiſed the Fire, and whoſe Purſe added Fuel to it, for the enflaming of the Kingdom.

Thus *Laud* fell, and the *Church* fell with him; The *Liturgie* whereof was Voted down about the time in which the Ordinance was paſs'd for his Condemnation; The *Presbyterian Directory* authoriſed for the Preſs, by Ordinance of *March* 13. next following; *Epiſcopacy* Root and Branch, which had before been precondemned, ſuppreſſed by Ordinance in like mauner on *October* 9. 1646. The Lands of all Cathedrals ſold, to the expoſing of thoſe ſtately and magnificent Fabricks to an inevitable Ruine; The Biſhops diſpoſſeſt of their Lands and Rents, without the Charity of a ſmall Annual Penſion toward their Support; The Regular and Conformable Clergy ſequeſtred, ejected, and turned out of all, to the utter undoing of themſelves, their Wives and Children; A wide gap opened for letting in of all Sects and Hereſies, many of which had been exploded and condemned in the Primitive times, others ſo new (and every day begetting newer) that few of them have ſerved out their Apprenticeſhip, and yet Trade as freely as if they had ſerved out all their Time; The Sacred Miniſtry in the mean time, or that part of it at the leaſt which conſiſts in Preaching, uſurped by Handicrafts-men, Boys, and Women,

to

to the diſhonour of God, the infamy and diſgrace of the *Engliſh* Nation, and the reproach of our Religion, ſo much renowned (as long as he remained in Power) both for external Glory and internal Purity. And yet it cannot be denied, but that he fell very opportunely in regard of himſelf, before he ſaw thoſe horrible Confuſions which have ſince brake into the Church, the diſſipation of the Clergy, the moſt calamitous death of his Gracious Sovereign, and the Extermination threatned to the Royal Family: any of which would have been far more grievous to him, than a thouſand deaths. The opportunity of a quiet and untroubled death, was reckoned for a great felicity in the Noble (*a*) *Agricola*, who could not but in the courſe of a long life, have felt the hundredth part of thoſe Griefs and Sorrows, which would have pierced the Soul of this Pious Prelate, had not God gathered him to his Fathers in ſo good an hour.

(a) *Tu fœlix Agricola, non vitæ tamen charitate ſed etiam opportunitate mortis.* Tacit. in vita Agric.

But fallen he is; and being fallen, there is no queſtion to be made, but moſt men would ſpend their Judgments of his Life and Actions. (*b*) One tells us of him, That the roughneſs of his uncourtly Nature, ſent moſt men diſcontented from him; though afterwards, of his own accord, he would find means to ſweeten many of them again, when they leaſt looked for it. (*c*) Another, That he had ſo little command of his paſſions, that he could not repreſs them at the *Star-Chamber*, or the *High-Commiſſion*; which made his Cenſure always follow the ſeverer ſide. Some thought, That out of a diſlike of that Popularity, which was too much affected by his Predeceſſor, he was carried on ſo far to the t'oher extreme, as to fail in many neceſſary Civilities to the Nobility and Gentry, by which he might have obliged them, and indeed himſelf. Others, that by this reſerved, and implauſible humour, he ſo far loſt the love of his own Dioceſs (the Gentry whereof he neither entertained at *Canterbury*, nor feaſted at *Lambeth*, as all his Predeceſſors had done before him) that one of them who ſerved in Parliament for the County of *Kent*, threw the firſt dirt at him. Some ſaid that he truſted too much to his own ſingle judgement, in the Contriving and carrying on of his deſigns; ſeldom adviſing with any of the other Biſhops, till he had digeſted the whole buſineſs, and then referring nothing to them but the Execution, which made it leſs Cordially followed by the greater part, then it had been otherwiſe. And others, that he preſumed too much on the Love and Goodneſs of the King, whoſe Love and Goodneſs not being ſeconded by Power, proved afterwards ſo inſufficient to ſave him harmleſs, and keep his head on his ſhoulders, that it ſerved rather to expoſe him to the publick hatred. In which Reſpect it was conceived that the Lord Protector *Sommerſet* followed his work more like a States-man (though of himſelf he was accounted no deep Polititian) not venturing on the Alteration of Religion which he had projected, till he had put himſelf into the head of an Army, under Pretence of making War againſt the *Scots*; nothing but the unſeaſonable disbanding whereof could have plunged him into thoſe Calamities, which enſued upon it. It was diſcourſed by ſome that he was too ſuddain and precipitate, in the purſuit of his undertakings, the fruits whereof he deſired

(b) *Dering's Collection of Speeches.*

(c) *Ch. Hiſt. B. 11. p. 219.*

to

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to taſte before they were ripe; and did not think the work well done, except he might enjoy as well the comfort of it in his Life, as the Honour of it after his death: quite contrary therein to the Grandees of the *Puritan* faction, who, after the firſt heats were over in Queen *Elizabeths* time, carried their work for thirty years together, like *Moles* under the Ground, not caſting up any earth before them, till they had made ſo ſtrong a party in the Houſe of Commons as was able to hold the King to their own Conditions. And therefore it was thought by others, that his buſineſs was not ſo well timed as it ſhould have been; the three firſt Parliaments of this King being diſſolved in ſuch diſcontentments, as could not eaſily be forgotten; the *Scots* as much exaſperated by the Commiſſion of *Surrendries*, which they expreſt plainly by their diſaffections to his Perſon and Government, at his firſt Parliament in that Kingdom; and the *Engliſh* ſhortly after, ſtartled by the *Writs* for *Shipmony*, which ſeemed to threatned a deſtruction to that *Legal Property*, which every man challenged in his own.

Some who ſeemed wiſer then the Reſt complained, that his Embracements were too large and general; and that he had more Irons in the fire at once, then could be well hammer'd in one forge. Not ſuffering any one of his Counſels to hold on a *Probationſhip*, before it was retarded and pulled back by another. By means whereof the whole piece being laid open at once, the Figures of it appeared more terrible and unhandſomly wrought then otherwiſe they would have done, in caſe they had been ſhown by little and little. By theſe it was diſcourſed, that within the ſpace of one year after his coming to the Chair of *Canterbury*, he had engaged himſelf, in ſix ſeveral Counſels and deſigns, all of them of ſo high a nature, that each of them might have been enough to take up that ſhort remainder of time which he had to live. It was confeſſed, that the connivence and Remiſneſs of his Predeceſſor had left him work enough to do; but then it was averred withal, and proved by Ordinary obſervation, that an unſkilful Carpenter might pull down more in one day then the ableſt Architect in the World could build up in twenty; and therefore that the Ruines of twenty years, were not to be repaired in one. And for the Proof of this they were pleaſed to note, that within ſix weeks after his coming to that Chair, his Majeſty had laid the Foundation of the *Scottiſh* Liturgy, by iſſuing out his Inſtructions of the 8th. of *October* for Officiating the *Divine Service* in his Chappel at *Edenborough*, according to the Form and Ceremony of his Royal Chappel at *White Hall*; that he had ſeconded it within ten days after by reviving his Fathers Declaration about Lawful Sports, with ſome additions of his own; and thirded it in the very beginning of *November* by an Order of the Council Table in the caſe of St. *Gregories*, for tranſpoſing the Communion-Table to the Place of the *Altar*; and that within the firſt ſix Months of the year next following, he ſent out two *Injunctions* for reducing the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch* to the Liturgy and Church of *England*; Countenanced the Petition of the *London* Miniſters, for encreaſe of maintainance, in the juſt payment of their Tithes; and procured the Repealing of the *Iriſh Articles*, and

and those of *England* to be *approved* and *received* in the place thereof. And what said they could be more unadvisedly, and unpolitickly done, then to draw upon himself at once the high displeasure of three Kingdoms in the several Concernments of each Nation; as also all the *Genevian* Churches abroad in their Proper Interesses; Fomented by the Pride and Purse of the City of *London*, and prosecuted by the Malice and Activity of the *Puritan* faction, in them all united in the Common quarrel of the Lords day Sabbath? They added that King *Edward* the first, began not with the Conquest of *Wales*, before he had well setled his affairs in *England*, and that he undertook not the following War against the *Scots* (whom afterwards he brought under his obedience) till some years after he had finished the Conquest of *Wales*; that as all Superfetations are dangerous to the Product of the birth of Nature; and nothing more Repugnant to a Regular Diet than to fill the Stomach with fresh viands, before it is Emptied of the Former; so nothing can be more destructive to the Body Politick, than to try two many Experiments at once upon it, which cannot possibly work well together to the publick health; and therefore, that he should have practised upon one Kingdom after another as best became so able a Physician, and so exact a Master in the Art of a Christian Warfare; that one of them might have followed the good Example of the other, and not all joyn together (like so many ill humours) to the common disturbance of the work.

Such were the Censures and Discourses, which were passed upon him betwixt his Imprisonment and his Death, and for some years after. In which how much or little there is of truth, is left unto the judgment of those, who are more thoroughly acquainted with his disposition and affections, his secret Counsels, and the Reasons which directed him in the conduct of them, than I can honestly pretend to. All I can say, is that, which may be said by any other, which had no more access to him than my self: Of Stature he was low, but of a strong Composition; so short a Trunck never contained so much excellent Treasure, which therefore was to be the stronger, by reason of the wealth which was lodged within it. His Countenance chearful and well-bloudied, more fleshly, (as I have often heard him say) than any other part of his body; which chearfulness and vivacity he carried with him to the very Block, notwithstanding the Afflictions of four years Imprisonment, and the infelicity of the times. For at his first Commitment he besought God (as is observed in the *Breviate*) *to give him full patience, proportionable comfort, and contentment with whatsoever he should send*; and he was heard in what he prayed for: for notwithstanding that he had fed long on the *bread of carefulness*, and drank the *water of affliction*; yet as the Scripture telleth us of the four *Hebrew Children*, *His Countenance appeared fairer and fatter in flesh, than any of those who eat their portion of the Kings Meat, and drank of his Wine*; A gallant Spirit being for the most part like the Sun, which shews the greater at his setting. But to proceed in that weak Character, which my Pen is able to afford him, of Apprehension he was quick and sudden, of a very sociable Wit, and a pleasant Humour; and one that knew as well

Dan. 1. 13.

PART II. *Anno Dom.* 1644. well how to put off the Gravity of his Place, and Perſon, when he ſaw occaſion, as any man living whatſoever; Acceſſible enough at all times but when he was tired out with multiplicity and vexation of buſineſs, which ſome, who did underſtand him, aſcribed unto the natural ruggedneſs of his Diſpoſition; Zealous he was in the Religion here eſtabliſhed, as hath been made apparent in the courſe of this Hiſtory; Conſtant not only to the Publick Prayers in his Chappel, but to his private Devotions in his Cloſet; A ſpecial Benefactor to the Town of *Reading*, where he had his Birth, and to the Univerſity of *Oxon.* where he had his Breeding; ſo much the more to this laſt, as he preferred his *Well-being* before his *Being*. Happy in this, that he accompliſhed thoſe good works in the time of his Life, which otherwiſe muſt have ſhrunk to nothing in the hands of Executors. To ſpeak of the Integrity of ſo great a Perſon, would be an injury to his Vertues: One Argument whereof may be, if there were no other, That in ſo long a time of Power and Greatneſs, wherein he had the principal managing of Affairs both in Church and State, he made himſelf the Maſter of ſo ſmall a Fortune, that it was totally exhauſted in his Benefactions unto *Oxon.* and *Reading*, before remembred. The reſt I ſhall refer to the *Breviate* of his Life and Action, though publiſhed of purpoſe to defame him, and render him more odious to the Common People: In which it will appear, to an equal and impartial Reader, That he was a man of ſuch eminent Vertues, ſuch an exemplary Piety towards God, ſuch an unwearied Fidelity to his Gracious Sovereign, of ſuch a publick Soul towards Church and State, ſo fixt a Conſtancy in Friendſhip, and one ſo little byaſſed by his private Intereſſes, that *Plutarch*, if he were alive, would be much troubled to find a ſufficient Parallel wherewith to match him in all the Lineaments of perfect Vertue.

Thus lived his moſt Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate; and thus he died; when he had lived ſeventy one years, thirteen Weeks, and four days, if at the leaſt he may be properly ſaid to die: the great Example of whoſe Vertue ſhall continue alway, not only in the Minds of Men, but in the Annals of ſucceeding Ages with Renown and Fame. His Death the more remarkable in falling on St. *Williams* day, as if it did deſign him to an equal place in the *Engliſh* Calendar, with that which *William*, Archbiſhop of *Bourgeois*, had obtained in the *French*, Who being as great a Zealot in his time againſt the ſpreading and increaſe of the *Albigenſes*, (as *Laud* was thought to be againſt thoſe of the Puritan Faction, and the Scottiſh Covenanters) hath ever ſince been honoured as a Saint in the *Gallican* Church; the tenth of *January* being deſtined for the ſolemnities of his Commemoration, on which day our *Laud* aſcended from the Scaffold to a Throne of Glory.

The End of the Second Part.

AN

ELEGY

ON THE

DEATH

OF

The moſt Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c.

January 10. 1644.

Horat. Carm. Lib. 4. Od. 8.

Dignum Laude *Virum muſa vetat mori.*

AND yet not leave thee thus, I fain would try
A Line or two by way of Elegy;
And wail ſo ſad a Loſs, if to expreſs
The greatneſs of it, would not make it leſs.
If to Lament thee might not vex thee more
Than all the Scorns thou haſt endur'd before,
And make thee think we envied thee thy ſtart,
Or doubted that thou wert not where thou art.
Yet, with thy leave, I needs muſt drop a Verſe,
Write it with Tears, and fit it for thy Herſe;

And at this diſtance from thy Grave, which lacks
The Pomps of Sorrow, hang my Heart with Blacks.
Religious Prelate, What a Calm haſt thou,
I'th' midſt of thoſe turbulent Storms, which now
Shipwrack this Iſland! At how cheap a Rate
Haſt thou procur'd this Change of thy Eſtate!
The Mitre, for a Crown; A few poor days,
For endleſs Bliſs; Vile Earth, for Heavenly Joys!
Such Glories haſt thou found, ſuch Alteration
In this thy Higheſt, as thy laſt *Tranſlation.*
How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they
Advanc'd thee thus and chalk'd thee out the Way?
A Way ſo welcome to thee! No *Divine*
But knows the Red-Sea leads to *Paleſtine:*
And ſince *Chriſt Jeſus* Sanctified the Croſs,
Death's the beſt Purchaſe, Life the greateſt Loſs.
Nor be thou griev'd, Bleſt Soul, that Men do ſtill
Purſue thee with black Slanders, and do kill
Thy ſhadow now, and trample on thy Ghoſt.
(As *Hectors* Carcaſs, by the *Grecian* Hoſt)
Or that thou want'ſt *Inſcriptions*, and a Stone,
T' ingrave thy Name, and write thy Titles on.
Thou art above thoſe Trifles, and ſhalt ſtand
As much above Mens malice. Though the hand
Of baſe Detraction hath defil'd thy Name,
And ſpotleſs Virtues; yet impartial Fame
Shall do thee all juſt Honours, and ſet forth
To all ſucceeding Times thy matchleſs Worth.
No *Annals* ſhall be writ, but what Relate
Thy happy Influence both on Church and State;
Thy Zeal to Publick Order, Thy Great Parts
For all Affairs of Weight, Thy Love to Arts;
And, to our ſhame, and his great Glory, tell,
For whoſe dear Sake, by whoſe vile Hands he fell.
(A Death ſo full of Merits, of ſuch Price,
To God and Man ſo ſweet a Sacrifice,
As by good *Church-Law* may his Name prefer
To a fixt Rubrick in the Kalender.

And let this ſilence the *Pure Sects* Complaint,
If they make *Martyrs*, we may make a *Saint.*)
Or ſhould Men envy thee this Right, thy Praiſe
An Obſequie unto it ſelf can raiſe.
Thy brave Attempt on *Pauls*, in time to come,
Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe:
Thy Book ſhall be thy *Statua*, where we find
The Image of thy Nobler Part, thy Mind:
Thy Name ſhall be thy Epitaph, and he
Which hears and reads of that, ſhall publiſh thee
Above the reach of Titles, and ſhall ſay
None could expreſs thy Worths a braver way.
And thus, though murther'd, thou ſhalt never die,
But live Renown'd to all Poſterity.
Reſt thou then happy in the Sweets of Bliſs,
Th' *Elyzian*, the Chriſtians Paradiſe,
Exempt from Wordly Cares, ſecure from Fears;
And let us have thy Prayers, as thou our Tears.

FINIS.